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THE HERITAGE OF INDIA

(L. N. Mishra Commemoration Volume)

1570

Editors : Dr. Upendra Thakur
Dr. Yugal Kishore Mishra

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The Heritage of India

L.N. MISHRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

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The Heritage of India

(L.N. MISHRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME)

Chief Editor

Upendra Thakur, M.A., D.PHIL. (CAL.)

Professor & Head of the Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

Editor

Yugal Kishore Mishra, M.A., PH.D.

Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

L.N. MISHRA
COMMEMORATION VOLUME PUBLICATION COMMITTEE
Magadh University Campus, Bodh Gaya
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Publication Commitee, 1978

Published by L.N. Mishra Commemoration Volume Publication Committee, and printed for them by Aruna Printing Press, Naraina, B-78, Phase II, New Delhi-28.

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मेरे गुरुजी महाराज श्री श्री १०८ श्री स्वामी जो महाराज (आश्रम-छोटकाराजपुर, पोस्ट-बड़काराजपुर, जिला-भोजपुर, आरा) के आर्शीवाद से इस स्मृति ग्रन्थ के प्रकाशन का कार्य सम्पन्न हो सका।

युगल किशोर मिश्र

I bow to Siva, the consort of Gauri, the sole cause of the origin, sustenance, dissolution of the universe, who has understood the reality, who is of endless renown, who is the support of Maya but is free from its influence, whose form is incomprehensible, who is unsullied and who is perfect knowledge itself.

Rudra-Samhita
[Siva Purana]

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Preface

It was in July 1975 that a well-attended meeting of the elite of Gaya and Bodh Gaya decided to bring out a Commemoration Volume to perpetuate the memory of our beloved national leader, the late Sri Lalit Narayan Mishra who had literally grown up in politics and passed out of it on 3rd Jan. 1975 as a martyr covered with undying fame and glory. What he did for Bihar as Railway Minister in the course of just two years will always be remembered by the people of this State with affection and gratitude, and posterity will not forgive those who plotted his heinous murder. This volume is, therefore, an humble acknowledgement of the great debt that his countrymen owe him. In fact we consider it a great honour and a privilege to associate ourselves with this Commemoration Volume as a token of our regard for the talent and personal qualities of Lalit Babu whose untimely and tragic death we all mourn. It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction that at long last we are able to present this volume to the public.

We trust, this Commemoration Volume will be, by virtue of the various learned papers and reminiscences contributed to it, an invaluable possession of scholarship to all students of Indian lore. We can only wish that the memory of such a great man will for ever remain green in the minds and hearts of his countrymen. If institutions stand as shadows of great men, institutions like Lalit Narayan Mithila University, Darbhanga, and others are memorials to his impressive stature.

It is our pleasant duty to acknowledge the valuable help and cooperation that we have received from different quarters in planning and executing this project.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the learned contributors to this volume who promptly responded to our request by sending their valuable articles, and to the members of the Editorial Board for their ungrudging and unstinted cooperation.

We are also grateful to the Ministries of Information and Broadcasting, Railways, Finance, Defence, Foreign Trade, Labour, Employment and Planning and Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, as well as the Government of Bihar for the liberal help they have given us in bringing out this volume. Our sincere thanks are due to the former President of India, the late Sri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Vice-President of India,

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Sri B.D. Jatti and the former Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Field Marshall Manekshaw for their messages, and blessings to make this project a success.

University of Magadh
Bodh Gaya

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PART ONE

L. N. Mishra—
The Man

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PRESS SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT
RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN
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No. F. 2-M/75

October 8, 1975

Dear Dr. Mishra,

The President is glad to know from your letter of the 1st October, 1975 that you are bringing out 'Lalit Narain Mishra Commemoration Volume'. He sends his best wishes for the success of your efforts and hopes that the Volume will throw light on the many-sided achievements of the late Mishraji.

Yours sincerely,
A.M. Abdul Hamid

Dr. Yugal Kishore Mishra,
Editor,
Lalit Narain Mishra Commemoration Volume,
C/o Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies,
Magadh University,
Bodh-Gaya (Bihar).

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उप-राष्ट्रपति, भारत
नई दिल्ली
VICE-PRESIDENT
INDIA
NEW DELHI

6th September, 1975

I am glad to know that a Lalit Narain Mishra Commemoration Volume will be published soon. I understand th volume will contain his life sketch, his valuable contribution towards the making of modern Bihar and his services to the country in various capacities. I wish the publication all success.

Sd/-
(B. D. Jatti)

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सन्देश

श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र का सारा जीवन जनता की सेवा में समर्पित था। उन्होंने अपने छात्र-जीवन से ही देश और काँग्रेस के प्रति निष्ठा दिखलाई। बाद में वे संसद् में आए और कई मंत्रालयों में प्रशासक के रूप में सराहनीय कार्य किया तथा संस्था और शासन का ठोस काम आखिरी दम तक करते रहे।

उन्होंने अपनी सहृदयता के कारण बहुत से मित्र बनाए, लेकिन जो मज़बूती से काम करता है उसके शत्रु भी होते हैं। जानबूझ कर ललित बाबू को बदनाम करने के लिए और उनके खिलाफ घृणा पैदा करने के लिये, आयोजित तरीके से वातावरण बनाया गया जिससे उनकी जान गई। कुछ विरोधियों ने नीतिक शोक प्रकट किया परन्तु जिस हिंसा के वातावरण से यह दुर्घटना हुई उसको बदलने का सोचा भी नहीं। गीता में लिखा है कि जिनके मन क्रोध से भरे होते हैं उन्हें अच्छे-बुरे की सूझ नहीं रहती और न ही किसी और बात की तरफ ध्यान जाता है।

ललित बाबू सच्चे देश प्रेमी थे और उनको अपने प्रदेश बिहार की विशेष चिन्ता थी। उनकी उदारता हमेशा याद रहेगी। मुझे यह जानकर प्रसन्नता है कि ललित नारायण मिश्र स्मृति ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है, जिसमे उनके जीवन के विभिन्न पहलुओ पर प्रकाश डाला जाएगा। इस कार्य के लिए मेरी शुभकामनायें।

इन्दिरा गांधी

(इन्दिरा गांधी)

नई दिल्ली,
सितम्बर १२, १९७५

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FIELD MARSHAL SAM MANEKSHAW, MC

STAVKA: SPRINGFIELD: COONOOR

12, NOVEMBER, 1975

It is with a heavy heart that I am sending this message for inclusion in the Lalit Narain Mishra Commemoration Volume. Lalit was my personal friend and almost a part of the Manekshaw family. During the four years that I was at Delhi there was seldom a day when he was not either at our home or I did not go to his house to see him. Our friendship was based on affection, trust and mutual respect. We shared each other's happiness and good fortune, and in times of sorrow and trouble cried on one another's shoulder.

Lalit was the most warm hearted and generous individual that I have ever come across: I have seer him helping people with money which he had to borrow, and I have also known quite a few of these same individuals whom he has helped so generously and unstintingly, decry and calumniate him, and yet Lalit forgave them and again and again helped them financially as also politically.

There are many in the land today who hold their high office and position because of Lalit Narain Mishra, because of his help and generosity, because of his advice and kindness. I sometimes wonder if they now remember this, and like me and my wife as also my two daughters, pray daily for the peace and tranquility of his soul.

Sam Manekshaw

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Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra

Dr. Upendra Thakur

I

Comrades of a life-time when I depart,
When I leave your brotherhood, send a
Thought of compassion to me.
With what wealth of sympathy and gift of
Love have you endowed me
I go, but leave my soul behind :
May your paths be smooth and soft until you
attain your journey's end.

These lines speak amply of the man, the bold and fearless advocate of the downtrodden, the social thinker, the creative genius and, above all, a restless soul that Lalit Narayan Mishra (popularly called Lalit Babu) was. A born fighter against injustice, a very loyal and devoted colleague and friend, one of the most cultured men of his generation and a giant among politicians, Lalit Babu was one of those eminent sons of India who have left behind the impress of their remarkable personality on every sphere they entered. An administrator of rare ability, a patron of art and artists (the famous Madhubani painting, for instance), a born leader and inspirer of youth and a man of great common sense and sound judgment, Lalit Babu filled many high offices with distinction. He will always continue to live in the hearts of those who were privileged to have been associated with him whether as friends or as colleagues. A man of pleasing disposition and charming manners, his attitude was never dubious and such was his dominating personality that where others canvassed he commanded, where others appealed he dictated. Lalit Babu had a passion for politics and politics was his element. He had literally grown with it and ultimately passed out of it — the field of his life-long battles, his successes and triumphs — with undying fame and glory. In a sense the assassins' bomb had failed and the invincible soul triumphed !

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II

Lalit Babu was born in the family of the celebrated scholar, Ayache Mishra (Mahamahopadhyaya Bhavanatha Mishra) who was the ideal of perfection among the Maithila Brahmanas and who is reputed never to have accepted even a gift, much less asked for it. As a mark of respect for this he came to be known as '*Ayache*' by which name he is still remembered and respected by posterity. His family has been serving the nation and the Congress since 1919 and has produced a revolutionary like Pandita Tej Nath Jha, who happened to be a close associate of Sardar Bhagat Singh; an agitator like Sri Upendra Mishra who fell a victim to the violent British retaliation while in prison in connection with the "Quit India" movement, and a successful scholar-administrator like Dr. Jagannath Mishra, his youngest brother, who was till recently the Chief Minister of Bihar. Thus, the patriotism, indomitable courage and self-respect which flowed in his veins, he was not prepared to compromise at any cost.

Born at Bajitpur in Muzaffarpur district (the family has since then shifted to Balua Bazar in Saharsa district) on February 2, 1923, this prince among men received his early education at C. M. College, Darbhanga and T.N.J. (now T.N.B.) College, Bhagalpur where he impressed his teachers and colleagues alike with his brilliance and sincerity of purpose. He took his M.A. degree in Economics from Patna University, got himself enrolled as a Research Scholar for a Ph.D. degree and did extensive research on "Nineteenth Century Colonial Policy of the British Empire." However, he could not complete his Ph.D. thesis as, at the call of the Father of the Nation, he too, like many other young men plunged deep into the national struggle for independence against the alien rulers. While a Research Scholar he was appointed a Lecturer in Economics in T.N.J. College and when he showed the appointment letter to his father, the latter felt disgusted and told him bluntly : "I shall give you double the amount you will receive as Lecturer every month. Do not worry for money. Devote yourself wholeheartedly to the cause of the Nation and the Society". When the Late Dr. S.K. Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar, wanted Lalit Babu to take to a lucrative job in the U.N.O., the father once again came in his way and advised him to give up this idea once for all. Here was a great father who could easily visualize the great future of his son and was prepared to make any sacrifice so that his son could climb to the highest peak of fame and glory. Thus, though the world of letters could not benefit from his scholarship and researches, the nation as a whole gained immensely from his experience and sacrifices as he literally gave away every ounce of energy to the cause of socialism and democracy which was so dear to him.

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A whole-time Congress worker since 1939, Lalit Babu organized the Bihar Provincial Students Congress in 1941 and became its Secretary in 1944-46, and later its President in 1946-48. He underwent two terms of imprisonment in 1941 and 1942 when he was sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment for participation in the freedom movement. In 1948-49 he was elected a Fellow of the Patna University Senate in recognition of his services to the cause of education. He organized the first Bihar Economic Conference in 1950 at Patna, and as a Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee's Economic and Food departments, he carried out extensive research on jute cultivation and a survey of the food situation in Bihar. A member of the A.I.C.C. till his death, Lalit Babu was also a member of the Working Committee, Secretary of the Bihar Economic Association and President of the Bihar Jute Growers' Association.

Another notable event of his life was his election to the Lok Sabha for the first time in 1952 and during his term he was a member of the Estimates Committee in 1955-56 and a member of the National Advisory Committee for Small Savings in 1956-57. During the period 1954-57 he was also in charge of public cooperation work of the Bharat Sevak Samaj for the Kosi project.

III

While talking to a friend Lalit Babu had once remarked: "People will recognize me only after my death. I have done nothing for myself, and whatever I have done, I have done for my country, and for my people." How apt this remark is can be judged from his ceaseless efforts to tame the Kosi, the river of sorrow, which had literally ravaged almost the whole of North Bihar for a long time, and this had earned him the nickname of "Kosi Babu" from the rustic village-folk who were the worst victims of its vagaries and desolation owing to its devastating floods. The great Bihar earthquake in 1934 had changed the terrain of almost the whole of North Bihar and thus deflected the Kosi 50 miles away from its course. In one swing the river had leaped from Purnea to Saharsa and had hit the neighbourhood of Nirmali (in Darbhanga) and swept the countryside clean of everything in the way — the railway lines, villages, townships, etc. It had turned green fields into sandy stretches of waste. In the monsoon the entire countryside, ten miles on each side of the river, became a rolling mass of water. This is where people suffered the worst hazards of human existence through floods, diseases, and death but they managed to survive.

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Nirmali on the western fringe of the Kosi belt (there was neither valley nor marked water-course) and Supaul on the eastern flank, were the two God-forsaken places in North Bihar until they became the headquarters of the Kosi embankment project. It was a Himalayan task that was completed through the efforts of this promising young man on whose call the peasants had cooperated beyond expectation by surrendering their valuable paddy-lands and orchards for the embankment, (which later saved millions of lives,) without receiving a single paisa as compensation. On the level of physical labour about fifty thousand workers were secured through village panchayats or labour cooperatives in the neighbourhood of the embankments. There was no profit-making as distinguished from works under contractors. The only aim was to complete the 30 mile long embankment and to ensure that all the money went to workers. A baffling human problem was thus ably solved through nine months of trials and tribulations and the river of sorrow was in no time turned into the river of plenty and happiness which won him unstinted praise from Pandit Nehru, and the nation itself. It was therefore no wonder that the once afflicted people wept and cried over the tragic death of their beloved "Kosi Babu", the man who was mainly responsible for turning the desert of the Kosi belt into a granary by getting the Kosi Project with its irrigation facilities underway. And, his was where he started to blaze this controversial career and this is where fate had ordained his tragic end. But his memory will endure.

IV

Lalit Babu's re-election to the Lok Sabha in 1957 paved the way for further successes and triumphs. Pandit Nehru was so pleased with his dynamism and magnetic personality, which he had shown at the time of the Kosi-embankment, that he appointed him Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Planning, Labour and Employment. In 1960 he became Deputy Minister in the same Ministry. During this period he was a delegate to the 42nd Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva and visited the United States to study industrial relations in coal and steel industries. During 1962-64 he was Chairman of the National Projects Construction Corporation Limited. He became General Secretary of the All-India Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Indian Steel Workers' Federation in June 1962. A member of the Working Committee of the Bihar INTUC he was also a member of the Working Committee of the All India General Council of the INTUC and also Editor of the *Congress Forum*, a journal of the Congress Forum for Socialist Action.

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Lalit Babu was appointed Deputy Minister of Home Affairs on 26 February 1964. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in the same year and was re-elected in 1966 and remained its member until his election to the Lok Sabha in 1971. On January 25, 1966 he was transferred as Deputy Minister for Finance in which capacity he attended the Colombo Plan Conference at Karachi that year. On March 13, 1967 he was appointed Minister of State for Labour and Rehabilitation; he attended the Governing Body meeting of the I.L.O. at Geneva in October 1967. On November 15, 1967 he became Minister for Defence Production.

From June 1970 to January 2, 1975 is a telling story of Lalit Babu's great triumphs and glory as well as the impending shadows that ultimately overwhelmed him. As Minister of Foreign Trade from June 1970 to 4 February 1973 he made his great mark as this period witnessed the increasing tempo of export promotion and State participation in foreign trade. He led the Indian delegation to the Second UNCTAD Conference at Santiago in Chile and also organised the Third Asian Trade Fair known as ASIA-72 in New Delhi.

As an organizer and devoted worker he grew in popularity to such an extent that he was unanimously elected a member of the Congress Working Committee at the Bidhan Nagar Congress Session in December, 1972 and on February 5, 1973 he was appointed Minister of Railways with Cabinet rank. As Minister of Railways he excelled all his predecessors, and Bihar and other backward Sates got their due for the first time after 27 years of independence. Once he was asked as to how he sanctioned new Railway lines for backward areas when the development of the railways is ordinarily guided by the policy that new rail tracks should be laid in areas where there is no likelihood of loss. To this he retorted : "according to this policy no new Railway line can ever be laid in backward regions." He believed that it was necessary to have a network of railway lines even in the backward regions to ensure national development. As for loss he was confident that once the backwardness was removed, there would be no deficit, no loss. He had the courage of his convictions and he set about the task with singleness of purpose. He rendered yeoman service to Bihar by providing a network of rail lines, long-distance comfortable trains such as Jayanti Janata, Janaki Express, etc, by sanctioning new broad gauge and metre gauge railway lines, by establishing a Railway Service Commission at Muzaffarpur and in many other ways. And while making a gift of the 53 km. broad gauge line to the people of North Bihar he fell a victim to the assassins' bomb at Samastipur on January 2, 1975. The speech delivered by him at Samastipur on this fateful day etched out ambitious plans of broad gauge lines in the State and a railway

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bridge near Patna. This shows how anxious he was to serve the State. But the hands of the assassins suddenly snatched him away from our midst. There can be no greater heinous crime than this and history has few parallels to record.

On the national scene what Lalit Babu achieved, others could not. As leader of the official Indian delegations he visited a number of countries in Asia, Europe and North and South America. He led the Indian delegation to the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) at Honkong and Manila, and attended the meeting of the 77 developing countries at Lima, Peru, that preceded it. He conducted negotiations in England with the British Government on trade preferences and with the French Government in Paris on economic relations between India and the European Economic Community. He visited the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary for trade talks with the governments of those countries. He also visited Pakistan, Switzerland, United States, Hongkong, Belgium and many other countries in connection with official business and left the mark of his personality wherever he went.

V

A man of strong convictions he did not believe in a Sermon on the Mount. His intelligence and commonsense were unfathomable and his actions were always practical and helpful to the nation at large. His benevolence knew no bounds, and even if he erred, it was not without virtue. Only those who never met Lalit Babu, might have nursed a grievance against him, true or false. For, even his bitterest critics and die-hard enemies could not remain immune to his magnetic personality and became his admirers even from the first meeting. His geniality of temperament, urbanity, generosity and magnanimity were legendary and any one who came into contact with him became his friend. Even those who indulged in vicious calumny against him received his help and patronage in times of need and distress. Of these innumerable instances can be cited.

His interest in Bihar was so great that he could go to any length to achieve his objects, economic or political or social, for the upliftment of this State. If late Dr. S. K. Sinha maintained political stability with his stature and wide outlook, Lalit Babu was like the beacon-light who not only nurtured the Congress in Bihar and maintained political stability and a Congress majority against all odds but also put the State at an important place on the national map with his dynamism, large-heartedness and towering personality. For over a decade he dominated the politics of this

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State in a measure which no other politician of his age had done so far. His advice was listened to with due attention by the Congress High Command and he had become a virtual authority on Bihar affairs in the Prime Minister's inner circle. His sincerity to the cause of the country and the Congress was never doubted. In spite of the blistering attack by the Opposition on the Licence scandal, the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi stood by him like a rock and this was no mean tribute to Lalit Babu who had then the Foreign Trade portfolio. His speech given to the House (Lok Sabha) on this occasion exemplifies his sincere devotion to the cause of the country and also the high integrity that he possessed. He had thus weathered the Parliamentary storm which any other person of less calibre would have succumbed to. It would have been political death. But, Fate had willed otherwise. He was to die as a martyr for the welfare of the people to whom he had pledged to serve ever since his student days.

VI

Great in life and still greater in death, Lalit Babu fell the first victim to right reaction on January 3, 1975 which will go down in the history of India as the blackest day. His phenomenal rise to power and fame had won him innumerable enemies who were convinced that so long as he was on the scene, it was difficult for them to achieve their sinister target. In order to attain their goal they took to a low form of calumny and character-assasination unheard of in the history of civilized political life. "Give the dog a bad name and then hang him" is an old fascist technique which believes in first destroying a man's reputation by mounting a virulent campaign of character-assassination and then killing him. First make much of the man and then throw a hand-grenade to eliminate Lalit Narayan Mishra physically. It was known that Lalit Babu had been a prime target of a countrywide hate compaign for several months before his death. This campaign was bound to result in something like the shame and tragedy of Samastipur. But, those who organized this great killing have not achieved their aim. And, Lalit Babu has not died in vain. He will always live in the hearts of the grateful people as the first martyr in the Indian people's fight against social injustice, and economic tyranny.

A man with a large range of interests, a brilliant mind and a prodigious memory Lalit Babu had sanity, tolerance, and independence of spirit, and these were the attributes that the world could see, things "that took the eye and had the price." Quick to discover talent he was ever ready to foster it with the touch of the creator and the finished skill of a master

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craftsman. In fact, he always shone in his true colours, never in borrowed feathers. His brilliance was pure gold, no gilding above the brass.

It is said whom the Gods love die young, and Lalit Babu was not old when he, who left many speechless in his lifetime, left the whole world speechless by his eternal silence on January 3, 1975. In him we have lost a true son of India imbued with our Indian culture; in him we have lost a great patriot and administrator; in him we have lost a great friend who was genuinely loved by his people; in him we have lost a great patron of art who was at the same time a great champion of the poor; in him we have lost a great giver who gave away thousands to his friends and critics alike but himself died in debts; and in him we have lost a perfect gentleman, large-hearted, generous to a fault, and loyal to friends throughout his life—the like of whom we shall never see again.

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A Leading Light

A brief life-sketch of L. N. Mishra

Dr. Yugal Kishore Mishra

Lalit Narayan Mishra was born at Bajitpur in Muzaffarpur district in Bihar on February 2, 1923. He belonged to the family of *Ayachi* Mishra of Mithila. The title *Ayachi* was given because the owner was known for not demanding any charity. His career as a student was good and showed an early interest in politics. During his early years of comparative affluence he attended a school and was good at his studies. Later he was coached at home. He was a warm-hearted and lively lad. Football and boating were always his favourite pastimes. For his university examinations he studied first at C.M. College, Darbhanga, and then at T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur. He took his Master's Degree in Economics from Patna University. Later, as a research scholar he did extensive work on "The Nineteenth Century Colonial Policy of the British." All through his student days he had been a full-time Congress worker.

Lalit Babu, as he was known among friends, entered politics early in life. In 1941, he organized the Bihar Provincial Students' Congress. He was imprisoned twice in 1941 and 1942. On the second occasion he was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment for participation in the freedom movement. Between 1944-46 he was the students' Congress Secretary and from 1946-48 he was its President. He became a member of the All-India Congress Committee in 1950. He was also a Member of the Working Committee of the Saharsa District Congress Committee and Secretary of the Bihar Economic Association and President of Bihar Jute Growers' Association.

Lalit Narayan Mishra was a good friend, an able administrator and a man of outstanding organizational ability. Mishra was elected to the Lok Sabha for the first time in 1952 and during his tenure became a Member of the Estimates Committee 1956-57. Between 1954-57, he was in charge of the Public Co-operation work of the Bharat Sewak Samaj for the Kosi Project. On his re-election to the Lok Sabha in 1957, Mishra was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Planning, Labour and Em-

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ployment and in 1960 he became the Deputy Minister for Labour, Employment and Planning. This was the period when he shot into public notice. During 1962-64, Mishra was the Chairman of the National Projects Construction Corporation. In June 1962 he became General Secretary of the All India Bharat Sewak Samaj.

He was also a Member of the Working Committee of the Bihar INTUC and the All India General Council of the INTUC. He was the Editor of the *Congress Forum*, a journal of the Congress Forum for Socialist Action. On February 26, 1964, Mishra was appointed Deputy Minister of Home Affairs. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha about the same time, was re-elected in 1966 and remained its Member until his election to the Lok Sabha in 1971. On January 25, 1966, he was transferred as the Deputy Minister for Finance. Little over a year later he was appointed Minister of State for Labour and Rehabilitation. On November 15,1967, he became Minister for Defence Production. From June 1970 to February 4, 1973, he was Minister for Foreign Trade.

His term in Foreign Trade was very fruitful. It was marked by increasing tempo in export promotion and State participation in foreign trade. He conducted negotiations in England with the British Government on trade preferences and in Paris with the French Government on economic relations between India and the Economic Community. He visited the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary for trade talks with those countries. Mishra was unanimously elected as a Member of the Congress Working Committee at the Bidhan Nagar Congress Session in December, 1972. On February 5, 1973, he was appointed Minister for Railways with Cabinet rank. While serving in this capacity he was killed in a bomb explosion in 1975.

During his stewardship of the Railway Ministry, Mishra brought about a conceptual change in the application of orthodox financial criteria to the construction of railway lines in backward areas. A number of new lines were planned by him and surveys for these lines are now being undertaken in several backward areas. During the nearly two years of his stewardship, Mishra helped the railways to stabilize after a succession of strikes and agitations had seriously depleted railway finances. He could do this because he was a man of varied experience, who at an early age was able to combine hectic political activity with scholarly life. Despite his involvement in the freedom struggle from the age of sixteen, Mishra was able to make his mark in research on subjects as diverse as jute cultivation and 19th century colonial policies of Britain.

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A 'good friend' to all and a dynamic budding personality of Indian politics, L.N. Mishra served the country, the Congress and the common man with dedication and energy. In the words of the former Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, "Mr. Mishra was a large hearted person, abounding in sympathy, always approachable." Mr. D.P. Chattopadhyaya described Lalit Babu as a grassroots worker and a courageous politician. Mr. Mishra had held the centre of the regional political stage so long and so well that nobody could talk of Bihar politics without talking of him. His generation will remember him with love, respect, and honour. He was a patriot, who put the country before everything else. Lalit Babu was a fascinating person. He had a persuasive voice. He could stay composed under trying conditions. He was very happy and felt extremely excited whenever he met peasants and village people. The old 'huts and houses', the rivers and ponds greatly delighted him. He had a passion for village life but never liked solitude. In everything he did we find underlying kindness that merged into the humanness so pecularily his own. In his own words, "I begin to find out that nothing but love and kindness will do in this damned world. I am sick of selfishness."

Despite these many lovable qualities Mishra had his critics and they were many and formidable. He was a controversial figure even in his own party circles. With his great influence at the Centre he could make and unmake Chief Ministers in Bihar. This created many more enemies. They pointed out that he was responsible for thousands of suffering railwaymen being deprived of their jobs, demoted and hunted out of their quarters. On January 2, 1975 Mr. Mishra was going to Samastipur for the inauguration of the Samastipur-Muzzafarpur railway line. By a quirk of fate Mr. Mishra who was to have left New Delhi early the day before was delayed by over three hours by fog and was late in arriving at Samastipur to perform the inauguration. Soon after Mishra's arrival at the Darbhanga airport enroute to Samastipur, he was asked by men close to him not to proceed to Samastipur as, according to them, there was a serious threat to his life. Taking the warning casually, he told them, "What harm if I die while serving the country."

Mishra spoke unusually forcefully that day for half-an-hour. As he finished and turned towards the staircase to leave, there was a flash of blinding light, a muffled sound followed by a blast. Mishra was knocked down and had to be helped to his feet by a Congress worker, Mrs. Ram Sukumani Devi. The Minister gave a shriek of pain. Most others on the rostrum hit by the blast cried out in pain and agony. Those who had seen it said that there was a lot of blood on the rostrum. They said that the explosive which was later described by the authorities to be of sophisticated

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manufacture was a war bomb. It had been thrown on the rostrum with the pin removed or it might have been rolled on to the rostrum by one of those who stood close by near the staircase. But none of the eye-witnesses or people sitting on the rostrum knew how it had all happened.

L.N. Mishra died in the Danapur Railway Hospital on January 3, 1975. According to the doctors attending on him, his death was due to "perforation of the intestines causing shock." He underwent an emergency operation of the abdomen at about 5 a.m. and his death occurred at about 9.30. He had received a serious injury in the abdomen which caused profuse bleeding. An x-ray photograph showed the presence of metallic particles in his body. A team of doctors who had begun preparing as soon as Mishra was admitted, began operating at 3.00 a.m. The operation lasted six hours. The operation was to remove a splinter lodged near the heart. Death came soon after the abdomen was stitched. Dr. U.N. Sahi, Professor of Surgery of the Patna Medical College Hospital, who was one of the team said that Mishra's heart stopped at 8.30 a.m. but cardiac massage was continued. He was declared dead at 9.30 a.m.

The tragic event shock the nation. Mr. V.P. Naik expressing "shock and distress" over Mishra's death said "the circumstances in which Mishra met his death made the tragedy more poignant and grave." It was "one of the most gruesome tragedies of free India," said Mr. Chandra Shekar. Mr. Y.B. Chavan mourned the loss of "a valued colleague." Mr. Brahmanand Reddy missed "an enthusiastic supporter of progressive causes" and "a loyal friend." He described Mishra's death as "a national loss." Mr. S.C. Sinha, the Chief Minister of Assam, said, "The bomb that was hurled at this illustrious leader is in fact indicative of the seriousness of the fascist threat to our democratic ideals." Mrs. Gandhi said that he had "served the country, the Congress and the common man with dedication and energy." She added that his "premature death is a great loss to the nation." The Sarvodaya leader, Mr. J. P. Narayan held that "the circumstances in which Mr. Mishra sustained bomb injuries and died after an operation had raised doubts in the public mind which must be cleared through an enquiry." He wondered how someone could plant a bomb, possibly a time bomb, below the dais where many senior police officials and policemen were on duty.

There was a nationwide clamour for an inquiry. Several leaders also demanded a thorough investigation. Mishra's is one of the major political murders after independence. First was Gandhi's then we had the very controversial murder of Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab. The last is L.N. Mishra's murder which is not easy to explain away although it is true that by the time of the incident Mishra had travelled far from the calmer days

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of his career. His power had grown a great deal and with it the hostility of his opponents. More than once he was the centre of controversy. No doubt his public relations were excellent, and he almost always had a good press. Then his base in Bihar was strong and it was generally felt that more often than not his word was final with the Central Congress leadership on any matter related to Bihar. Yet his days became less cheerful as they went by.

Mr. Mishra's first moment of embarrasment came in 1964 when he was accused of mismanaging the funds of the National Projects Construction Corporation of which he was Chairman between 1962 and 1964. He defended himself stoutly, though his name was controversially involved in what has come to be known as the Import Licence Scandal in November 1974. Nevertheless his anguish was deep for he strongly felt that the attacks were being made on him only to malign him and tranish his image. His anguish was all the more for he believed that some of his own partymen were helping his detractors.

Then came the railway strike which doubtless left a trail of bitterness and made Mishra unpopular in many quarters. Though he did no more than what he and the whole Government considered right Mishra became the target of bitter resentment and attack. Those who saw Mishra towards the close of the winter session of the Parliament that year recalled how much he had changed physically between the autumn and winter sessions —those two sessions in which he was the focus of opposition attacks. It took a lot out of him. He aged, his walk slouched, and his former back-slapping bon homie nearly disappeared. Many would later remember with sympathy the strain breaking through his last intervention in the Lok Sabha in the debate on a motion of breach of privilege against him. Seeing him from the visitors' gallery stoically sitting through days of personal attacks of unbelievable ferocity on him, one wondered what kept him chained to that seat. The ferocity of that struggle visibly deepened the lines on his face and bloated the bags under his eyes in a space of six weeks.

Some idea of those days in Parliament can be had from a few quotations from the debates. On December 18,1974 Jyotirmoy Bosu moved:

"That this House resolves that Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra, a member of this House and a Member of Cabinet be removed from the membership of this House for committing serious improprieties and malpractices as could be seen from the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of Bharat Sewak Samaj and in particular as reported in the said Commission's report in Volume II...

"Sir believe me, I am particularly unhappy because I have to do this unpleasant task to stand and impeach a fellow member of this House whom I have known for nine years. I have nothing personal against him

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because I am neither a Congressman who would try to get his job if he goes nor am I in his organisation trying to fight him in his State or elsewhere. He has done a lot of drumbeating and tomtoming. This he is doing for years and I shall prove with documentary evidence as to what he deserves."

The Railway Minister Mr. L. N. Mishra while intervening in the debate clarified his position thus :

"I would say that there were certain misgivings or certain misunderstandings about certain points..."

"The Hon'ble Member said that I claimed privilege and I did not like to appear before the Kapur Commission. This is not a fact. I made it clear to the Kapur Commission four or five times that if they want me, I will appear before them or if they want some information, I am prepared to supply that. I voluntarily made this offer. I was not interested in the Kosi construction work. I have refuted it. I again refute it. I have no personal interest in it nor any interest for my family or son. If I am directly responsible, I am prepared to pay the price. But this is a big organisation. One organiser runs away with the car or another runs away with a jeep. You can not be sure of the conduct of every individual. The obduracy with which Shri Bosu has made and repeated these allegations defies all comprehension. I can only say that mere repetition of unfounded allegations does not and cannot give them credibility or reliability...

"In Shri Bosu's allegations facts have been twisted and distorted. Conclusions have been based on conjectures and documents have been dislodged by wishful hearsay..."

Again on May 9, 1974, the Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha received notices of motions of No Confidence in the Council of Ministers under Rule 148 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha from Messrs. Jyotirmoy Bosu, Dinen Bhattacharya, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Samar Guha, Indrajit Gupta, C. K. Chandrappan, Bhogendra Jha, Ranen Sen, S. M. Banerjee, Sanar Mukherjee, Shyamnandan Mishra, Madhu Limaye, Madhu Dandavate and H. N. Mukherjee. The first notice was by Jyotirmoy Bosu. The motion read that "this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers." The reasons given were "failure to arrive at a negotiated settlement with Railway employees and the bad treatment meted out to them." Jyotirmoy Bosu sought leave of the House to move his motion of No Confidence. As not less than 50 members rose the Speaker informed the House that the leave was granted. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu moved that this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers. Those who participated in the marathon debate included Mr. Samar Mukherjee, Mr. A. P. Sharma, Mr. Indrajit

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Gupta, Mr. K. D. Malviya, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, Mr. C. M. Stephen, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat, Mr. Frank Anthony, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Goswamy, Mr. K. Mayathevar, Mr. Narsing Narain Pandey, Mr. Piloo Mody, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Mr. Samar Guha, Mr. Vikram Mahajan, Mr. Jambwant Dhote, Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra, Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, Mr. H. M. Patel, Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, Mr. P. G. Mavalankar, Mr. Jagdish Chandra Dixit, Mr. Tridib Chaudhuri, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu. The Railway Minister Mr. L. N. Mishra replied to the debate.

In his reply Mishra said that it was wrong to say that the Railway Minister was making preparations for crushing the labour movement and not for a settlement of the strike. The Lok Sabha, he said, was aware of the efforts that were being made to come to a settlement. However, it was also a fact that preparations for a strike were going on all over the country and "naturally we had to alert our officers and the organisation to meet the situation that might arise." He said that India was passing through a grave economic crisis and the Indian Railways, at that moment were not in a position to take any risk. It had been said that the Government did not want a negotiated settlement. This was not correct. They wanted a negotiated settlement. He said he had been talking to George Fernandes since the 4th or 5th of January. The result was that the Government had not accepted only two demands till the evening of the 30th. These were (1) that railwaymen be treated as industrial workers, and (2) that they be given parity with the public sector and have a revision of dearness allowance and bonus. These points were still under discussion. Therefore, to say that the Government was not interested in negotiations was not fair. Also on the questions of bonus and parity he could not negotiate because they involved a very large amount of money. As a result of the Pay Commission's recommendations Rs. 110 crores had been paid. If these demands were accepted there would be a liability of Rs. 600 crores. An increase of 40 per cent in the wage bill in one year alone had already been given. "The house should consider whether in any country, in any industry, workers got a rise of 40 per cent in one year... Mr. Fernandes was not working for a strike, he was working for something else. He wanted to cripple the national economy; he wanted to hold the country to ransom..." He had requested Mr. Fernandes who was leading the All India Railwaymen's Federation, to settle the issue on the 30th itself. "If we wanted to arrest him we could have done it on the 30th night when he was here. We had sufficient evidence to show that he had enough preparations. The Hindi weekly *Awaz* of Dhanbad of April 28th

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had reported that Mr. George Fernandes in the course of his tour between Gomoh and Andal had asked railwaymen to paralyze train movement and teach a lesson to the Railway Minister. According to the report he also said that if the Railways did not move for 15 days, half the country's population would die of hunger because famine would result in several parts of the country from obstruction of train movement. All this showed that Mr. Fernandes was working for paralyzing the economy of the country." At Mughalsarai two trains had been stopped by violent mobs stopping in turn six other trains. The mob beat up the railway staff who continued to work and paraded them through the streets. A large number of workers of the railways had stuck to their posts of duty. From the floor of the House he would like to say a word of cheer to them. The country could not forget their sense of dedication at this critical hour. He had every confidence that the section of misguided railwaymen would not persist in the path of error. He had reports from a large number of centres to show that more of them were returning to their posts of duty.

Such was the strain under which Mishra worked during his last days. Apart from the shock his death caused, it also brought forth a nationwide clamour for an inquiry. Some of the biggest leaders of the country demanded a thorough investigation. As a result a one-man Commission of Inquiry was appointed under Justice K. K. Mathew on the 10th of February 1975. The Bihar Government also appointed a six-member Medical Experts Committee to report on the medical treatment given to Mishra. The Medical Committee blamed the Chief Medical Officer of the North-Eastern Railway for delaying medical aid. In its report submitted to the State Government in the first week of March 1975, the Chairman of the Committee, Air Marshall Ajit Nath said that the Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Bhalla's diagnosis of Mishra's injuries as 'skin deep' was misleading. The Committee also reported that a delay of about two hours had occurred in the departure of the train at Patna Junction. The Danapur Railway Hospital was only six miles away and a fast train should not have taken more than ten to twelve minutes to reach.

The question uppermost in the minds of the people was why was Mishra not given proper medical treatment at Samastipur itself when there were two big hospitals there where others whose injuries appeared at that time more serious than Mishra's were admitted. It was also not clear whether Dr. Bhalla made his statement after a superficial examination or made it under some pressure.

All investigations seemed to lead to a dead end. The Central Bureau of Investigation working simultaneously on six different theories fared no better. The first was that the explosion was the result of a carefully plan-

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ned conspiracy. The second was that a criminal had done it or had been hired to do it. The third, that a fanatic of an extreme group had been directed to do it. The fourth was that the assassination was prompted by intra-party rivalries. The fifth theory was that it was the result of a private grudge. According to the last theory, that is the sixth, the bomb found by the tracks was left there by the same person/group that had placed the bomb on the dais. Investigations have been going on and arrests have been made but they have not even helped to narrow down the focus or find some definite clue. The finding of the Mathew Commission when published may tell us more. In the meantime the question of who was responsible for Mishra's death continues to agitate the minds of people. There are those who think that his tough handling of the railwaymen's strike could have angered the railway workers. But it was common knowledge that he was not the architect of the policy and his heart was not in it.

Whatever the outcome of the Mathew Commission or any other investigation, Mishra will be remembered in Bihar and in India as a political leader of national stature. In his State he will be remembered with gratitude by many both for his personal favours and for what he was able to do for the State. His career as a national leader suddenly ran into bitter controversies which ended in his death.

Mishra was a warm and affectionate person. He had great goodness of heart. He had plenty of courage and daring. For a time his influence was very considerable but gradually a reaction to it set in. When he died he was a lonely man who was as much loved as he was feared. But those who feared him knew they could always count on hisgene rosity. His generosity was a quality one could recognize him by for even in his most difficult days it did not desert him.

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Lalit Babu : A Tribute to his Memory

Dr. Jagannath Mishra
Ex-Chief Minister, Bihar

Lalit Babu, Mr. Lalit Narayan Mishra, was the eldest of five brothers and I was the youngest. My father loved Lalit Babu to his utmost and Lalit Babu loved me very dearly. I cannot explain his affection towards me, except perhaps because I was the youngest. Lalit Babu was more than a father to me. It seems to me that some hidden power may have bound us together in affection and attachment. It was a kind of relationship which cannot be described in words. I recollect Lalit Babu as one who was filled with Divine grace. I had opportunities to stay with him as a student when in college. He took care of my studies and my health. After vacation, on my leaving home for college, he would give me extra pocket money. I found him an alert, intelligent and well-meaning guardian.

Family Interest in Politics

The members of my family, specially my father and uncle, took a keen interest in the freedom movement and cousin, Pandit Rajendra Mishra was also an active participant. Lalit Babu too, was a born patriot and he longed to chase the British out of the country and make it free. The atmosphere in our family was congenial to his patriotic attitude and aptitude for political work. My father also encouraged him to participate in the freedom movement.

Lalit Babu started early. He became a member of the Thana Congress Committee when still a student in 1940. He took an active part in the Quit India Movement and faced the odds with a spirit of daring and adventure; he received a bullet injury in his leg and was also imprisioned for four years. But this did not discourage either my father or my brother. My father often met him in jail, but the idea of getting him released by asking for a pardon did not enter his head. He preferred an appeal in the High Court which reduced the sentence and Lalit Babu was soon released.

Lalit Babu showed extraordinary qualities of organization and leadership right from his student days. He studied at Chandradhari Mithila College,

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Tejnarayan Jubilee College, and at Patna College. He took interest in the Chhatra Congress everywhere and picked out students who were dedicated to the national cause. Lalit Babu was a popular figure and much loved by his friends and contemporaries. The affluence of our family had made Lalit Babu very liberal and charitable. He had high regard and consideration for his poor friends and he often provided them with clothes, blankets and money. Any body who came to ask was helped by Lalit Babu; no one ever went away disappointed.

Popularity

His liberalism, his warmth, his humility and his eagerness to serve, made Lalit Babu very popular. He organized a big Conference of the Chhatra Congress in Patna in 1946. Later Lalit Babu took his Masters in Economics and got himself enrolled for Ph.D. In the meanwhile, he got an appointment as Lecturer in Economics in the TNB College at Bhagalpur. When Lalit Babu sought father's permission to join this post, father was very angry. He knew the abilities of Lalit Babu and was not in favour of his son joining any service. He said that Lalit Babu could get double the salary he would receive as a lecturer. He should work enthusiastically in the social and national spheres.

Lalit Babu once more got an offer of employment with better emoluments but father again refused.

Dr. Shrikrishna Sihha, the Chief Minister of Bihar at that time, was highly impressed with the capabilities of Lalit Babu. He wanted to send Lalit Babu to the Interim Parliament, but was unable to do so for various reasons. Then we wanted Lalit Babu to go for some high position in the UNO, but again father forbade him.

Election to AICC

Lalit Babu was elected a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He made his mark there and the people of his area felt the promise in him. Our district Saharsa is one of the most backward areas of Bihar. A decade and a half ago it was even more steeped in backwardness. This area suffered the ravages of the floods of the Kosi. The common people of this district had seen the worst kind of poverty. The name of the district is Saharsa which ironically means an area full of joy. The prevailing conditions were just the contrary. Lalit Babu set himself to change this miserable picture and give a new shape to the area. The people of the area looked upon him as a leader. They felt that Lalit Babu's endeavours would succeed. Lalit Babu too went among the people, discussed their problems with

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all sincerity and tried his best to solve them. He did not worry about his personal discomforts. He met people on a footing of equality and they considered Lalit Babu as their own brother. There was complete understanding between them. Lalit Babu also rendered financial assistance to a large number of people. All this made him immensely popular with the people and he won the 1952 Lok Sabha elections by a wide margin of votes.

Politicians often forget their constituency after their elections, but not so Lalit Babu. He had organized a conference of the Kosi-sufferers while he was studying for his M.A. He had drawn the attention of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other leaders of the country towards the sad plight of the residents of the Kosi basin. As a member of Parliament, he spoke on this subject several times and made Pandit Nehru, the then Prime Minister, take special interest in a solution for this problem. He, therefore, came to be known as Kosi Mishra in Parliament. He had completely identified himself with the land of his birth and the people.

By the time Lalit Babu joined the Lok Sabha in 1952 the first Five Year Plan had already been introduced. He brought Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha to the scene to witness the ravages wrought by the Kosi in 1954. It was largely owing to his efforts that the Kosi Project was included in the First Five Year Plan and a beginning towards its implementation was made in 1955. Lalit Babu organized the people's participation in the project at the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda. The Bharat Sewak Samaj also offered its helping hand in this work. Shramdan was offered by a large number of people resulting in the early construction of embankments. This arrangement meant less profits to the contractors and middlemen but more wages to labourers. A large number of persons found employment in the Kosi Project and an era of happiness began to dawn over this area.

Kosi and the BSS

Lalit Babu was instrumental in implementing the multi-development schemes in the Kosi area with the help of the Bharat Sewak Samaj. He also came to the rescue of the jute-growers whose plight had become deplorable owing to a constant and steady decline in the price. He placed this question before the Parliament. He also discussed the question of the reconstruction of railway lines damaged by the Kosi floods.

He got an opportunity to give shape to his ideas when he became Deputy Minister in the Department of Labour in the Central Government. After some time he was entrusted the Department of Foreign Trade and later became Railway Minister in the Central Cabinet. The Kosi was tamed

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to a large extent by the construction of a barrage and embankments. This protected the area comprising the districts of Saharsa, Purnea and Darbhanga from floods. The irrigation network set up on the eastern side of the Kosi changed the entire landscape. Lalit Babu also made efforts to get the scheme of an irrigation network sanctioned for the western side of the Kosi and a beginning was made on January 30, 1974. He had discussed this question with the Nepal Government when he visited that country as the Indian Minister for Foreign Trade. He was also instrumental in establishing the Jute Corporation and thereby arresting the fall in the price of jute.

Love for the People

Lalit Babu loved his motherland and the people of his area. The people reciprocated his love. But this does not mean that he disregarded the hopes and aspirations of the people of the other areas and treated them indifferently. He knew that Bihar as a whole was a backward and poor State. He wanted to do away with the backwardness of Bihar and wanted the State to come up with the other developed States of the country. Very often he referred to the backwardness of Bihar and drew up various schemes and had them implemented through the various Ministries where he had held office. He established the Bihar Export Corporation when he was Minister for Foreign Trade. He also opened a Railway Office at Darbhanga, which gave an opportunity to the youngmen of north Bihar to find employment. He sanctioned the extension of a broad-gauge line from Samastipur to Barabanki. He helped in the establishment of the Mithila University in Darbhanga to expand the scope, quality and the content of education in north Bihar. He got a survey made for laying new railway lines in Rampur, Dumka, Gaya, Rajgir, Ranchi and Lohardaga in the south of Bihar. Ultimately he gave away his life while performing a public duty and achieving the goal of taking Bihar to the highest peak of achievement.

Lalit Babu served the country as a whole and made significant contributions to the national good and to the wellbeing of the common people. He was responsible for the increase in the output of defence equipment when he was the Defence Production Minister. This led to the victory of our country in the 1971 war against Pakistan. His studies in Economics assisted Lalit Babu when he gave a tangible and practical shape to our export promotion policy and was able to get a favourable trade balance. Whenever he visited foreign lands, he maintained the dignity and honour of his country and gave evidence of his merit and efficiency.

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A Great Organizer

Lalit Babu possessed an extraordinary capacity of setting up and controlling organizations. This became evident when the Congress was split up in two in 1969. All the top leaders of the Congress were in favour of the Syndicate Congress. Lalit Babu alone sided with Shrimati Indira Gandhi and it was largely owing to his efforts that the Congress came out victorious in the General Elections held in 1971 and 1972. His sincerity and complete dedication to the cause yielded results and on both the occasions the Congress won with an overwhelming majority.

Lalit Babu had also great love for his mother tongue Maithili. He got opportunities to visit many foreign countries and meet many people but he had so deeply imbibed the culture of the motherland that there was absolutely no question of his coming under any kind of foreign influence. He was an ardent supporter of Indian culture and was always ready to do anything for the development of the arts, culture and literature of the country. This explains his deep and abiding interest in the Madhubani School of painting, an interest which subsequently led to its regeneration and winning recognition for itself in the world.

It is now our responsibility to carry on the work of Lalit Babu, which remained unfinished owing to his tragic and cruel demise.

Lalit Babu wanted to put Bihar on the all-India map and desired its all-round development. He wanted an early end to his State's backwardness and see the rise of a new Bihar. We must try to realize that dream.

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Lalit Narayan Mishra—As I Knew Him

Dharam Chand Jain, MP

The premature and tragic death of Lalit Narayan Mishra has created a void in the politics of Bihar which is difficult to fill. In fact when he was at the height of his influence in Bihar and was firmly in control of the rapidly deteriorating situation there, the cruel hands of the assassin struck.

Mishraji had great personal charm. He was an eminent scholar, had a humane and sensitive outlook and was a most capable administrator. His was a noble soul dedicated to serve the cause of the country. Lalit Babu was a good conversationalist and could talk on any subject with ease. He had a keen sense of humour and could appreciate a good remark even when it was at his cost.

He had a great love for the cultural heritage of India and readily patronized cultural activities whenever he could.

An easily approachable person, all who came to Lalit Babu with a problem, found him ready to listen and help. He had a soft corner for the inhabitants of Chotanagpur. Whenever I approached him with one problem or another relating to this area, he gave a patient hearing and valuable advice and guidance. A few days before the calamity, Mishraji told me how passionately he was interested in the all-round development of the Chotanagpur region so that the downtrodden people of the area could be lifted out of the morass. He outlined a short-term intensive plan to achieve the goal. But that was not to be. His dream remained unfulfilled. Nevertheless the ideal he has bequeathed to his fellow countrymen of Bihar would certainly be a beacon light. The achievement of that goal can be the greatest tribute Bihar can pay to its beloved son.

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The Lalit Babu I knew

Dr. Madaneshwar Mishra
Vice-Chancellor, L.N. Mithila University

It was in the year 1943 that I met Lalit Babu for the first time. Both of us were studying for Economics Honours at T.N.B. College, Bhagalpur. Both of us were also boarders, though we lived in different hostels. I cannot explain how a mutual understanding and intimacy sprang up between us and how with each day we were drawn closer to each other.

Not long after our first meeting I went to see Lalit Babu in his room. He introduced me to a gentleman whom he described as his father-in-law. At the mention of this relationship I became a little formal and stiff. But Lalit Babu asked me not to be formal, for though his father-in-law, the gentleman treated him as a friend.

The gentleman in question was Shri Tejnath Jhaji. As freedom fighters these two had spent much time together in jail. Therefore, the customary distance between the in-laws of Mithila (so rigidly observed in those days) had disappeared between the two. Lalit Babu, in fact, held him in high esteem. The day he told me about his death he looked visibly grief-stricken. If I remember aright, he also mentioned that it was from tortures in jail that Tejnath had died a premature death.

Our hostel was situated on the outskirts of Bhagalpur town. We had often to go to the town to meet our teachers in connection with our studies, but we had no conveyance. So we jointly bought a cycle and during our stay at Bhagalpur used it together. On some occasions we had to ride together. Lalit Babu would drive the cycle while I would sit behind. It certainly caused him inconvenience but he would say that it would he more inconvenient for him if I drove and he sat on the carrier. In fact, he was not destined to be carried by anybody. On the contrary, Providence had been grooming him for carrying the burdens of thousands of compatriots like me.

We completed our course of studies at Bhagalpur very happily and in 1945 both of us got ourselves admitted to M.A. Economics at the Patna

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College. Lalit Babu resided in P.G. Hostel while I was in a Muslim Hostel, now called Iqbal Hostel. We met each other frequently and used to comment on the performance of different teachers. Prof. Sachin Dutta, former Vice-Chancellor of Patna University, was one of our teachers. He taught us political science. We were ardent admirers of his methods of teaching.

From his very student days Lalit Babu had been deeply involved in political activities. For his active participation in the freedom struggle he had been put behind the bars also. While in Bhagalpur I had often found him discussing politics with Kamta Babu (Shri Kamta Pd. Gupta of Saharsa). I was just a passive listener. At Patna the scope of Lalit Babu's politics widened further for he was now a student leader. As far as I remember it was under the leadership of Lalit Babu along with Baliram Babu (Shri Baliram Bhagat), Smt. Tarkeshwari Sinha and others that the students of Patna accorded a rousing reception to Pandit Nehru when he visited Patna. I have mentioned only three persons because they were all my classmates. On one occasion Maulana Azad came to deliver the Convocation Address at the Patna University. Lalit Babu and Baliram Babu decided to present an address of welcome to the Maulana on behalf of the student Congress. They jointly drafted the address but they were not happy with their handwriting. Time was short and the address had to be presented. Moreover, it had to be framed. Finding them in a fix, I went up to them. Lalit Babu almost coaxed and cajoled me into writing it out in my own hand because I wrote a good hand. I wrote it out and they were highly pleased. Not that I think very highly of my own handwriting, I only want to state that Lalit Babu liked my handwriting. My own remark about his handwriting was "Your handwriting is legible but not beautiful." I fondly remember how my remark made him happy. We stayed together at Patna for three years. If I remember aright both of us were admitted into the Law College but I seldom met him there.

While in Patna I discovered that Lalit Babu held Sri Babu and Anugrah Babu in high esteem. Even during student days, he would call on them frequently. He had unswerving faith in Nehru. He had read all his books published till that date. He also looked up to Shri Gulzarilal Nanda with deep regard. He had not the slightest shadow of doubt in his mind that it was through the Congress organization that the country would forge ahead and attain Swaraj. I also remember that it was his constant endeavour to free Bihar from the havoc wrought by the river Koshi. He felt that there should be an independent ministry dealing with the problems created by the 'Sorrow of North Bihar' so as to ensure a speedy and permanent solution of the problems.

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Then came August 15, 1947. India became independent. We did not have a wink of sleep that night. At the stroke of 12, the night resounded with the blowing of conches and shouting of slogans. There was illumination all around. Our M.A. Examination was to start very soon. The frenzy of rejoicing caused some sort of disruption in the preparations of students like me also, not to speak of student leaders like Lalit Babu and Baliram Babu. Therefore, it occurred to us something had to be done to get the date of examination extended. Accordingly a delegation of 30 or 40 students of the Patna University waited on the Vice-Chancellor with this appeal. Sir C.P.N. Sinha gave us a patient hearing but he expressed his inability to oblige us. He, however, assured us that there would be gaps between papers and thus in effect we got what we desired. We again plunged ourselves into preparations. One day, when I came across Lalit Babu he wanted me to accompany him to the residence of his elder brother, Rajendra Mishra, in the 'R' Block. His object was to chalk out a plan for the preparation of the ensuing examinations. We stayed together at the 'R' Block for several days and succeeded in preparing answers to some important questions after several days. One of the questions pertained to 'High Command' in our political science paper. It was an important question. Before that I had a very hazy notion about High Command, but Lalit Babu for the first time enlightened me on the structure, nature and functions of the High Command and threw lucid light on all the aspects of the Congress in general and the High Command in particular. Little did I know then that one day he would himself become a member of the Congress High Command.

After the M.A. examination we lost touch with each other. Lalit Babu became deeply absorbed in national politics and I became a lecturer at the Purnea College. During our postgraduate days, I remember having heard Lalit Babu say, while chalking out plans for future life, that he would be only too glad to avail himself of an opportunity to go abroad on some assignment at the U.N.O. He never thought of seeking a job, for he was deeply interested in national affairs. This, of course, refers to those days when those engaged in active politics were held in the highest esteem.

Years afterwards, when I was Principal, Purnea College, he came to Purnea at my request on the occasion of the Annual Vidyapati Parva. At that time Lalit Babu was a Minister of the Union Government, but neither the intervening years nor his elavated status had wrought any change in him: he was the same unassuming, affectionate Lalit Babu I had known during my student days. It is said that power corrupts any man, but power could not corrupt Lalit Babu.

When I went to Delhi in 1971 to participate in the All-India Economics

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Conference, I called on him nearly fortyeight hours after my arrival in Delhi. He reproached me for this delay. And then we started reminiscing.

After I became Vice-Chancellor, of Mithila University, I had the pleasure of meeting him several times at Darbhanga and also at Delhi. After he had become Railway Minister, I asked him once: "How do you sanction new railway lines for backward areas when the development of the railways is ordinarily guided by the policy that new rail tracks should be laid in areas where there is no likelihood of loss?" He retorted that according to this policy no new railway line can ever be laid in backward regions. His actual thinking was that in order to ensure national development it was necessary to have a network of railway lines even in the backward regions. As for loss, he was confident that once backwardness was removed there would be no deficit. He had the courage of his convictions and he set about the task with singleness of purpose. By providing long-distance comfortable trains, by sanctioning new broad gauge and metre gauge railway lines and in various other ways he rendered great service to Bihar, and particularly to Mithila.

Lalit Babu is no more in our midst, but his memory will remain enshrined in the hearts of millions of people of Bihar for years to come.

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Lalit Narayan Mishra—A Tribute

Jata Shankar Das

The country lost one of its brightest jewels in the death of L. N. Mishra, who was revered and known widely for his ability, generosity, friendship, tenacity, devotion and great organizing capacity. In Mishra's premature death, Mrs. Gandhi lost the most trusted colleague who stood by her firmly at times of trials and tribulations. As a matter of fact, Mishraji had attained great heights and virtually occupied second position both in the Government and in the organization, next only to the Prime Minister. Because of his great organizing capacity, Shri Mishra had full grip over the entire Congress Organization including various State Congress Committees and was in close touch with their internal work, guiding their destiny. The void in the organization remains unfulfilled even today.

In Shri L.N. Mishra's death, Mithila lost one if its worthiest sons and suffered an irreparable loss. It was a matter of great concern for L.N. Mishra that Mithila has been reduced to penury and its sons and daughters are languishing in poverty. He discovered that Mithila suffered on account of devastating floods. He, first of all, took up the cause of taming the Kosi — the river of sorrow — and it was through his strenuous efforts that the Eastern Canals and Kosi Embankments were constructed, converting the flood ravaged areas into a fertile stretch of land. Since then a good number of irrigation schemes, including the Western Kosi Canal have been taken up and they are fast changing the face of the region.

L.N. Mishra, being himself an educationist, was sorry to find that Mithila which was a seat of learning from time immemorial, was lagging behind in educational facilities. He believed that in modern times, education and prosperity move hand in hand. He worked ceaselessly for the establishment of Mithila University, and was ahead of others in establishing a large number of schools and colleges in this area. He stood for imparting that type of education which could liberate the people from the shackles of customs and traditions and free them from the bonds of prejudices. He stood for banishing illiteracy.

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Alongwith progress in education, L.N. Mishra also stood for economic prosperity of his beloved land. He discovered that a large number of places in Mithila are far from the railway stations. There are very few metalled roads. As Railway Minister, he took up the construction of a number of new rail lines in the area. He also wanted to convert the metregauge rail line into the broadgauge. Needless to say that development of communication has great bearing upon economic prosperity of an area. Mishra believed that to facilitate growth of industries, rail and road communications had to be developed. Posterity will remember him for his laudable work in this direction.

L.N. Mishra had profound love for his mother tongue, Maithili. Though he was a geat scholar of both English and Hindi, he never spoke to any Maithil in any other language than Maithili. It was his unique fate that everybody who came in contact with him became his great admirer.

Mishra did a lot for the revival of the art and culture of Mithila. He knew that simple village folk, generally women, practise art and crafts as a hobby. He realized that the handicrafts will serve as a means for revival of the culture on the one hand and will add to economic wellbeing of a large number of people, on the other. He was enchanted with the elegance and designs of Madhubani Paintings. This craft is concentrated mostly in villages. The women in the villages paint Gods, Goddesses, birds, animals etc., on the walls of their huts. It is through Shri Mishra that Madhubani Paintings have recently been discovered as a national treasure. Mishra is responsible for creating a worldwide market for Madhubani Paintings and providing a means of livelihood to a large number of artists.

L.N. Mishra stood for high ideals. As stated above, he wanted to lead people from poverty to prosperity where people free from exploitation are rewarded suitably for their toil. Lalit Babu dedicated his entire life to the service of the country. We bow before this immortal soul with respect.

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Lalit—My Comrade-in-Arms

Ramakant Jha

My first encounter with Lalit Babu took place in 1941 when the District Conference of the Students' Federation was held at Madhubani. By that time he was already a full-fledged student leader while only a student of the first year Arts of C.M. College, Darbhanga.

Like Nehru he introduced himself to Jayprakash Narayan on the latter's return from America. He also introduced himself to me and soon gained knowledge of every detail of the organizational machinery of the Conference. He impressed me as a simple and forthright person capable of great depth of feeling.

Subsequently he became an active participant in the Bihar Provincial Conference of the Students' Federation held at Laheriasarai in 1941. In December of the same year the All-India Conference of the Students' Federation at Patna passed the historic resolution declaring the War as a peoples' war. This led Lalit Babu and me to quit the Federation alongwith several others and join the Students' Congress formed earlier under the leadership of M.L. Shaw of Bombay.

Meanwhile I had passed the Matriculation Examination and got admitted to the first year Arts class of C.M. College where Lalit Babu was now in the second year. He had founded the Jayprakash Lodge which soon became the centre of student politics in Darbhanga. Later the lodge was destined to lead the 1942 'Quit India' Movement. Among his better known comrades were L.N. Jha, Kamta Prasad Gupta of Saharsa and others. Later when Jayprakash criticized him at a Gandhi Maidan meeting at Patna Lalit Babu feelingly referred to the Lodge. He confided to Shri Krishna Kant Jha, our common friend, how faithful he had been to J.P. during the early years of his political life and how he held him in high esteem even after he had become a Congress Minister.

Lalit Babu was always willing to help the Students' Movement. Choudhary Ram Kishor Roy, though in the Socialist Party, always refers to this aspect of Lalit Babu. On one occasion Lalit Babu had to pledge an

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ornament of his wife's to raise money for a Students' Conference held at Darbhanga.

In 1942, Lalit Babu, then a student of the third year plunged headlong into the Movement and was imprisoned for six months. He was kept in Patna Camp Jail where I had the privilege of joining him some time later. After his release in 1943 he joined T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur. After my release from the Bhagalpur Camp Jail in January, 1945 I seized the opportunity to go and see him in his college hostel. During our talk the Hostel Superintendent entered the room on his round. He scolded Lalit Babu for having granted an interview to a revolutionary (in the superintendent's eyes).

Lalit Babu took his M.A. in 1947 and was offered a lecturership at T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur, by telegram. He refused the offer in favour of his continuing political activity. He worked as Research Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and continued there till he was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1952. Later he was elected to the Rajya Sabha.

In the course of a debate on the Railway Board, a member of the Lok Sabha alleged that as Railway Minister, Lalit Babu had been shirking his political responsibility vis-a-vis the Board. In reply Lalit Babu said that politics was in his very blood and nothing could be nearer to the truth. Lalit Babu was right. He started in politics even during his student days. With time his responsibilities grew. He first became Parliamentary Secretary at the Centre and then Deputy Minister and then Minister of State and finally Cabinet Minister for Railways. It is needless to add that all these political responsibilities he discharged with decorum and decency, efficiency, industry, and intelligence. He did a great deal for Bihar and in his death we lost a great man who, had he been alive, could have done much more for this poor state.

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The Role of University Teachers— A Tribute to the Late L.N. Mishra

B. K. Jha

Reader in Political Science, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

The late L.N. Mishra, popularly known as Lalit Babu, belonged to my district, Saharsa. But I had not met him or even seen this courteous and magnanimous man while he lived. When the news of his death was received I rushed from Patna College to Sadaqat Ashram and found him wrapped in a shroud of flowers. And ironically this was the first, and also the last, time that I saw him. But it was not Lalit Babu the Railway Minister, Lalit Babu the influential politician, Lalit Babu the resident of my district, or Lalit Babu the man who was lying there. It was just a corpse. Whether he had gone to reunite with the universal mother earth in the universal womb of mankind, or was fraternizing with other souls of the past, or had simply passed into another world, or was in a state of 'dreamless sleep,' I do not know. Melancholy took hold of me. As long as he was alive, he remained a controversial figure. Some glorified him, others vilified him; his friends admired him, his enemies criticized him; he was respected by his followers and feared by his opponents. In this world goodness is a posthumous gift. The world is never convinced of our reason, of our sincerity, of the seriousness of our intent so long as we are alive. Death alone glorifies us. And Lalit Babu was no exception. He was glorified only when he died.

Whatever his limitations, as long as he lived Lalit Babu tried his best to remove the poverty, ignorance, and backwardness of Bihar. With this aim in view he helped to establish Mithila University in the backward region of North Bihar. The best tribute that we can pay him is not by naming the university after him, but by making it an ideal one so that Mithila may regain its lost heritage of learning and send its alumni to work for the construction of a new and prosperous Bihar. It is in this context that I propose to discuss the role of teachers.

A university is not a place for seeking wealth, power, and glory. It is not a centre for job hunters. It is not a platform to propagate, an arena to

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give free rein to caste prejudices. It is an abode of ideas and ideals. It stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas, and for the search for truth. It stands for the progress of the human race towards higher objectives. In a word, it is a place where men learn to love reason and virtue, and shun darkness and obscurantism. Our task, then, is to cultivate the growth of sensitive minds, generous hearts and free spirits in our universities. And this is possible only when its teachers, grow out of their sectional loyalties with open themselves to universal, albeit more human values.

A university, is essentially a society for the seekers of truth, and demands a high standard of conduct and integrity from all its teachers. Their pursuit of truth, needs, above all, courage and fearlessness. The vision of a great university with timid teachers is inconceivable.

Recently we have been hearing a great deal about committed politicians, committed civil servants, committed judges, et al. Should university teachers be committed? Opinions differ. There are people who maintain that commitment implies a reversion to a state where blind faith takes precedence over scientific thought, dogma over creativeness and arbitrariness over public opinion. Commitment leads to the unhealthy cult of hero-worship, generates a hierarchy of its own servants, and humiliates the dignity of man. Commitment means a 'bowing down', a knuckling under. There are others who advance the argument that an attitude of non-commitment can crystallize and become accepted only in a stabilized society where the foundations of national existence are generally taken for granted and where social conflict runs at a tension so low that it fails to communicate itself to the sphere of education. India was, during the course of her independence movement, pregnant with revolution; then came the birth pangs; followed by post-natal fevers; and now at last appear symptoms of recovery — or are they perhaps only portents of further disorder? University teachers should not remain uninvolved in so many convulsions of national life. I am inclined to believe that just as a university without ideas is like a body without a soul, a teacher without the sense of commitment is a man without any sense of purpose in life — a soul without sparkle. Hence teachers must be committed. But commitment must not be confused with immediate political utility or with political subservience. By commitment, I mean commitment to ideas, to ideals, to principles, to truth. It is true that we cannot bear an overexposure to reality, that truth is not always beautiful, and that its discovery does not necessarily make us happy. Nevertheless, it is truth alone which frees us from delusions that confront us and from restraints that constrict our urge for innovation. Hence teachers must be openly, boldly, and fearlessly

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committed to truth. It is a great crime for teachers to hide their talents, to prefer their closed lives to freedom in the search for truth and to purchase their continued existence by a compromise with injustice and falsehood. They must not be mealy-mouthed and timorous in expressing their ideas. They must speak boldly and clearly. After all teachers are not civil servants obliged to carry out the behests of men who have neither the scholorship nor their experience in dealing with the young, and whose only attitude towards education is that of propaganda. "Any man who has the genuine impulse of the teachers," says Russell, "will be more anxious to survive in his books than in the flesh."

Scholars, thinkers, and teachers are not expected to remain confined to the cloistered seclusion of a university. We are living in an age of rapid and profound revolution. The lives of men and of nations are undergoing transformations the like of which history has rarely known. The birth of new nations, the impact of new machines, the threat of new weapons, and the stirring of new ideas have alienated mankind from its sentimental attachment to traditional ideas. The Industrial Revoution has destroyed the home and the use of contraceptives is destroying the family and the old morality. God, once the consolation of man's brief life and his refuge in suffering, is just an old dream now. In such a situation it is for scholars, thinkers, and teachers of the university to offer dynamic conceptions for the remodelling of society. Unfortunately instead of attempting to mobilize the social system and seeking to reconstruct social attitudes and institutions, the teachers themselves have become prisoners of society. Most of them indulge in either self-glorification or perverse obstinacy.

All this is probably due to the fact that the whole system of our intellectual and ethical education is corrupt. It is perverted by our uncritical appreciation of things that are said. We are educated to act with an eye on the footlights. The whole problem of educating man to a sane appreciation of his own importance relative to that of other individuals is thoroughly muddled by the ethics of fame and fate, by a morality based on the worship of power. Instead of a balanced combination of individualism and altruism, a romantic combination of egoism and collectivism is cultivated. The importance of the self is romantically exaggerated and promotes tension between personality and environment, between individuality and collectivity, between one-self and other-self, between man and his group. A man wishes either to dominate or to submit—to wrestle with fate and earn a measure of fame, or to live anonymously with the masses. It is this ethics of domination and submission that is nurturing and nourishing the neurotic and the hysterical in this modern age. We need, therefore, an ethics which overrides the demands of success and reward, name and fame. Such an

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ethics has already been taught us by the Bhagavad Gita. Our education should be remodelled in such a way that we may be taught to do our work; to make our sacrifices for the sake of this work, without desiring praise. A sacrifice may mean just as much, or even more, when it is made anonymously. We must find justification in our work, in what we are doing, and not in the prize-posts of readership or professorship or vice-chancellorship that we manage to secure for ourselves. This is not possible as long as we are enamoured of the world and its tinsel glitter. Let us remember that the best work in the world is achieved by those who work with an attitude of detachment and bear the burden of defeated hopes. The teachers of ancient India knew no fear, not even the fear of death. These changes require of Indian teachers a new simplicity of life in place of a superstitious reverence for material conditions.

Organized party spirit is one of the greatest dangers of our time. It should be the business of teachers to stand outside the strife of parties and endeavour to instil in the young the habit of impartial inquiry. They are not expected to flatter the prejudices either of the mobs or of the officials. Their professional virtue demands from them a readiness to do justice to all sides and to endeavour to rise above controversy to a region of dispassionate scientific investigation.

The duty of university teachers is not merely to mitigate the ugliness of petty controversies, but also to act as guardians of civilization and culture. No man can be a great teacher unless he is inspired by the zeal to perform this task. Civilization is not merely an accumulation of material comforts. Knowledge and emotion are inextricably linked to it. At the intellectual level a civilized man is aware of himself as a microcosm in relation to the space-time-continuum. He regards his country as one among many, each with an equal right to live and think and feel; and he interprets his own age in relation to the past and the future. At the emotional level a civilized man enlarges his heart as he does his mind. He cultivates compassion and understanding and avoids reprobation and cynicism. He prefers to discover and remove evil to meaningless soap-box oratory. Likewise, culture is not an intellectual pretension or code of convention. It is an attitude of life which finds nothing that is human, alien or unclean. Culture produces an even temper, an egalitarian outlook, and strength of mind. Education, to be complete, must be humane. It must include not only a training of the intellect, but also refinement of the heart and a discipline of the spirit. This is possible only when teachers are prepared to convey this message of civilization and culture to the young.

No man can be a good teacher unless he has feelings of warm affection for his pupils. Rabindranath Tagore said: "A teacher who loves students

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most is the best." Teachers, therefore, must possess elements of both comprehension and affection. They must approach students and their problems with feeling and sympathy. They are like medical men: they are expected to cure wayward students by mental medicine.

It has often been suggested that teachers should impart to the pupils what they themselves believe to be of value and stimulate their interest in these values. But though this is true in principle, it is hardly practicable. For it presupposes a fraternal relationship between teacher and pupil and this, on account of the vast number of pupils, is virtually impossible in our educational campus. Accordingly attempts to impose higher values not only become unsuccessful, but may also lead to harm. To avoid any such damage, the young should be educated to become independent of us and taught to make their own choices. On no account should their natural growth be warped or twisted to suit the whims and purposes of the teacher. And this caution is necessary if vigour, elan, and generosity and not their negative aspects—envy, destruction and cruelty—are to function. It should therefore be the aim of teachers to train the young against all psychological deformities and kinks.

Above all, teachers must endeavour to produce in their pupils, if democracy is to survive, a kind of tolerance that springs from a desire to understand those who are different from them. It is perhaps a natural human impulse to be amused or horrified by manners and customs different from those to which we are accustomed. It is perhaps for this reason that ants and savages kill all strangers. Those who have never travelled find it difficult to be tolerant of the queer ways and outlandish beliefs of other nations and times, other sects and political parties. This kind of obscurantism is the antithesis of a civilized outlook. Intolerance is the first sign of a faulty education. While an uneducated person behaves with arrogant impatience, the behaviour of a truly educated man is marked by humility and courtesy. Tolerance, however, does not imply a forbearance of the bigoted and the fanatical. It must never become an excuse for weakness. In short, a passive tolerance is to be avoided. Poise and equanimity must have a hard core of strength at the centre, if they are to function at all. The theory of tolerance is based on the assumption that men are rational creatures. Universal tolerance becomes questionable when its rationale no longer prevails. Therefore if any movement or school of thought is not prepared to meet us on the level of a rational argument, and teaches its adherents to answer arguments by the use of force it loses its claim to be treated with kindness and may be suppressed by force if necessary. Teachers should keep all this in mind, for the function of a university is to produce not only scholars with a vision, but also leaders of a new

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democracy. The really educated people are neither parrots who have learnt by rote nor are they blinkered specialists who cannot see beyond their own discipline, nor even theorists who are fired by no desire to act upon their knowledge. The really educated people are those who emerge from the university with a wider range of sympathy and a keener desire to act.

Mithila has not been renowned for either its wealth or valour. It has been known for centuries only for its learning. The alumni of Mithila have gone out and disseminated knowledge and the fruits of learning. What is Mithila now? It lies prostrate, languishing among ruins. It is a breeding ground of poverty and pestilence. Has it nothing to contribute to the nation but the contagion of its own laziness, lethargy, and indigence? Are its people to go harrying and tormenting one another from ignorance and vengeance until all that invests human life with dignity has been obliterated?

It is to this question that the teachers of the Mithila University have to find an answer to if they are to justify the existence of the university. If Mithila owes any debt to its traditi n and if the university is aware of the contribution of Lalit Babu to its establishment, it becomes incumbent on the teachers of Mithila University to train their pupils in such a way that they may go forth into the world equipped with knowledge, filled with culture, imbued with sympathy, and fired with devotion to duty. Though no crystal-gazer, I still own my hope and faith that in the days to come teachers will regain their lost prestige and honour, and discharge duties that the country expects of them.

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Railway Budget 1973-74*

L. N. Mishra

At the outset, I must express my gratitude to the several Hon'ble Members who have participated in the debate and have made very many useful suggestions and comments. But for the time factor I would have very much liked to deal with all the points. The Hon'ble Members may rest assured that I will send them detailed replies on the points raised by them. During the short time I have at my disposal now, I shall deal with only some of the important points raised.

I shall first deal with the proposals for revision of fares and freight rates with a view to removing some misapprehensions that have arisen.

Some Hon'ble Members have said that since I presented the Railway Budget within a fortnight of my taking over the Ministry of Railways, I was not responsible for this budget. This is farthest from the truth. I affirm that the budget is my own and I take full responsibility for all the proposals made. Whatever proposal has been made has been done by me after fullest consideration and I own all of them.

As I pointed out earlier in my Budget speech, the staff costs, which form 60 per cent of our working expenses, have been steeply rising over the years. During the last three years, the staff costs have gone up due to sanction of three interim reliefs as a result of the recommendations of the Pay Commission, increases in daily and running allowances and implementation of the various Tribunal awards including that of Miabhoy Tribunal. The staff costs which were Rs. 495.5 crores in 1971-72 will be Rs. 532.6 crores this year and Rs. 567.46 crores next year. In short, the staff costs are going up by 7 to 8 per cent a year, even though the increase in the number of staff employed is going up only by 1 per cent. I may again empasize that these figures do not take into account the likely effect of the final recommendations of the Pay Commission which we are yet to

*Speech delivered in the Lok Sabha on March 12, 1973 in reply to the general discussion on the Railway Budget.

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receive. The prices of coal, diesel oil, iron and steel, and other materials have also been going up steeply.

Hon'ble Members will remember that in spite of the increasing costs, there was no increase in third class fares for 1972-73. It is because of this increase in the cost of inputs that the existing third class fares have had to be increased by 3 per cent. There should not be even a shadow of doubt about the minimal effect of the proposed increase in fares for third class. I am, therefore, quoting certain specific instances — from Delhi to Amritsar, a third class ordinary passenger will have to pay only 25 paise more, i.e., Rs. 12.05 instead of Rs. 11.80 as at present. If he travels by a third class Mail or Express train, he will have to pay only 35 paise more, i.e. Rs. 15.80 instead of Rs. 15.45. For longer distances, say, New Delhi to Trivandrum, the third class ordinary fare is actually Rs. 1.30 less than the present fare, i.e., Rs. 57.65 in place of Rs. 58.95. Even if the passenger to Trivandrum travels by Mail or Express train throughout, he will have to pay only 15 paise more, i.e., Rs. 70.60 instead of Rs. 70.45.

500 million Short Distance Passengers

I would also like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Members to the fact that there is no increase in the existing fares for the first 15 kms. for the third class passengers. One or two Members of this House were making light of this exemption and were asking how many third class passengers will be travelling for a distance of 15 kms. Let me tell them that there are 500 million such passengers who do travel only a distance of 15 kms or less. This is one-third of the total third class travelling public excluding season-ticket holders. Even in the case of other third class passengers, there will be only marginal increases over existing fares including the tax — not more than 25 paise for third class ordinary and 95 paise for third class Mail and Express trains.

I find that there is some criticism about our decision to levy supplementary charge for travel by certain selected super-fast express trains. We have selected only eight trains out of 220 Mail and Express trains running over the country. Hon'ble Members will agree with me that it is not fair to charge the same fares for the G.T. Express, which takes 39 hours 45 minutes, and for another Express, which takes 53 hours, for the same journey. The difference in the running time between these two trains is more than 13 hours. Again, it will not be fair to charge the same fare from Delhi to Bombay for the Frontier Mail and the Dehradun Express, because the difference in the running time between these two trains is nearly nine hourse. There has been very heavy overcrowding in these super-fast trains and the proposed levy of supplementary charge is more

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in the nature of dissuading the public, particularly short distance travellers, from travelling in these trains and adding to the overcrowding. By travelling in these super-fast express trains, the passenger saves not only valuable time but also expenses on meals, refreshments, additional sleeper charges, etc., compared to which the small supplementary charge of Rs. 1.50 is negligible.

I may repeat once again that all available seats in these super-fast trains will be fully reserved. There will, therefore, be no overcrowding and I am sure the long distance passengers will appreciate this.

Loss on Passenger Traffic

I would also like to remind the Hon'ble Members that we are at present suffering a loss of nearly Rs. 63 crores on our passenger and coaching traffic. The proposed increases by which the passengers will have to pay only Rs. 12.45 crores extra over what they are paying now, do not bridge even a fraction of the wide gulf of loss of Rs. 63 crores.

I have truly kept the interests of the common man in mind and that is why I had not proposed any increases in rates for carriage of essentials like milk, fruits vegetables, fish, books, newspapers, etc. by parcel. In fact, there is absolutely no increase in the luggage and parcel rates for any kind of traffic.

I must, of course, admit that I have touched the upper class passengers a little more, the percentage increase in their case being, on an average, 7 per cent over the existing fares including tax. This, of course, is truly in keeping with our objective of tapping the affluent sections of the society a little more, to contribute to the General Revenues of the country. Some Hon'ble Members have criticized my proposals saying that with the equation of air-conditioned class fares with that of air fares, nobody will patronise the air-conditioned class. I do not think so, because travel in air-conditioned class gives a person plenty of rest. People who prefer to travel by train in air-conditioned class do so not for saving money. Besides, only a few places are connected by air whereas air-conditioned train service is available even for places which are not connected by air.

Goods Traffic

Coming to goods traffic, our earnings in the next year are estimated at Rs. 785.27 crores but only Rs. 18.15 crores, or 2.4 per cent is the result of the increase in freight rates. Here again, I have touched only the low-rated commodities, which are being transported by the railways at a considerable loss. Even so I have taken special care to exempt the essential neces-

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sities of life like foodgrains, salt, and kerosene oil from this increase. Further, all the commodities which are charged at in class 60 and above, have not been affected at all.

Hon'ble Members will appreciate that faced with the unenviable and onerous task of increasing the revenues of the Railways without, at the same time, increasing the burden on the common man, I have to attempt a delicate balancing act. My task would have been easier and more pleasant, if there were no agitations, no strikes and no bundhs. Even so, I have not attempted to bridge the full gap between earnings and expenses. There is still a gap of Rs. 8.65 crores which I have deliberately left uncovered.

Ticketless Travel

I propose to bridge this gap by plugging leakages like ticketless travel, which has been referred to by several Members. It may not be possible to eliminate ticketless travel altogether in the next year or two, but I do hope to make a significant dent on this evil practice. Even as it is, ticketless travel in certain parts of the country is much less than others. If by intensive persuasion and strong deterrent punishment, I could bring down the extent of ticketless travel in certain areas to the levels in other areas where the incidence of this evil is much less, it would result in a sizable increase in the passenger earnings. Similarly, by checking thefts and pilferages and reducing the amount of compensation paid and by the general toning up of efficiency in operation, I shall be able to make some savings in the working expenses.

Essential Commodities Exempted

The Memorandum circulated with the Budget documents explains in detail the proposals for increases in freight rates of commodities. That Memorandum also gives full details of the increase in the freight rates. The Memorandum also shows that the increase in the freight rate is a very small percentage of the price of the commodity.

There are on the other hand a large number of commodities the freight rates of which have not been increased at all. Among them are such essential articles of common use as sugar, tea, coffee, fruits and vegetables by parcel trains; fish, all varieties of textiles including handloom products, matches, bidis, cigarettes, tobacco, bidi leaves, books, newspapers, bicycles, petroleum oil and lubricants, soap, groceries, drugs and medicines, dyes and chemicals, utensils, iron and steel items, hides and skins, leather, raw cotton, raw jute, jute manufactures, machinery, non-ferrous metals like

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aluminium, copper, zinc, brass and a host of other commodities apart from coal which has already been put on a special footing with an increase of only 3 per cent on it.

New Lines and Conversions

Now I come to the question of new lines, conversions, doublings, restoration, etc. Hon'ble Members will recall that while introducing the Railway Budget I had referred to the need for the readapting of the classical concept of economic viability for initiating railway projects or opening new lines upto 60 kms. In our existing framework of viability no new lines can be opened unless the volume of traffic exceeds three million tonnes.

This is inherited from the British who wanted Indian railways to serve as a mere mode of transport for movement of troops and policemen within the country and for facilitating carrying of raw materials to port towns.

This philosophy is a hang-over of the colonial system where transportation infrastructure is expected to facilitate the movement of primary goods and raw material supplies to the Mother Economy. Over the twenty-five years of our Freedom, the concept of economic and social development has undergone far-reaching changes. Government is interested not only in sustaining the development of regions already advanced but in effecting a wider dispersal of growth by greater reliance on growth through "Social Engineering."

The process of development must subserve the interests of different groups, consumers and producers, traders and users, exports and national security.

Development of Backward Regions

Over the years in all this process, the interests of peasants, specially the cotton growers of Maharashtra, Haryana, Punjab, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, the rubber growers of Kerala, the jute growers of Bengal, Bihar and Assam, the tobacco growers of Andhra, to mention only a few, have been comparatively ignored.

It is, therefore, my intention to depart from the outdated fixed norms of economic viability so that the development of backward regions or the interests of the growers are subserved in a larger measure. If initial losses have to be borne for subserving these ends, these investments would still be worthwhile in terms of their long-run spread effect on the development of backward areas and of serving the interests of a large number of farmers and growers dispersed throughout this country.

I will say a word about conversion of M.G. to B.G. also. Members are aware of the evils of the dual gauge system and have rightly stressed for

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an accelerated pace of conversion. We have already taken up conversion of some important lines where the traffic densities are high and urgent relief is needed. I refer particularly to the conversion from Viramgam to Okha in Gujarat and Barabanki to Samastipur in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Contrary to what some Members have said, the work on these projects is proceeding apace and the Budget estimates provide Rs. 6.43 crores for Viramgam to Okha and Rs. 14.17 crores for Barabanki to Samastipur.

Both the conversion projects are expected to be completed by 1977, as scheduled.

To have the full benefits of the Barabanki-Samastipur conversion, it has to be extended to the east from Samastipur to Katihar and also from Bongaigaon to Gauhati in Assam and towards north from Samastipur to Raxaul, the frontier of Nepal.

These projects are under active consideration and for sanction of the requisite funds, I shall come to the House again.

The Delhi-Ahmedabad metre gauge route is reaching the saturation point and, therefore, needs conversion. The survey for this is in progress. This large project of conversion will, inter alia, also accelerate the pace of development in Rajasthan. Another important project for conversion is the extension of the conversion from Miraj to Londa, and Hospet to Goa for facilitating the increased export of iron ore, through Goa Port and also for developing adequate capacity in connection with the setting up of the Vijayanagar Steel Complex in the area. The earlier surveys carried out are at present being up-dated to get the present picture of cost and return. Investigations have also been completed for the new line-cum-conversion project, Karur-Dindigul-Madurai-Tuticorin-Tirunelveli (in Tamil Nadu), which has been proposed to serve the growing needs of the Tuticorin Port and Fertilizer Complex being set up there as also for the fast developing central industrial belt of the Southern Peninsula. A decision on this has also to be taken early.

These are some of the important projects on which I will bestow serious attention and try to implement as much as I can.

Drought Relief Works

Members from Mysore, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Andhra pleaded for taking up of new lines for drought relief. In Gujarat we have already in progress very important works like Virar-Ahmedabad electrification, Viramgaon-Okha conversion, Viramgaon-Shahibag doubling, Sabarmati-Gandhinagar new lines, etc. Earthwork on these projects is being stepped up to afford maximum relief to the drought affected people.

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If found justified after investigations, it may be possible to take up early some earthwork as drought relief on some stretches of the conversion projects from Delhi to Ahmedabad, and from Miraj to Londa and Hospet to Goa, to give relief to the drought-stricken people of Rajasthan and Mysore. There are already many projects of doubling, apart from the Guntakal-Bangalore conversion in Andhra, which could be speeded up to give better drought relief in the area. This would, of course, be done when normal conditions are restored.

Restoration of Lines

During the discussions I have referred to the restoration of the lines dismantled due to ravages of rivers and other causes. After all, but for the abandoning of these rail links due to some cause or other they would have continued to function as an integral part of the railway system serving the growing needs of the region and it is only natural for the public to demand their restoration.

I have, therefore, decided that these restorations, wherever the riverine conditions have since stabilized, must be taken up in right earnest. This will open new areas and bring about economic recovery in the backward belt.

In my speech I mentioned that a number of important works of new lines and conversions were presently under examination and active consideration. Since I did not want to lose time in taking up these works and projects as soon as they were approved by the Government, I have sought the permission of the House to finance them by re-appropriation of funds granted by the Parlinment for 1973-74, and to come up to Parliament with a Supplementary Demand, if any, in due course.

I would like to clarify that this procedure is intended to be followed in respect of preliminary expenditure which might have to be incurred on detailed surveys and investigations of these works as well as on their execution in the next financial year.

Wagon Supply

May I say a word about the position of wagons also?

Despite heavy odds and serious dislocation of train movement in various parts of the country on account of strikes, bundhs, power shedding, severe drought conditions, and a number of political agitations, etc., the latest being the troubles in Andhra Pradesh for over three months, the Railways have done a tremendous job in the last few months in the movement of goods traffic.

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They had to carry more of foodgrains over longer distances to meet the acute food shortage in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bengal, Bihar, Mysore and Kerala. Fertilizers had to be rushed on a crash programme basis to different areas before the sowing season so as to maximize food production during the Rabi season, and I am glad to say that demands for wagons for movement of fertilizers have been fully met. Even cattle fodder has had to be moved in much larger quantities. We had also to cater for movement of water by rail for drought-affected areas.

On account of the power crisis caused primarily by drop in hydro-generation and other troubles in different power houses, enormously increased quantities of coal had to be rushed to thermal power stations to maintain and improve generation.

Notwithstanding all these special moves and the consequent heavy burden, the Railways have moved more of coal for steel plants as well as for other public users, more of finished steel, more of foodgrains, fertilizers and petroleum products to the extent of 5 million tonnes in the first 10 months so far over the corresponding period of last year.

Except for the first quarter of this year, supply of wagons for the movement of cement has been practically full on demand. If there is shortage of cement in some parts of the country today, it is not due to want of wagons.

I have instructed that in order to meet the needs of seasonal traffic in different parts of the country, an increasing number of special trains carrying seasonal commodities like foodgrains, jute, cotton, sugar, tea, potatoes, etc., should be run on a top priority basis.

"Commodity Specials"

Running of these specials will be arranged keeping in view the interests of the growers, consumers and distribution agencies. Supply of wagons for these "Commodity Specials" will be done on a preferential basis.

Another idea that I have asked the Railway Board to revive is the creation of coal dumps in different parts of the country to cater to the needs of smaller consumers. I have sought the cooperation of my colleague, the Minister of Mines and Steel, who has already initiated action in this regard, so that movement of coal could be augmented by arranging bulk movement to different areas from where movement over shorter distances will be arranged by road.

Yet another scheme which is now being developed by the Railway Board is in regard to the running of a super-fast parcel train between Delhi and Howrah. This train will be run like any other Express on this route and will carry all parcel traffic, a part of which is now moving by

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different Mail/Express trains. One direct benefit of this scheme will be that the parcel vans now being carried by Mail/Express trains will be transferred to this new train and instead additional third class passenger coaches will be attached to these Mail/Express trains. This scheme will, therefore, have the twin benefit of speeding up the movement of parcel traffic and of providing more accommodation for third class passengers on Mail and Express trains.

If this experiment is found successful, similar arrangements would be made on other trunk routes like Delhi-Bombay, Delhi-Madras, Bombay-Howrah, etc.

I would like to convey to the Hon'ble Members that the Railways have taken a number of steps to improve transit time of wagons in order to give better service to the customers. Longer trains with 44 bogies or 110 wagons hauled by double electric or diesel engines have been introduced to carry coal to distant places. Super Express goods trains have been introduced between important trading centres on nominated days.

Export Specials from Amritsar to Bombay were introduced last year and these have become exceedingly popular with the exporters. More and more goods trains on important trunk routes are being dieselized to accelerate movement.

I am aware that there is still some quantum of unfulfilled demand, particularly of coal for brick burning. I can assure the House that no effort will be spared to meet this demand also. However, I take this opportunity to request all sections in the House to realize the extremely difficult conditions under which our staff have been working in the field, and I would request the House to record their appreciation for the sense of dedication displayed by the railwaymen.

Better Punctuality

Some Members raised the question of punctuality of Mail and Express trains. I am glad to inform the House that the improved standards of punctuality, particularly of Mail and Express trains, achieved after a special drive from the later part of 1971, has been maintained at a fairly high leval since then. There has been considerable improvement in the punctuality of Mail/Express trains on the Northeast Frontier, Eastern and South Eastern Railways during the last six months as compared to the corresponding period of the previous year. Apart from drives initiated by these Railways, improvement of punctuality on these Railways has also been partly due to general improvement in the law and order position in the areas served by them. On other Railways, punctuality has been ranging between 80 and 90 per cent.

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In recent months, punctuality has been affected adversely by the strike of the loco-running staff on Southern Railway in September 1972, widespread agitations in Andhra Pradesh since October 1972, strike of the staff of Electricity Board of Uttar Pradesh during January this year, frequent power cuts and increased alarm chain pulling.

The enormity of the problem that has recently been felt of alarm chain pulling can be gauged from the fact that during November and December 1972, the total number of alarm chain pulling cases which affected punctuality was above 18,000 as compared to about 13,000 during the corresponding months of 1971. Despite some of these factors beyond the control of Railways and temporary setbacks, the Railways as a whole have been able to sustain a satisfactory performance in the punctuality of Mail/Express trains. A general sense of alertness at all levels is having a salutary effect on the running of other passenger trains.

The punctuality of selected important Mail/Express trains is being watched daily at the Railway Board's level, and I must assure the Hon'ble Members of the House that it would be my endeavour to see that the 'Punctuality' problem is treated on a priority basis.

New Types of Coaches

A word about third class travel. Action has been taken to put into service additional coaches for third class passengers. It is hoped that by the end of the Fourth Plan, another 1,177 B.G. and 247 M.G. coaches would be made available to meet the additional traffic requirements.

Action has also been taken to put into service new types of coaches in order to increase the capacity. We have plans in hand to extend the use of first class chair cars for accommodating 48/60 passengers meant for medium and short distance passengers respectively. At present, the first class coach of the conventional type has 22/24 berths. Similarly 48-berth two-tier air-conditioned sleeper coaches will replace the first class coaches for long distance passengers. By the introduction of the chair cars and air-conditioned 48-berth coaches on selected routes, it would be possible to release accommodation on the trains for attaching more third class coaches than exist now.

Another step taken is to introduce, as an experimental measure, B.G. double-decker third class coaches to seat 136 passengers for inter-city travel over medium distances. As has been announced earlier, the second class accommodation is being progressively abolished and converted to third class accommodation. The steps indicated will, therefore, increase the capacity for third class passengers.

The need for proper maintenance and cleanliness of coaches, including

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lights, fans and other amenity fittings, will receive my special attention.

Frequent inspections will be carried out by Railway officers to ensure proper maintenance of coaches in workshops, primary and secondary depots and at starting and intermediate stations. Special drives will be conducted every year for a period of two months from April 15 to June 15 for focussing attention on proper maintenance of coaches.

In order to feel the pulse of the travelling public, at originating stations, the opinions of passengers will be obtained in regard to maintenance and cleanliness.

Catering Services

Some Members have criticized catering services on the Railways. No doubt, quite a lot can be done to improve these services. The Hon'ble Members would be aware of the determined efforts made by the Railways to improve these services and the recent experiments made in introducing picking up of pre-cooked meals on certain trains. These have been widely appreciated and these will be extended to other trains. I am also introducing low-priced packed meals and I am sure these will become popular.

As I have stated in my Budget speech, it is my intention to give special treatment to students and youths in railway journeys in addition to what is already available to them. I intend to issue liberal concessional tickets for long journeys and make arrangements for running of special trains for them alone. They would be taken round places of historical importance and also centres of industry. These young men will see the new India emerging.

Crimes on Railways

The high incidence of murder, dacoity and robbery in passenger trains as well as the large number of cases of theft of passengers' property has been causing me considerable concern. I frequently get letters from the public, from passengers' associations and other public bodies who express their anxiety at the growing insecurity of rail travel.

As the Hon'ble Members know, law and order being a subject in the State List of the Constitution, protection of life and property of the passengers travelling by the railways is the responsibility of the State Police in general and the Government Railway Police in particular. The provision of escorts on running trains comes within the purview of the Crime Duties of the Government Railway Police. The Railways are paying a sum of nearly Rs. 3 crores annually to the State Police as their contribution towards the maintenance of the Government Railway Police and when such

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a large amount is being spent, the Railways and the general public naturally expect a greater amount of protection while travelling. It is, therefore, necessary that some stern and effective measures need to be taken to curb the incidence of such crimes in order to engender a feeling of security and confidence amongst the travelling public, particularly in the States of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

I have invited the Home Ministers along with senior Police officers of the five States, viz. West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Orissa, to a meeting on 21st March, 1973 to discuss measures to reduce the incidence of such crimes. I do hope that as a result of all these discussions, we will be able to evolve some concrete measures to check these crimes.

The Railways have passed through a difficult year. The agitations in Assam and Andhra have adversely affected operation and revenues. The drought and power cut have caused more diffiulties. Though law and order conditions have improved in eastern India, there is need for much more improvement in security for the travelling public and the freight in transit.

The Railwaymen have done a commendable job under very difficult conditions. I congratulate them.

The Railway Board

Sir, may I say a word about the Railway Board also?

Attacks have been made on senior officers of the Railways, especially the Railway Board. These are not helpful to the healthy traditions that we are striving to set up.

Why should we be so much concerned about the Railway Board? What is it after all? It is a body of five senior officers — four of the rank of Secretary and one that of Principal Secretary.

There are other Ministries also in the Government of India where we have Secretaries and a Principal Secretary. There is nothing special about this body. If there is anything special, it is only this that it meets jointly and takes decisions on important issues on the spot.

In a democratic set up like ours, Parliament is sovereign and supreme and it represents the 'Will' of the people. It is the duty of the Minister to implement the policies and directives as laid down by the Parliament. The Railway Board has no option but to implement the policy and decision as laid down by the Minister in his capacity as an executive agent of the Parliament.

With the Hon'ble Members of the House I would like to share one feeling of mine and this is that it is no use quarrelling with our own tools nor it is wise to condemn them.

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I will seek indulgence of the House to say that the Board Members and other senior officers are a hard working and dedicated lot of men who have worked their way up after serving in the field most of their service. They are all struggling to move the traffic under difficult conditions. While reviewing the work of the Railways, I would plead for a balanced view. Let us not look only at the mistakes and deficiencies. Let us also acknowledge the good work done as some Hon'ble Members have said. Of course, Railways must strive to improve their service further, get more work out of their assets and reduce waste and losses. I am one with the Members of this House on this issue.

Further Relief

Sir, before I sit down, I would like to say that I have considered the points made by the Hon'ble Members in this House very carefully. While framing Budget proposals, I had taken special care to see that the needs of the common man are not adversely affected and the modest revision of freights and fares should not have any significant effect on the cost of living. However, in the light of the various points made by Hon'ble Members in this House and the other House, I feel I could go a step further in relieving the burden on the common man.

I accordingly propose that third class fares up to and including a distance of 20 kms, instead of 15 kms as suggested by me earlier, should be exempted from increase. This will apply both to ordinary passenger trains and to Mail and Express trains. This would benefit some 140 million more third class passengers. In all, including 500 million passengers mentioned by me earlier, there will be some 640 million passengers or 42 per cent of the total third class travelling public, excluding season ticket holders, who will not have to pay any increase.

As regards freight rates, I propose that firewood, charcoal, gur, shakkar and jagri should be exempted from the increase in freight rates. These are all essential commodities used by the common man mainly.

Even though all these measures would increase the gap of Rs. 8.65 crores to Rs. 9.80 crores, I am sure, the House will welcome these reliefs.

Thank you.

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Zonal Railway Service Commission*

L. N. Mishra

I am happy to be with you on this Gandhi Jayanti day today. It is a day of great significance to all of us in India, more so to the people of North Bihar. Fifty-six years ago, in Champaran, not far from this historic centre of Vaishali culture, Gandhiji fashioned the unique weapon of Satyagraha which laid the foundations of the Indian people's struggle against foreign domination and exploitation of the weak by the strong. From that day onwards the land of Mithila, Vaishali and Bhojpur made great contributions to the freedom struggle and ever remained in the forefront of the Indian people's onward march to complete independence. Notwithstanding its economic backwardness this region has kept alive its cultural heritage which has seen a fresh and vibrant revival in the years since Independence.

This would show that material poverty does not necessarily lead to impoverishment of the spirit and mind of man.

At the same time, the problem of economic backwardness has to be solved and employment opportunities created so that we can realize the goal set by our Prime Minister and great leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, of eradicating poverty from our midst in the foreseeable future.

The project which I have been called upon to launch today is yet another step in our programme to provide opportunities for employment in economically backward regions of the country.

After a review of the functioning of the Railway Service Commissions a few months ago, I came to the conclusion that the pattern of recruitment to Railway Services, which we had inherited from the British days, has to be changed. By locating the Service Commissions in the major metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, we were placing the candidates of the backward areas at a certain disadvantage. In the pursuit of our objective of equal opportunities and development of the backward regions,

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* Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Railway Service Commission.

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I therefore, decided that each of the nine Zonal Railways should have a Service Commission of its own, thus bringing about great decentralisation in the work of the Service Commissions which recruit a large number of people in Class III posts. As a first step, therefore, a full-fledged Railway Service Commission is being set up at Muzaffarpur for recruiting staff for the North Eastern Railway. The young men and women of the region seeking employment on this Railway will not have to travel far for their written test and interview. The Commission at Allahabad which was so far recruiting staff for both the Northern and North Eastern Railways will also have less load to handle and get much needed relief.

At the same time, we have set up a sub-office of the Calcutta Service Commission at Ranchi, in the heart of the Adivasi belt. This will help attract suitable scheduled tribe candidates in large numbers to Railway services through publicity, and vocational and educational counselling.

Our Railways can rightly be considered as one of the leading employment generating sectors of the economy. The staff strength of the Railways, one of the largest employers, is currently close to 1.4 million, apart from 3.2 lakh casual workers, and comprises jobs covering an exceptionally wide range of skills, talents and specializations. As you may be aware, since the inception of planning a little over two decades ago massive investments have been undertaken to modernize the Railway network.

Indeed, without this modernization effort, the Railways would not have been in a position to meet the spurt in traffic resulting from the growth of investment and output in the productive sectors of the economy. The introduction of more modern and perfected techniques often leaves little room for increasing employment opportunities without raising costs.

Even so, over the two decades ending in 1971-72, nearly half-a-million more jobs were created within the railway system. Again, even between 1960-61 and 1971-72, aggregate employment in the Railways recorded an increase of as much as 2.3 lakhs, which is an increase of is over a fifth.

The North Eastern Railway, too, shared in the general growth of railway employment; from 1960-61 to 1971-72, the staff strength of North Eastern Railway went up from 83,400 to 94,900. Like in the rest of our Railway system, Class III and IV employees make up almost the total strength of the North Eastern Railway, Class I and II staff accounting for less than one per cent of its total strength.

I, therefore, consider the Railways as a vital factor in our national policy of maximizing employment opportunities and I am determined to exploit this potential to its fullest extent.

The new approach that I have outlined in recent months of opening up backward areas, fits in very well with this policy.

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Construction of new lines, gauge conversion, doubling of tracks, construction of bridges and expansion of suburban services generate a large volume of employment. The provision of new railway facilities or restoration of old links, which we have undertaken, especially in this region and other backward areas, indirectly creates and sustains the growth of employment by stimulating and accelerating the process of development.

The Railways' Fifth Five Year Plan, therefore, has to be viewed not only in relation to rail transport requirements of the economy but also in the light of its direct and indirect contribution to employment generation.

There was little by way of the construction of new railway lines during the Fourth Plan period; but, particular emphasis is now being placed on the opening up of new lines, and restoration of old ones, in backward areas.

The long run developmental benefits of such investments are not usually reflected in short run profitability. Accordingly, the Railways have taken the decision to initiate new railway projects or to open up new lines up to 60 kms, whenever the development of the area in question would thereby be greatly facilitated, without viewing the investment outlays involved too strictly in terms of prospects of immediate return.

The employment potential of the North Eastern Railway should go up considerably with the works of restoration of the abandoned railway lines between Bhaptiahi and Forbesganj, which is already in progress and between Chhitauni and Bagaha which will be taken in hand shortly. It is also envisaged to construct new lines for the development of backward areas from Jhanjharpur to Lokaha Bazar and Sakri to Hasanpur.

The work of conversion of the metre gauge line into broad gauge on the trunk route from Barabanki to Samastipur is making rapid progress and it should absorb a good number of youngmen of different categories.

In the Fifth Five Year Plan the heavy increase in the movement of passenger and goods traffic on the North Eastern Railway will necessitate the execution of major line capacity works such as doubling and provision of tokenless block working at certain sections, provision of new crossing stations, additional loops and extension of loops at stations together with the introduction of additional trains and the augmentation of the strength of the rakes of the existing trains.

Some more conversion projects may also be taken up. There will be considerable expansion in the provision of workshops for manufacture of rolling stock, signalling equipment and improved means of telecommunication. With the execution of all such schemes and those presently under implementation, I visualize a great expansion of employment opportunities in the region.

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Gandhiji, whose 104th birth anniversary we celebrate today, was a great champion of the underdog—the Harijans, backward classes, minorities and our brethern living in remote areas and hilly terrain—the Scheduled Tribes.

I have had a review made recently of the scope of employment opportunities for these neglected sections of our society. This revealed that the reservation quotas for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were not being fully utilized. I have, therefore, decided on a number of steps to ensure that the vacancies reserved for them are actually filled up by them.

I was told Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates frequently fail in the viva-voce. I am going to put an end to this. I have directed that this viva-voce should be replaced by a simple personal interview.

We have to look after the interests of all backward classes and especially the minorities like Muslims and Christains who have a feeling that they have not been getting their due share in the recruitment to Government services.

I have directed all Railway Service Commissions that they should ensure that in the recruitment they make, minorities and Harijans and backward communities should get their due share. I have asked them to see that this is achieved in a year's time.

I have also directed that academic degrees should not be the deciding factor in selections for promotion. In fact I find there is too much emphasis on academic qualifications in all sections including those held by Railway Service Commissions. Candidates are frequently judged by their ability to write and speak English. This ability to write English may well qualify a man to be a clerk. But I do not see why for other jobs like Ticket Collectors, Guards, Firemen and Assistant Station Masters we should go entirely by literary attainments. It should be possible for us to devise better criteria for selection which will take into account the actual requirements of the jobs. Since each Railway passes through different States and since much of the official work is carried on in English, for some years to come we will have to insist on a minimum knowledge of English in all candidates for Class III posts. But among those who have attained this minimum standard, the actual selection should not be simply by literary ability.

I look forward to this new Railway Service Commission of North Eastern Railway and all the older Commissions to evolve better methods of selection.

I thank you all for this opportunity to share my thoughts with you. I have now great pleasure in formally declaring open this Railway Service Commission. May it fulfil the aspirations of the people of the region and contribute to the building of an efficient cadre of railway employees.

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Restoring Financial Health of Railways*

L. N. Mishra

I am grateful to the Hon'ble Members who have participated in the debate and offered a number of valuable suggestions—action points. As many as 53 Hon'ble Members have spoken and it is a matter of some satisfaction to me that a very large number of the Members—over 32—have voiced their support for this year's Railway Budget.

The entire debate, if I may say so, has been on constructive lines and I can assure the House that each one of the suggestions will be examined in detail and processed for further speedy action.

Assuming that the Railway working which has been beset with unprecedented difficulties referred to in my Budget speech will improve in the next year, we hope to carry additional 25 million tonnes in freight traffic and 3% more passenger traffic in 1974-75. Even after allowing for better performance, it was found that on the existing level of fares and freights, the deficit of Rs. 99.75 crores in the current year will go up to Rs. 189.17 crores. The Railways could either transfer this shortfall to General Finances or exert themselves to set their house in order. The first choice would have increased the deficit financing of the General Exchequer and add to inflationary pressure on prices which, it is the Government's avowed policy to contain and curb.

Hon'ble Members will agree with me that the financial health of the Railways has to be restored not only in the interest of this premier Public Sector undertaking but also for the sake of the general economy.

In framing the proposals, two objectives have been borne in mind: adjustments in fares and freights have been formulated on a selective and rational basis so that the resultant structure is more in alignment with the

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*Speech in reply to the general discussion on the Railway Budget in the Lok Sabha on March 13, 1973.

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rising costs of operation and corrects the distortions in the economics of long distance haulage.

Secondly, in line with the socialistic concept, which is our declared goal, weaker and vulnerable sections of society should be protected.

It is in this context that foodgrains will continue to be carried at concessional below-the-cost rates. The Railways will suffer a loss of nearly Rs. 48 crores on this account in the coming year.

On the same grounds, commuters holding season-tickets have been exempted from increase in fares. Milk, fruits and vegetables will not be subjected to additional surcharge. Third class passengers have been asked to pay only marginally more than the present level of fares.

A point has been made by some Members that the distribution of the burden is inequitable. They have said that the third class ordinary passengers would contribute Rs. 16.48 crores to railway earnings whereas the upper class passengers will pay only Rs. 4.44 crores more.

I am afraid, the argument is illogical and the conclusion fallacious. I may point out that for proper appreciation, the yield from increase in fares should be related to the number of passengers. Last year, nearly 127 crore passengers travelled by third class while in air-conditioned class only $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh passengers travelled.

The central fact which should not be overlooked is that each air-conditioned traveller will now pay from Rs. 15 to Rs. 160 more for each journey while each third class passenger will have to pay 5 paise to one rupee more.

In the case of first class also the rise has been from Rs. 2 to 16 per ticket and about sixty-six lakh passengers travelled by first class last year and naturally the yield from them has been much lower than from the third class passengers.

Hon'ble Members would have observed that despite the proposed increases in fares, freight, transhipment charges, etc. Railway revenues would still fall short by Rs. 52.79 crores in the payment of dividend to General Revenues during 1974-75.

Some comparisons have been made about the performance of the Railways, especially the financial part of it, of the present day with that of the past. I too wish that it would have been a matter of peace and comfort if I too had been in the same happy position in which my predecessors were—Railway finances had surpluses, the country had accumulated sterling balances, there was complete peace on the industrial front, there were no emergencies like droughts and floods and movement of essential items.

But unfortunately, we are not in that position. We have weak finances, fall in earnings, really hard difficult position in the matter of foreign exchange, gross indiscipline among the workers.

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This is the legacy that I have inherited. In this background, if the performance of the Railways is not upto the expectations, I would only plead with the Members that they should appreciate the real reason behind the present situation.

The Guiding Philosophy

The philosophy running through this year's Railway Budget is mainly two-fold—i) keep the burden on the common man at the minimal level; and ii) make the affluent sections pay more for luxury and upper class travel.

It has been decided to abolish the second class. With this decision, the third class will be reclassified as second class.

A.C. Class fare: In conformity with this approach, air-conditioned class used by the rich and affluent will cost enormously more. Fares have been hiked up by Rs. 15 to Rs. 160 each ticket. Stiff increases have, for example, been proposed for travelling by the two Rajdhani Expresses for the air-conditioned class. The existing fare of Rs. 379 from New Delhi to Howrah will be increased to Rs. 520, a rise of as much as Rs. 141.

Similarly, travel in the Rajdhani Express between New Delhi and Bombay Central will cost Rs. 116 more, from Rs. 349 to Rs. 465 per ticket.

First Class/A.C. Chair Car: For first class and A.C. chair car categories also, availed of again by comparatively well-to-do sections of our community, an increase ranging from a minimum of Rs. 2 to a maximum of Rs. 16 has been proposed.

Third Class fare: As against these steep increases proposed for the upper class travel, the increase in the case of the third class passenger is modest and has been kept down to the utmost extent possible. The rise in third class fare by ordinary trains has been kept at 5 paise rising to a maximum of Re. 1 per ticket, depending upon the distance travelled.

Even with this modest rise in third class fare, I have taken care to exempt the more vulnerable sections from the fare hike. For example, the season-ticket holders, comprising people of the fixed income group, mainly office and industrial workers and petty vendors, will not have to pay anything more.

Reservation fee: The same concern for the common man is reflected in changes proposed in reservation charges. For A.C. Class, the reservation charges have been increased five-fold, from Re. 1 to Rs. 5. For First Class, reservation charges have been doubled from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 and for the A.C. Chair Car from 50 Paise to Re. 1.

But there will be no increase in reservation charges in respect of the third class.

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No Rise in Foodgrain freights: While proposing changes in freight rates also, I have kept in view the interests of the poorer sections of the community. Foodgrains have been specifically exempted from freight increase. The concessional freight on foodgrain movement entailing a loss of Rs. 47.49 crores to the Railways have been continued, in order to ensure that the family budget of the common man is not affected on this account.

Another area, where I have tried to take care of the common man is in respect of milk, vegetables and fruits, which have been totally exempted from additional supplementary charges.

Uniform Compensation : I have also made an attempt to do away with inequalities. This concerns accident compensation. Until recently, the amount payable as compensation in case of death or disablement of a passenger in rail accidents was related to the passenger's income. This has, now, been replaced by a system of uniform payment of compensation, without relating the compensation to the income of the affected passenger. Rich and poor will get the same compensation. The compensation payable from now on will relate to the type of injury suffered by the unfortunate passengers and not to their income level. The amount of compensation payable has also been increased from Rs. 20,000 to 50,000 in case of death or total disablement.

Budget Development Oriented

In a country like India, pursuing the goal of rapid economic development, the role of Railways is that of a catalyst. The faster we go in developing new lines, the greater will be the fillip to all-round advancement of the country, especially of the far-flung and backward regions.

Judged by this standard, this year's Railway Budget amply reflected a new deal for the backward regions of the country.

The Railway Budget for 1974-75, I submit, is a bold attempt to carry forward the socialist and development policies of the Government.

In the context of the supreme need to restore the health of the Railways, an earnest attempt has been made to pass on the burden to the affluent sections to the maximum extent. At the same time, utmost care has been taken to keep the levies on the common man to the bare minimum and even within this, specific exemptions have been provided for the poorer and more vulnerable sections of the community, as in the case of season-ticket holders and freight on foodgrains.

Coal Freight

There has been criticism of our proposal to increase the freight on coal. As the Hon'ble Members know coal is the most prominent commodity

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that Railways carry. It occupies the first place both in terms of originating tonnage and tonne kilometre.

During 1972-73 it formed about 29.16% of the total originating tonnage but accounted for only 17.81% of the total earnings.

Coal is at present charged outside the scope of the general freight structure at a special scale which is below the actual cost of operation.

Railway's losses on transport of coal have been going up from year to year. The estimated loss would go up from Rs. 33.25 crores in 1973-74 to 37.67 crores in 1974-75. With the steep increase in the wage bill and the prices of other inputs, a stage has now been reached when it has become imperative to ensure that the loss sustained by the Railways on this stream of major traffic is neutralized.

In my Budget speech, I have explained that our weak railway finances can ill-afford a burden of this magnitude. I have, therefore, proposed to bring the freight rates for coal into the standard freight structure.

I might point out here that freight rates on coal have always lagged behind the increases given in the price of coal. The pit-head price of Grade I Bengal-Bihar coal, which was Rs. 21.7 per tonne in 1961-62 went up to Rs. 38.09 per tonne in 1973-74. Fruits of these increases have been enjoyed by the private sector till a year and a half ago when coal was taken over.

The increase in coal price has inflated the fuel bill which constitutes 20% of the working expenses of the Railways over the year. This has badly affected the cost of operation.

I may mention here that though coal is a vital raw material for industry, it constitutes only a small element in the overall cost of the ultimate produce.

The proposed adjustment in the coal freight rate will have, therefore, a very small impact on prices of end products.

For example, in respect of coal moving to thermal power stations, the effect will be only 3.74% on an average of the price of electric current. On cement prices its impact will be only 1.49%. Similarly, in respect of iron and steel, the effect on the prices of products like bolts, nuts, plates, etc., will be less than 1%.

Coal Loading

In spite of all difficulties coal loading this year has been 92.7% of the last year's loading. The daily average number of wagons loaded from different coalfields during the current financial year up to end of January 1974 was 7,450 wagons, as compared to 8,038 wagons in the previous year i.e., a shortfall of about 600 wagons only. Of this 600 wagons, 529 wagons are in Bengal and Bihar alone.

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While, by and large, all demands have been met currently in the outlying fields, there has been a drop in the loading in the Bengal-Bihar fields to the extent of 529 wagons per day this year. In the first three summer months power-shedding seriously affected train movement in the Eastern Sector.

To get over the serious food shortage in different sectors in the country in June and July, the Railways had to concentrate on a record movement of foodgrains.

In August 1973, the Locomen's strike severely affected loading in the Bengal-Bihar coalfields. Thereafter, a spate of agitations, 'go-slow' by staff, public agitations, bundhs, etc., in the Eastern Sector slowed down the loading and movement operations. The locomen's strike again in December 1973 and the Carriage and Wagon staff and ASM's agitation at the end of January 1974 and February 1974 led to severe restraints on the ability of Railways for organizing higher levels of loading of coal and its movement.

During this period, the Railways used all available resources in maintaining supplies to Power Houses, essential industries and the steel plants. Actually, the Railways have moved 0.16 million tonnes more of coal to steel plants and washeries till January 1974, as compared to levels reached last year.

In the early part of February 1974, the Carriage and Wagon staff agitation, combined with heavy absenteeism of staff on South Eastern Railway, affected the smooth movement of coal to steel plants. In concerted action with the Ministry of Steel and Mines, the movement of coal to steel plants has since been improved. These efforts are continuing.

The movement of coal to power houses has been also very closely watched, particularly in the context that in the summer months, these power houses will be called upon to do higher generation of power due to availability from hydel sources being less during that period.

Hon'ble Members have spoken about cancellation of trains for want of coal and argued that if Railways cannot get coal for themselves, how can they give coal to others.

There is some want of proper understanding of the situation on this point.

Yes, Railways have cancelled their trains, but this has been done with a view to attend to the needs of essential services like power houses, movement of foodgrains and some priority industries. Goods trains have been cancelled rarely. It is the passenger trains that have been mainly cancelled and this too only with a view to give priority to the movement of essential commodities required for social needs. This state of affairs might have to be continued till the labour situation improves. I am not in a position to give any positive assurance on this question.

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Allotment of Wagons

Points have been made about the procedure for allotment of wagons for coal and I would like to say a word about it to allay the misgivings of the Hon'ble Members.

The distribution of coal to different consumers is based on a programme sponsored by the different Ministries of the Central Government, State Governments and other authorized agencies. The Railways allot wagons in accordance with these programmes. For instance, Coal Controller programmes for the movement of coal and hard coke to different steel plants.

The Linkage Committee consisting of representatives of the Ministries of Mines, Railways, Irrigation and Power and Industrial Development, make out programmes for movement of coal from different coalfields to power houses and industries. Movement of steam coal to industries and of soft coke etc., are sponsored by the State Governments and other bodies authorized for issuing such sanctions. The actual daily allotment of wagons for movement of coal against these approved programmes is done by the Joint Director, Coal, in the case of Bengal-Bihar coalfields and by other sub-allotment offices in respect of outlying fields.

Day-to-day supply of wagons is done by the Zonal Railway according to these approved programmes.

Some allegations have been made against the wagon alloting officers in Calcutta. I must assure the House that this matter would be gone into carefully.

In the meantime, I have decided to post one additional senior officer in Calcutta. His only job would be to look after the allotment and movement of coal wagons. He will be overall incharge of this aspect of the problem.

Development of Backward Areas

I would like to dilate on the new policy regarding construction of railway lines in backward areas. Railway lines provide the essential infrastructure for the development of an area. It is one of the objectives of the Fifth Five Year Plan to bring about development in areas which have remained neglected and to reduce regional disparities.

It is in this context that the Ministry of Railways have been considering construction of new railway lines for which there has been a persisting demand from various State Governments and other public bodies.

These lines are not remunerative to start with on account of the low traffic potential of backward areas. In order to bring down the financial burden on the Railways, participation of the State Governments has been

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sought in the capital investment of these railway lines by way of free contribution of land and labour component of the work.

We have also approached the Convention Committee with the request that the lines in backward areas may be exempted from dividend liability and the matter is under their consideration.

In pursuance of my policy for construction of railway lines in backward areas, I have included the construction of a number of new lines, restoration of abandoned lines and gauge conversions in the Budget for 1974-75. Some of these lines will serve the most backward areas in the country many of which are inhabited by adivasis and have remained neglected for centuries.

Besides these new lines and gauge conversions, there are others for which a number of surveys throughout the country are either in progress or have been proposed. While taking up the construction of these lines, I have minimized the financial burden on the Railways by working to austerity standards, at minimum possible costs, with participation of the beneficiary State Government having to make available land and labour for the project, free of cost.

The Convention Committee of the Parliament is also requested to waive the dividend liability on the capital outlay on these lines.

Efficient mass transportation is essential for the national integration of a vast country, and there is no better way to reach the people living in far-flung areas and bringing them in the mainstream of the life of the country than by extending the railway network in those areas. I will, therefore, endeavour to bring in the benefits of railway transportation to each and every part of the country in as short a time as possible. I will make a determined effort for it.

The total allotment in the Fifth Five Year Plan for the construction of new railway lines is only Rs. 100 crores out of the total plan investment of Rs. 2350 crores, excluding Metropolitan Transport Projects. Most of this amount will be required for completing projects already in progress and those connected with the core sector of the economy. Hence we have requested the Planning Commission for an additional allotment of about Rs. 255 crores.

The total outlay on new lines will be only a small fraction of the available plan outlay. Thus restoration of dismantled lines or the construction of short-length new lines in underdeveloped areas will not erode the fund resources required to build up the transport capacity in the Fifth Plan. The outlay of new lines may be compared with the Plan provision of Rs. 1774 crores for construction of road.

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At the moment, the total outlay proposed for construction of new railway lines and restorations in 1973-74 is Rs. 14.68 crores, out of which one crore rupees is for construction and restoration of unremunerative lines in backward areas taken up under the new policy.

In 1974-75, the proposed outlay for new lines and restorations is about Rs. 12 crores out of which under two crores rupees is earmarked for construction and restoration of railway lines in backward areas taken up under the new policy.

The Hon'ble Members will appreciate that these outlays are insignificant in comparision with the total outlay of Rs. 318 crores in 1973-74 and Rs. 350 crores in 1974-75 for the entire Railway Plan.

The small investment of new lines will, therefore, not come in the way of the progress of projects connected with the transport needs of the core sector of the economy.

I may also bring to the notice of the House that the total capital-at-charge of the Railways is Rs. 3886 crores of which the unremunerative branch lines account for only Rs. 75 crores.

The Convention Committee, pending further examination by them in depth, have already agreed to waive the dividend on the outlay on unremunerative branch lines.

The outlay on unremunerative branch lines will, therefore, not become a burden on the Railways if the Convention Committee agrees to provide the Railways continuous relief from dividend liability on the capital investment.

I have already stated in my Budget speech that subject to availability of funds it is intended to restore the lines which were dismantled during the Second World War or on account of floods in the past.

Restoration of these lines is justified fully and they are on the same footing as other uneconomic branch lines which are being maintained as they are considered to be an essential facility in spite of their unremunerative character.

It is with regret that I have to mention one point. Some Hon'ble Members in course of their speeches here said that Bihar and U.P. have got favoured treatment at my hands in the matter of construction and restoration of new lines. This is unfair and not based on facts. For the information of the House I would like to give state-wise figures of the cost of works in progress and those included in 1974-75 Budget.

Development of the North Eastern Region

Last but not the least is the long neglected problem of development of North Eastern Region—Tripura, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Assam

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State	Area in thousand sq. kms	Population (1971)	Total estimated cost
North Eastern Region	172	1 crore 91 lakhs	Rs. 33 crores
West Bengal	88	4 crores 43 lakhs	Rs. 22 crores 70 lakhs
Bihar	174	5 crores 63 lakhs	Rs. 28 crores 50 lakhs
Uttar Pradesh	294	8 crores 83 lakhs	Rs. 52 crores 20 lakhs
Haryana	44	1 crore	Rs. 7 crores 81 lakhs
Jammu & Kashmir	222	46 lakhs	Rs. 14 crores 2 lakhs
Rajasthan	342	2 crores 57 lakhs	Rs. 2 crores 79 lakhs
Gujarat	187	2 crores 66 lakhs	Rs. 45 crores 78 lakhs
Madhya Pradesh	444	4 crores 16 lakhs	Rs. 10 crores 15 lakhs
Orissa	156	2 crores 19 lakhs	Rs. 49 crores 99 lakhs
Maharashtra	308	5 crores 4 lakhs	Rs. 35 crores 30 lakhs
Andhra Pradesh	277	4 crores 35 lakhs	Rs. 33 crores 80 lakhs
Mysore	192	2 crores 92 lakhs	Rs. 44 crores 62 lakhs
Kerala	39	2 crores 13 lakhs	Rs. 15 crores 60 lakhs
Tamil Nadu	130	4 crores 11 lakhs	Rs. 12 crores 54 lakhs
			Rs. 406 crores

Note : (1) Total outlay in 1973-74 for new lines in backward areas taken up under the new policy. Rs. 1 crore, 9 lakhs

(2) —do— —do— 1974-75 Rs. 1 crore, 88 lakhs

and Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. There is crying need for opening these areas and construction of new railway lines in this region. Something really pioneering has got to be done to do justice to these people.

This matter has been discussed at various levels and it is my considered view that unless a special machinery like Transport and Communication Authority, is set up specifically for this purpose it will not be easy to develop this area. All these States of the North Eastern region and the Ministries of Railways, Transport and Communications can be associated with this body. This body must have special funds ear-marked for them. At the present moment it seems to be the only way for speedy development of this region. I have already taken up this issue with the Ministries of Planning, Finance, Transport and Communications. I have no doubt in my mind that something real and tangible would be done. Our Prime Minister is very keen that we move expeditiously to open up this region.

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The Railway Board

I find from the speeches made by some Members that they are not happy with the Railway Board.

I hold no brief for the Railway Board. I would be the first person to find fault with an inefficient and incompetent organization, but at the same time Hon'ble Members will agree with me that no public purpose is served if criticism or attack is based on prejudice and lack of adequate appreciation of the factual position. I would like to repeat, what I have said earlier, that I am not riding a tiger. I am fully satisfied that the Railway Board carries out efficiently and faithfully the policies that I have laid down.

Apparently, there is some misgiving about the set-up and functions of the Railway Board.

The apex body is both the executive headquarters and the Ministry's Secretariat. The Railway Board and the Ministry of Railways are not two separate entities. In this regard it is no different from the Secretariat set up in other Ministries of the Government.

When some Hon'ble Members criticise its functions and ask for its abolition, they have in no way suggested a constructive alternative. I fail to understand how they expect a Government Ministry to function without a Secretariat set up.

On the other hand, whenever a special study of Railway Board's working has been made by such objective and august bodies like the Kunzru Committee and Administrative Reforms Commission, the ultimate recommendation has been in favour of not only continuing the Railway Board but also the extending of its pattern to other organizations and departments. The Hon'ble Members are well aware that P & T Board has been restructured on the model of the Railway Board. The constitution of the Steel Authority and the Mining Authority have also been inspired by the Railway Board.

This is not to say that there is no scope for greater efficiency. I assure the House that any constructive suggestions for its improved working will be welcomed. As a matter of fact I am myself thinking of going into its working and organization in a little greater detail and I will leave nothing to chance. Whatever changes and reforms are required would be made without any reservation.

In the meanwhile, I must say that the Railway Board has been of great assistance to me and it has never come in my way, whenever I have decided to make any change in policy or introduce new ideas. It has been extremely cooperative and helpful. "There is no use quarelling with your own tools."

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Vending Contracts

Some Hon'ble Members have chosen to speak at considerable length about the decision to review the contracts at various railway stations who have completed two terms at the same railway station. At the outset, I would like to state that this decision was not taken today. It was taken during the time of one of my predecessos, Shri S. K. Patil, but due to pressures built up by the vested interests this decision could not be implemented. Now the same pressure is being exercised on the Railway Administration. I make it clear that this decision has been taken in the interest of the travelling people with a view to improve the catering services of food and other articles to the passengers. I have no intention of throwing out or driving out any person unless his performance is not upto the mark. Those people who have completed two terms are not deprived from getting the contract. The only thing is that it is open to review and consideration. I would seek the cooperation and support of the House in this matter. The pressure groups that are being built up should get no quarter. Hon'ble Members might not be knowing that even in this small business of catering and vending some kind of serious vested interests have grown on monopoly basis and there are people who have got Benami contracts for stations and this has to be looked into and we cannot be silent spectators to the exploitation of the passengers by vested interests.

Railway Protection Force

The question of R.P.F. has been raised by some Hon'ble Members more particularly by some senior Members of the House and I would not like to ignore the points made by them. In Indian Railways, we have by now given the R.P.F. Personnel a solid foundation. This has been created for protecting railway property and I must say that they have done a good job. From the figures for important centres like Mughalsarai, Garhara, Manduadih, it would be seen that pilferage is going down. For example at Mughalsarai and adjoining areas the value of consignments stolen came down to Rs. 35,750 in 1973 from a figure of Rs 2,11,270 in 1971.

This is my firm decision that I am not only going to continue this force but I am going to increase their number also. I am going to give them more emoluments and bring them on the lines of the C.R.P. and they will be the pride of the Indian Railways. I convey my good wishes and appreciation to the Railway Protection Force.

Extra-Curricular Activities

Some Hon'ble Members—one or two from my own State—referred to my so-called "extra-curricular activities." I do not know what is exactly meant

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but if the suggestion implied is that the problems of the Railway Ministry are not getting full attention from me, then, in all humility, I must strongly refute this insinuation. Anyone who knows me or anyone who has had occasion to step into Rail Bhavan in recent months, I am sure would admit that I have been making earnest and sincere efforts to sort out the problems of the Railways and giving all possible attention to solving them. In this task, I have not spared myself any effort, whatever be the long hours called for to ensure that my work in the Railway Ministry does not suffer or lag behind.

But I must frankly admit that I am in politics and, as a politician, have been endeavouring to serve the country, my Party and my State in my own humble way. It is quite possible — and I am aware of it—that sometimes the designs and intentions of some of my friends get frustrated because of my actions. I can assure these friends that I have no intention of running away from my political responsibilities, whether concerning my State or in the larger national canvas. At the same time, I can assure the Hon'ble Members that I shall continue to discharge, to the best of my abilities, my work as a Central Minister. Whether at the Foreign Trade Ministry or the Defence Production or other Ministries where I have been privileged to work, I have sought to give my best attention to tackle the problems. I can only assure the Hon'ble House that this will continue to be so in the future as well.

Performance of Zonal Railways

Hon'ble Members wanted to know about the performance of the Zonal Railways. I would like to mention a few important features of it.

It was anticipated that originating revenue earning traffic in 1973-74 would be 10 million tonnes higher than in 1972-73. This anticipation has not, however, materialized; in fact the physical performance has turned out to be the lowest since 1963-64. To end of January 1974, originating revenue earning traffic registered a fall of 9.02 million tonnes as compared to last year, and a shortfall of 17.29 million tonnes against the traffic targetted to be carried. This shortfall against anticipations has occurred in practically all categories of traffic such as coal, raw materials and finished products from steel plants, iron ore export, cement, fertilizers, petroleum, oils and lubricants and other general goods and affected all the Railways. The Railways most affected are (1) South Eastern (shortfall 5.88 million tonnes), (2) Eastern (3.91 million tonnes), (3) Northern (2.44 million tonnes), (4) Western (1.52 million tonnes) and (5) North Eastern (1.01 million tonnes).

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Financial Earnings

In consequence, gross earnings have suffered and at the end of December 1973, were short of budgetary anticipations by Rs. 8.15 crores. In January, the decline had not been abated. The total drop in gross earnings against Budget anticipations to end of January 1974 was Rs. 90.87 crores.

I found it necessary to scale down the earning figures for the year in the Revised Estimates by Rs. 93.20 crores approximately. The shortfall occurred in all the Railways, except the Central Railway.

The Railways losing most heavily are : 1) Northern (Rs. 23.52 crores), 2) South Eastern (Rs. 17.60 crores), 3) Eastern (Rs. 11.84 crores), 4) Western (Rs. 10.79 crores) and 5) South Central (Rs. 8.20 crores).

In passenger traffic, excepting Central Railway, all the Railways have been losing.

Punctuality

The overall punctuality performance of Mail/Express trains on Indian Railways has been 71.3% under broad gauge and 72.8% under metre gauge on the average in the current financial year upto December 1973.

These are, no doubt, the lowest figures recorded in the last few years. Here too 1) Eastern (53.2), 2) South Eastern (57.4), 3) Western (61.9) and 4) Northern (74.2) are badly affected. The performance of the North Eastern and Northeast Frontier Railways has been unsatisfactory.

Appeal to Railwaymen

Since the last few weeks, as Hon'ble Members are aware, we have been again hearing about strike threats in the Railways from any day after April 10.

The call for a strike programme in April 1974 has been announced after a Convention in Madras in February by a group of employees and outsiders. I must say that it is totally ill-conceived. Even worse is the endorsement of this programme by the All India Railwaymen's Federation at a convention held by them with the Categorical Associations and other trade union organizations in Delhi again in February. It is a matter of great surprise to me that eminent trade union leaders too had attended this conference and blessed this kind of destructive move.

It is quite clear that those who speak this kind of language, not only want to stir up trouble but to paralyze a vital transport system of the country. It is no service to the trade union movement also.

I am constrained to say that all that they are really working for is only chaos and anarchy in the country which in the end will paralyze the

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national economy and bring hardship to the common man. A loss of one rupee to Railway means a loss of Rs. 10 to the national economy. Total loss due to the strike to the Railways in the current year has already been of about Rs. 80 crores.

I must confess that I am really pained to hear of the development. Ever since I took charge of this Ministry, it has been my constant and sincere endeavour to understand the problems of the railwaymen and find solutions speedily and to the utmost extent possible. The Pay Commission's recommendations have already been accepted and the railway workers have started getting concerned benefits.

If anything more has to be done—I would like to assure the railwaymen through this august House—these can be discussed and thrashed out. My mind is not closed on any reasonable issue and I would be the last man to do this.

Our people in the country today are in difficulties because of the rise in prices and short supply of essential commodities. Any strike in the Railways at this stage would only further aggravate the difficult situation on the price front and accentuate the difficulties of the masses in this country. Strike in the present situation is a luxury which the country just cannot afford.

In this connection, I have already stated that I am in favour of applying the "one industry, one union" principle in the Railways. As I have said in my Budget speech, I had convened in February this year a Conference of Trade Union leaders to discuss the feasibility of introducing this reform in Railways. By and large, there was consensus in favour of this step at this Conference.

I am aware that this can be brought about only with the cooperation of the workers. In suggesting the new set up, I would like to state clearly that I am in favour of a secret ballot to test the representative character of the existing unions.

Before long, I hope to be able to give a concrete shape to the scheme of one union in the Railways and take the necessary steps towards its realization.

From the forum of this august House I would like to make a fervent appeal to my railwaymen and their leaders to give a second thought and reconsider their decision.

They should pause and ponder as to where the genuine interest of the workers, the trade union movement and the country at large lies.

More specifically, I would like to appeal to the workers and their leaders not to resort to strikes or any agitation for a minimum period of the next three years. With such an assurance of peace on the labour front, I

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am confident that all outstanding problems can be approached and tackled in a constructive spirit and with expedition.

A new Service Commission is being opened at Secunderabad in keeping with the policy of one Service Commission per Railway. I also propose to open a sub-office of the Calcutta Commission at Kemda and two sub-offices of the Bombay Commission, one at Ahmedabad and the other at Jabalpur, on the same pattern as the sub-office opened at Ranchi.

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The Present Situation*

L. N. Mishra

My friends working in the Indian Railways

It is now nearly three and half months since I took over as Minister of Railways and thereby became a member of the large family of 17.5 lakh railwaymen.

During the course of our short association of fourteen weeks or so with the railways, I had toured extensively all over the country with a view to study the working of the Railways at zonal level on one hand and of the living and working conditions of the railway employees on the other.

I have no doubt in admitting that consequent to these visits, I felt convinced that there was room for improving the living and working conditions of the railwaymen and their families particularly in the field of accommodation, education, medical attention and several other spheres.

I accordingly initiated some immediate measures in this regard. Some of these steps are already in the process of implementation.

Friends, however, there is yet another issue of national importance which needs our immediate attention. We are all aware that presently our country is passing through a very critical economic phase out of severe drought conditions, particularly in the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Mysore and Rajasthan. We have got to rush foodgrains and essential commodities to these scarcity hit areas to save human life.

I have accordingly decided that the entire railway system should be geared on a war-footing for the movement of foodgrains to the drought affected deficit States. I am glad that, with your active cooperation, we have been able to register an all-time high in the matter of movement of foodgrains. Presently, we are moving about 1400 wagons per day from Punjab and Haryana to the deficit States as against about 900 wagons that were normally being moved.

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*Broadcast by Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra, Minister of Railways, at 20.25 hrs. on May 26, 1973, from Delhi Station of All India Radio.

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Because of the shortage of electricity, the demand for coal and petroleum products is also today greater than ever before. With the low stock of coal in power houses and shortage of oil in certain areas, we can ill-afford any disruptions in the movement of these essential commodities at this critical hour. Despite heavy movement of foodgrains, we have maintained the level of coal movement at 7400 wagons per day.

Friends, I could venture to commit the Railways to this gigantic task of movement of essential commodities on a war-footing only on the basis of the assured cooperation and proud traditions of the Indian Railwaymen. Who does not know the pivotal role played by the Railwaymen during the 1965 and 1971 wars with Pakistan? In fact, during every national crisis and emergency, Railway has invariably risen to the occasion and acquitted itself with credit in achieving what the nation demanded from it. In the backdrop of these glorious traditions, I am grieved to see that when the entire railway set up had applied itself wholeheartedly towards this national task, some section of the loco-running staff on the Western, North Eastern and North zones of the Railways have resorted to agitation which is taking the shape of 'work-to-rule' and 'work-to-designation' campaigns and mass absenteeism. Some of the firemen, shunters and assistant drivers are refusing to work on officiating duties in the higher grades on trains as well as on shunting engines in the yards. This is resulting in full crews not being available for working trains and shunting engines in yards which are not working normally. Yard working is slowed down and wagons in the affected yards are immobilized. Goods trains are not able to move out of the yards to the main line and on to their destinations. Many passenger trains are running late. It has also become necessary to cancel some passenger trains.

Although the impact of this agitation and dislocation is being felt all over the country, it is particularly adverse on vital movement of foodgrains, oil and coal on the Western, North Eastern and Northern Railways.

There may be grievances, many of which may be genuine, which sections of the railwaymen may be having. I can assure the railwaymen that I will look into each one of them as, in fact, I had already started doing after assuming charge of the Railway Ministry. But, this is not the time when anyone of us can afford to adopt methods which disrupt and dislocate the lifeline of the nation. I request the members of the Railway Protection Force also to rise to the occasion and ensure speedy and regular movement of essential items.

When a vast majority of railwaymen were cooperating and working hard for ensuring the movement of essential commodities, a small section of railwaymen was attempting to disrupt these movements by intimidating

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the workers. For ensuring movement of essential items vital for the survival of our countrymen, it has been decided to ban the strikes on Indian Railways for a period of six months by invoking provisions of Defence of India Rules. I would like to assure all concerned that this ban is meant exclusively to ensure movement of essential items and is not intended to be used against the interests of the vast majority of the cooperating railwayman. I hope my friends will view the promulgation of the Defence of India Rules in the light in which it has been inducted.

Solution of intricate problems particularly those concerning personnel which give rise to conflict of interest, requires careful thought and discussions at all levels.

Our country has to have time to recover from the conditions of drought and scarcity we are passing through. I, therefore, make a personal appeal to all the railwaymen to maintain normal movement of traffic smoothly and on a war-footing at least for the next six months. Let us keep the interests of our nation to the forefront ! Let us not forget that if the country is in trouble each one of us will have to bear its brunt. I am sure railwaymen will accept the task and give as high an account of themselves as they have always done so far in the service of the country.

JAI HIND!

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PART TWO

Geography

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The Cultural Evolution of Hindu Gaya, the Vishnu Dham

Dr. G. D. Singhal
Nalanda College, Nalanda

Gaya, the district headquarters and the fourth city[1] of Bihar lies between latitudes 24° 25′ 16″ to 24° 50′ 30″, in the North, and longitudes 84° 57′ 58″ to 85° 3′ 18″, in the East. The present area of the city is about 30.72 sq. km (11.73 sq. m.). The shape of the city is triangular and if the eastern side is taken as its base, the western side will be its apex. It was an integral part of Kikata,[2] the Vedic name for ancient Magadha. It is the regional centre of religion and an outstanding regional focus for the means of communication, Calcutta being only 467 kms. and Delhi 885 kms. by rail. It is also connected by a cobweb-pattern of roads.

Historical Perspective

(*a*) *Ancient :* "The City of Gaya is one of the oldest existing Cities in the world."[3] There are strong grounds to believe that this town was originally founded by the primitive Vratyas (Kikatas), the Asuras, the Kolas, etc.,—the earliest inhabitants of the Gaya region—who had different religions and cultures of their own. It may be noted that, near Brahmoyoni and Pretshila, "signs of Kola-Civilization are still app rent." Most parts of the Andar Gaya (old Gaya) are built over the fourth or fifth stratum.[4] The city has recorded in its environs the imprints of the Vratya, Aryan, Buddhist, Jaina and neo-Hindu Civilizations.[5] Gaya is a place of cultural fusion which finds expression in its varied and various sacred sites.

"There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater sanctity and greater veneration than Gaya."[6] Gaya* is regarded as the most sacred place for the performance of *Sraddha.* Sraddha activities were observed even by the pre-Aryans, by the Vratyas and the Asuras, the indigenous inhabitants of the Gaya region. A pilgrimage to Gaya then, has a prehistoric, Vedic and Buddhist background.

*Gaya=Area extending from Pretshila in the North to the Sacred Bo-tree or Bodhidruma in the South (Vayu-Purana).

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Gaya occupies a unique place in the religious history of India. "It was occupied in prehistoric times by aboriginal races, whose power is still attested by the remains attributed to them."[7]

During the earlier Vedic period, the Brahmans of Aryavartya showed a marked antipathy towards the people of Magadha, which may have been due to it being the seat of other rival religions viz., Vratyaism, Asuraism Buddhism, Jainism, etc., which were relatively less reverent towards the Brahmana faith.[8] Gaya, as a notable place for the performance of Sraddha, rose to eminence during the post-Vedic period, particularly in the Pauranic age. During the later Vedic age, the Pindadan-ceremony began to be observed in a more elaborate manner because the people of that time were obsessed with the idea of heaven and hell and it became incumbent on every son to observe the sraddha to release the spirit of his ancestors from the horrors of hell.[9]

In ancient times, Gaya was, one of the most important places to be visited by Buddhists from all over the world. Lord Buddha obtained "Supreme Knowledge" here and when his religion disseminated to distant countries, devoted and consecrated votaries flocked to this place of Lord Buddha's enlightment. And Bodh Gaya, became one of the most important centres of the Buddhist world. The importance of Gaya is prehistoric.

During the life time of Buddha the importance of Gaya as a sacred site for the Hindus diminished considerably. It was at this time the *Gaya Mahatmya* was composed specifically with the purpose of re-establishing Gaya as the centre of Hindu pilgrimage. According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, *Gaya Mahatmya* was composed in the third or the fourth century A.D. From this period to the seventh century the importance of Gaya as a sacred town remained in the background. This is clear from the account of the Chinese pilgrims. Fa-Hian who visited Gaya in the beginning of the fifth century (A.D. 409), found the city "desolate and desert" and Huen Tsang who visited the same city in the seventh century (A.D. 637) found in the city "about one thousand families of Brahmins only." The cause of this is not easily ascertained, but the region may have been hit by some epidemic or flood or earthquake.

(*b*) *Mediaeval :* From the eighth century A.D. Gaya regained its religious superiority. The ancient town of Gaya (Andar Gaya) was renovated and beautified during the regimes of the Pala kings of Bengal (eighth to twelfth centuries A.D.). Most of the temples, images, inscriptions and tanks were built, installed, inscribed and excavated during this period. This is evident from the epigraphic records of Gaya.[10]

Sankaracharya (A.D. 788-820) the great reviver of Hinduism, had also visited Gaya.[11] The reputed Vaishnava leaders Ramanujacharya (A.D. 1017-

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1107), Madhavacharya (A.D. 1238-1317), Vallabhacharya (A.D. 1478-1530) are believed to have visited the Gaya-Tirtha.[12] The great Vaisnava reformer Chaitanya Mahaprabhu performed Gaya-Sraddha at 16 Vedis during Pitripaksha in A.D. 1508.

(*c*) *Modern :* The district of Gaya was created in 1865 out of portions of the old districts of Ramgarh and Bihar, with Gaya (town) as its head-quarters. The Gaya Municipality was established in May, 1866, (vide, Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922, p. 8). The present Municipal town of Gaya was formerly known as 'Parganah Gaya.'

Gayawal Sahar Chand Chaudhary, who embraced Islam, found favour with Emperor Aurangzeb and was granted a jagir of 4000 bighas of land in Gaya proper in A.D. 1660. Previously, the Gayawal had fled and migrated to the adjoining villages on account of the repeated attacks of the Mohammedans. Sahar Chand persuaded Gayawal to come back and resettle in his Jagir (Alamgirpur). There is a strong belief that a good map of Alamgirpur was duly prepared under the direction of the Emperor and is still in the possession of the Gayawal Pandas. Rana Laksha (1390) and Sanga (1520) and Rao Jodha founder of Jodhpur State (1452), fought at Gaya against the tartaries to defend this holy city. In 1730 Nawab Alivardi Khan looted Gaya and Tikari. The Maratha chief Balaji Rao (1743) and Raghoji Bhonsle (1745) plundered Gaya town. A battle was fought at Manpur, an integral part of Gaya, between Shah Alam and the British troops on January 15, 1761.

Before the publication of the present survey map (1914-15) of Gaya town, an earlier map of the town is assumed to have been prepared for the Gaya Municipality at the time of its foundation in May, 1866.[13]

The present municipal limits cover an area of 11.73 square miles. In 1931 it covered an area of 8.25 square miles. The area covered by the proposed master plan for Gaya is 37.73 square miles. In other words, urban growth is in some respects, analogous to processes in nature: "Modern city is a dynamic organism constantly in process of evolution."[14] It is just like an octopo which may sprawl in any direction, which finds expression in increased population and settlement. So, "the rising flood of urbanization is surging outward from the center and engulfing the surrounding countryside. Congestion festers within and eats about the edges."[15] The rapidly sprawling population in the western direction of Gaya has closed in on the village of Rampur, which now survives as an enclave.[16] This village enclave forms a mohalla of the city, but retains its name, Rampur village. Similarly, Manpur, Abgila, Gere are other enclaves of the City. And with the proposed spatial expansion of the city of Gaya, several other surrounding villages will also be included in the enclaves of the city.

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Present Perspective

Presently (1970), there are ten wards within the municipal boundary, whose size varies considerably. Again, the distribution and density of different wards are quite variable. On the periphery, where the compactness of the houses decreases, distribution and density of population is scarce. Ward IV ranks first from the point of view of the distribution of population, and where 36787 or 24.4 per cent (1961) of the total population of the city reside. But the same ward ranks seventh from the viewpoint of population density. It is only because of its peripheral location and large vacant areas that Ward III is the densest ward, where the density of population is 1,24,300 persons per square mile. This is because of the small area of the ward and its central location in the city, where the compactly settled area of Purani godown, the area of greatest business concentration, is located. Next comes Ward VI, where 9236 persons reside on only a 0.16 square mile area, and thus the density amounts to 57,744 persons per square mile; and this is mainly due to its proximity to the Vishnupad Temple, the nucleus of the Gaya pilgrimage and a part of the core of "Sacred Andar-Gaya." The Gayawal households and the population are highly concentrated in the pilgrim area i.e., in Wards VI, VII, VIII and IX. "Generally, the old city is a mile or less in diameter."[17] "The Gayawals, a special category of Brahmans controlling the Gaya Sraddha,[18] reside in an area constituting the sacred core of Gaya Kshetra."* There is a considerable amount of segregation—some voluntary, some not—into a small real grouping, or into Mohals by caste, language, group, geographical origin, religion, and income group."[19] Vishnupad temple is the nucleus of this type of compact Gayawal settlement, where land-value decreases the farther one goes from the temple. Adjacent to the temple, in the northern section, the land-value is Rs. 15,000 per katha, whereas near the Pitamaheshwar temple the value decreases to Rs. 10,000 per katha. In other words, "Land prices boomed as City population jumped by leaps and bounds."[20]

Modern Trend : Due to the high land-value in Andar-Gaya, settlements sprawled to Sahebarj, which is the centre of trade and administration. Here the population agglomerated in the central part of the city i.e., in the "central business area," and to its adjacent parts which now command the highest land value. But "the centrifugal movements are in evidence in all parts of an urban area. The central zone of a rapidly growing city always shows evidences of expansion."[21] The ever-increasing land and property

*An area extending from Pretshila in the North to Bodh Gaya in the South, i.e., 10 miles.

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values and the high tax rates in the central zone, leads to the migration of people away from the central business area. Traffic congestion, difficulty of securing space, insufficient light and air, and the general nuisance associated with the presence of various manufacturing concerns are factors which lead people to migrate to areas of lesser population density. The low cost of land, low tax rates, and the attractive site of the peripheral part of the city have special attraction for the new settlers as is evident in Anugrahpuri and along the Katari hill roads.

"Between the two towns was an open, sandy space called the Rumnath or Chase, but the remainder is taken up by the houses and gardens of the few Europeans at the station in 1811-12."[22] But now the density of population is increasing constantly in this part. The settlement developed due to shift in interest caused by the change in land-value. The development of different functions also accelerated population growth. In areas of thick population concentration and peak land-value, a vertical growth of the city is seen. In the heart of the city four-storeyed houses are common. The city shows pronounced concentrations of multi-family buildings near the business centre and along certain radial streets that extend outward from it. Two family dwellings show a considerably more dispersed pattern.[23] "Growth of the city obviously accounts in large measure for the concentric age-pattern of dwellings."[24]

Andar-Gaya has narrow streets and alleys. "A stranger will be bewildered by the labyrinth of narrow lanes, flanked by high masonry houses with overhanging balconies or frontages of carved-woodwork black with smoke and age."[25] "The architecture is very singular, with corners, turrets and galleries projecting with every possible irregularity."[26] Almost all the houses in this part are very old and a few are constructed on a much higher level than the others. "It has been said that the streets and lanes of the old town were loop-holed for defence against raids and the remains of small forts and high lands and city gates rather suggest that the town was built with an eye to the preservation of the sacred shrines and protection of the wealth of the priests or Gayawals."[27] on the western side of the river Peralguina, the pattern of settlement shows a linear growth.

The Northern part of old Gaya is a comparatively new town known as Sahibganj,* and, and as the name implies it was primarily a European colony—gentlemen and officers (sahibs) lived in this part of the town which was in possession of Tekari Raj. A part of this is still called Ramna because of the big gardens attached to some of the European bungalows. This is also the site of the old Gaya Jail. Mr. Seton and Mr. Law (1784-1790) the meritorious Collectors of Gaya, made many improvements

*Old name was Illahabad or Law City.

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for the beautification of this new town. The big gate to the north of the new town in the Chowk area was built near the Muhammedan's Sarai or inn. New houses were built at Ramna, and in 1789 the 'Gole-Pathal' was installed near the Pilgrims' Hospital. This monolith of the Maurya period was brought from the village Bakraur near Bodh-Gaya. It was taken back to Bodh-Gaya a few years ago. Dr. Grierson, a renowed Collector of Gaya, built up the beautiful "Grierson well" within the compound of the Collectorate building in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Public Library was established in 1856. This new town is the centre of trade and business and contains the Government Courts and Offices, the Municipal Office and District Board buildings, the Dak Bunglow, the Pilgrims' and Elgen Hospitals and the Veterinary Hospital, etc.

"The Old town of Gaya stands on a rocky eminence betweeu a hill and the Phalgu river, and Sahebganj is situated on a plain, on the left bank of the Phalgu."[28] The settlement grew along the river and crawled westward to the Katari Hill. And the North-South settlement also grew in the Manpur enclave of the City. "Buniyadgunj, oppsite and a little below Sahebganj, contains 1200 houses, chiefly occupied by weavers."[29] With the growth of the handloom industry there has been a rapid growth of population and settlement here.

Actually, the city owes its origin to the sanctity attached to it, and this is chiefly responsible for the huge concentration of houses in "Andar Gaya." But in course of time, due mainly to the development of the means of communication, industry and trade, administration, and the influx of refugees from Bengal and Punjab, after the partition of India (1947), the settlement extended in the Northren and Eastern directions. The development of educational facilities also had an impact on the growth of the city.

Although the evolution of the city of Gaya is influenced by various geographical factors, the religious factors far outweigh them. "Most Hindu holy places are land-marks rather than places sanctified by the mythological or historical acts of hierophant, although this type of sacred place is also known,"[30] and Gaya is one of them.

We do not get any record of the number of pilgrims visiting Gaya in the years preceding the publication of the first *District-Gazetteer* of Gaya (1906). About a century and a half ago, the estimated number of pilgrims was less than 50,000 annually. In the year 1797-1798, the total number of pilgrims who performed their religious ceremonies was 17,670, which increased to 31,114 during the year 1810-11. But now the annual influx of pilgrims has reached 3,00,000. In a word, the sanction of sacred status has had a lasting impact in the making of the city of Gaya.

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The attraction of Hindu pilgrims for Gaya is concentrated in the 'sraddha-karma ceremony' worship of deceased ancestors. And Gaya is the Tirtha par excellence for the performance of Sraddha ceremony.

For the convenience of lakhs of pilgrims who visit Gaya during the pitripaksha, or the dark fortnight of the Pitras, a special environ is created. The entire city wears a web of special arrangements meant for the pilgrims. These special arrangements include the posting of magistrates and the police at various places to check anti-social elements. During the Mela special parking arrangements are made in the city for rickshaws and motor vehicles. And special attention is paid towards the health and sanitation of the city—dozens of medical centres and innoculation centres are opened. Sanitary arrangements at Jamhore, Pretshila, and Bodh-Gaya are made by the zonal administrators. A twenty-four hour provision of water supply is made in the "Sacred Segments"* area. About a dozen fair-price shops are opened for the supply of flour, sugar, suji and maida to the pilgrims. Again special electricity arrangements are made for the Vishnupad temple and its neighbourhood. Lodging houses are inspected for their hygienic condition, and for number of pilgrims etc., by a group of magistrates. About half a dozen milk stalls are installed in the mela area. Again, temporary telephone and publicity arrangements are also made. The Tourist Information Office at the railway station works round the clock. About three dozen special buses ply inside the city, besides the two hundred odd extra vehicles that are on service outside the city. Special train services are operated during the Mela and special bogies are attached to trains running in all four railways from Gaya according to the requirements and the varying intensity of the flow of pilgrims. A few special trains are also run from Gaya to different parts of the country.

What Gaya needs today are wider roads for the city. The Government is alert to these problems of road-widening and encroachment removal.

Name of Road	*Road width*	*Name of Road*	*Road width*
1. K.P. Road	60′	6. G.B. Road	60′
2. Rang Bahadur Road	60′	7. Katri Road	80′
3. Station Road	80′	8. Swarajyapuri Road	80′
4. Dobhi Road	90′	9. Rly. Hospital Road	80′
5. Bageshwari Road	90′	10. Godawari Road	70′

*Vishnupada, Akkshayavata and Pitamashwar area.

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Expansion of roads under the Master Plan of the Gaya Improvement Trust, given below, is shelved for the time being.

Provision for footpaths should also be made. For this purpose, the encroachments on busy roads like K.P. Road, G.B. Road, and Swarajpuri Road should be removed. This has been done recently to some extent.

Attention should be paid to planned settlements on the outskrits of the city. Housing colonies must have the facilities of good metalled roads, good civil supplies, and marketing and educational centres. The Gaya Improvement Trust, and State Housing Board are working towards such improvements.

In the rapidly growing city, some areas are occupied by slums and the shanties, in some cases, are not more than six feet high, and the doors even less than four. This slum area of Gaya is located east of the Railway Station in the heart of the city. Steps should be taken immediately for their removal to the outskirts of the city.

Although there is a marked degree of improvement in the condition of the roads, and the bus and train services during the mela period, better transport facilities are still required for pilgrims visiting Gaya throughout the year. There should be special buses and train services throughout the year for the pilgrims. There should be trains going directly to South India, for instance. Bodh-Gaya, a satellite sacred-centre of Gaya should be connected by rail. Had our late Shri L. N. Mishra survived, the long cherished desire of the people of Bodh-Gaya and Gaya in general, and of the pilgrims visiting these sacred sites in particular, would have been fulfilled, and Bodh-Gaya would have been on the railway map of India.

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River Communication in North Bihar a Hundred Years ago

Dr. Aparna Bhattacharje
Senior Research Fellow, Patna University

During pre-railway days, the river was the main means by which transport was possible and communication was made. Towns which grew up on the river bank gradually became centres of trade and commerce. The river basin is the seat of culture and civilization, remarked Bishop Heber in the thirties of the 19th century. He travelled the whole of upper India on the Ganges and noticed with wonder the contributions of the river to the life of people.

Bihar has many rivers, among which the Ganges, the Gandak and the Gogra are the most prominent. These are snowfed and therefore navigable throughout the year. The Sone, in dry season has a sandy bed and during rains it is full of water with a rapid current and is not navigable. The Damodar was utilized during rains for the despatch of coal, timber and other local products in small country boats. Besides these, there were rivers like Bagmati, Kamla-Balan, Korotoya, Kosi, Barakar and Punpun, etc. We get very little reference of their navigability except that passengers were carried on small ferry-boats. *The Statistical Reporter* of 1876 states that in Tirhut, principal rivers as means of communication were the Gandak, Bagmati, and the Burhi-Gandak. The Bagmati flowed into the Burhi-Gandak above Rusera and was navigable only for two months. Navigation in the Burhi-Gandak was in demand because of four markets important for grains and oil-seeds. They were Khagaria, Rusera, Samastipur and Muzaffarpur.

Inland water traffic in Bihar depends on power steamers, boats and smaller crafts. The first steamer that plied on the Ganges came up from Calcutta about 1828. The service of Indian Steam Navigation Company was first inaugurated in 1844 and a journey from Calcutta to Allahabad took a little over 3 weeks. This service connected Calcutta with all the riverine stations of Bihar. The Ganges and the Gogra had a regular steamer service run by the Indian General Navigation Company Ltd., and River Steam Navigation Company Ltd., which afterwards amalgamated into one, with

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the head office in Calcutta.[1] A steam vessel *Kashiji* was put into commission by the East Indian Railway in 1870 for ferrying passengers over the Ganga. Another ferry-steamer service opened in 1871 from Rajmahal to Manihari Ghat and from Rajmahal to English Bazar. None of these services were state-owned but helped to a great extent in carrying goods and passengers. The Company had two agencies in Bihar, one at Digha, and the other at Monghyr. Their route within Bihar began from Buxar in Shahabad district and ended at Rajmahal. The important stations were Paleza (Saran), Digha (Patna), Bihpur (Bhagalpur), Semaria (Monghyr), Bhagalpur, Colgong and Manihari (Purnea). The steamers ran upto Goalonda now in Bangladesh. They carried goods mostly from Digha to Goalonda, where they were transhipped and despatched to Calcutta. Steam navigation gave great impetus to coal-mining industry. In 1874, when the Darbhanga State Railway was established and the river traffic was in full swing — a steam ferry was established connecting the terminus of State Railway with the station at Barh, belonging to the East Indian Railway.[2] The steam ferry service, in conjunction with the State Railway worked wonderfully to counteract the consequences of the failure of food crops of North Bihar.

Besides steamers, there were many boats of various shapes which were utilized for carrying commodities. Richard Temple, Lt. Governor of Bengal, (1874-77) after assuming charge, came to Bihar for famine inspection and made his office on a boat, named the *Rohtas*.[3] It was a huge barge, which had all the facilities of a bunaglow, "a movable Government House." Such was the importance of boats at the time, that mail was also carried through boats. We get reference of runners' boats, which carried letters, parcels, letters of short distances. In 1871, there were as many as 8727 runners' boats, which increased to 9663 in number in 1873.[4]

The Ganges-borne trade occupied the attention of the Government so much that arrangements were made for securing the registration of boats and steamers trafficking on that river from January 1872. Accordingly, Sahibganj was selected as the registering station. The Assistant Commissioner of Rajmahal took special care to make the operation successful. No tolls or fees were levied for registration. The report of registration for January to June 1872 is given on the next page.[5]

Ten steamers of Indian General Steam Navigation Company carrying 35,738 mds. of food grains passed during the year 1872. The steamer traffic also earned the Government a good amount of revenue. In 1872, it was Rs. 48,040 and in 1874, it rose to Rs. 64,499.[6] Thus steamers and boats served the people as well as the Government.

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UP TRAFFIC

	Loaded Boats	*Empty Boats*
January 1872	1116	553
February 1872	1339	444
March 1872	1452	426
April 1872	783	496
May 1872	1491	513
June 1872	1512	339

DOWN TRAFFIC

	Loaded Boats	*Empty Boats*
January 1872	1304	260
February 1872	1181	407
March 1872	1216	346
April 1872	1056	220
May 1872	761	172
June 1872	762	239

But the economic utility of river-traffic was far more important. Patna was the main centre of trade at that time, the river routes made Patna* one of the important marts for saltpetre trade and the place of contact between the merchants of Eastern and Western India. It has been said, if, 'Calcutta was the gate for South-eastern trade, Patna was the North-western gate for up-country trade.'[7] Besides Patna there were marts like Marufganj, Fatwah, Barh situated on the south bank of the Ganges which were greatly supported by the river borne trade. Kirana goods were mostly sent through boats from Marufganj to Bhairabpur ghat and from there to Chapra and Muzaffarpur by road. Hunter states, "Placing Calcutta on one side the largest mart on the Ganges is Patna."

Oil seeds formed the chief article of export from the district of Patna. In 1873, 352,060 mds and in 1874, 398,181 mds were despatched by boats down the Ganges.[8]

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*Patna, in the second half of the 19th century was extended as far as Golghar in the west and Patna City in the east. W.W. Hunter mentions the existence of the Railway station, the Bankipor jail and some official bungalows on the eastern side of the Ganges. He describes Patna City as the main centre of commercial importance. Sultanganj, Colonelganj, Masurganj were all feeder stations.

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Sugar is largely exported from Patna to Murshidabad, Calcutta and Muldah in Bengal and Benares also. In 1873, the quantity of exported sugar was 61,644 mds and in 1874 it was 26,566 mds. Tobacco, which is scarcely grown in South Bihar was brought from Tirhut and shipped at Patna. In 1874, 29,568 mds and in 1875, 33,362 mds were sent downstream mainly to Calcutta.[9] Hides were exported but in a small quantity.

The export of saltpetre made Patna very famous. In 1872 and 1873 the amount of saltpetre shipped each year was about 52,000 mds. In the district of Patna, the principal river mart was Patna city — a place of great commercial importance. Its position on the confluence of the Ganges, the Gandak and thc Sone, where the traffic of the North Western Province branches off to Nepal gives it great advantages. Another riverside mart was Colonelganj — which imported 24,752 mds of rice, oil seeds, spices, etc. These staples were wholly brought by boats from North Bihar and Bengal and then imported to Benaras and other towns of Uttar Pradesh, because very little rice is grown there. It has been stated by Hunter that Patna City exported the largest amount of food-grains during the period of 1875-76 and it helped to a great extent in alleviating the distress of the famines of 1874. (For details, see Hunter's account, Vol. II pages 176, 177).

Revelganj, in the district of Saran was the second largest river-mart of Bihar.[10] It is situated on the northern bank of the Gogra. Its importance was due to the fact that earlier it commanded the junction of the Gogra and the Ganges. Not only that, Revelganj as a port served Champaran and Nepal and it regularly exported food-grains to Bengal and North-West and thus had a living link with those two provinces. In 1872, Revelganj despatched through country boats 552,808 mds of cargoes and received 451,038 mds. Jute and tobacco formed the other main items of export. Among the articles which Revelganj received were shellac, betel nut, gunnies and jute. It was a great changing station — whereas the boats from lower Bengal transhipped their cargoes of rice and salt to the Faizabad and Gorakhpur boats, which gave in exchange wheat, barley, oilseeds and pulses of various sorts. The Calcutta traders had much liking for the Revelganj saltpetre. The Calcutta firms had their representatives there. The freight charge of boat from Revelganj to Calcutta was $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas per md which was much lower than the charge of sending by rail. Perhaps, it was due to this fact that river traffic was much in use even after the introduction of railways in some towns of Bihar. An attempt was made to start a steamer from Revelganj to Patna but it failed.

For feeding Revelganj some other smaller towns came into prominence, Doriaganj, on the confluence of the Ganges and the Gogra, was a large grain market, which sent its produce through Revelganj. Dighawara, west

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of Chapra, was a centre of hides trade. Darauli exported sugar regularly to Calcutta. Sonepur, situated on the Ganges was famous for the fair. It was a great clearing house for North-Bihar goods.[11]

The boat traffic of Champaran was not very significant.[12] The total export of food-grains consisted of wheat, pulses, gram, paddy and other cereals. Except salt, nothing was exported regularly. The Collector of Champaran had stated that the river trade of Champaran did not flourish so much as it flourished by road.

The Tirhut district was the greatest rice producing area of Bihar. But as the Bagmati and the Burhi Gandak were closed to traffic in the dry season, rice was exported to Calcutta over the Ganges and the trade with Patna was proportionately less at that time. In 1874-75, Tirhut exported 40,000 mds of rice only to Calcutta. During October, when the rivers are full, the marts of Rusera and Muzaffarpur were in direct communication with Calcutta.[13] The Tirhut trade in hides which was based on advances made by the Muslims from Patna was large and increasing. The Tirhut hides were also in great demand among the Calcutta traders. Tobacco was exported during the rainy season to Patna and from there re-exported westwards and eastwards. The subdivision of Tajpur was the main tobacco producing tract of Tirhut.

The following table shows the trade between Calcutta and Tirhut[14] in 1872 :

Oil seeds	...	...	450,420	mds.
Sugar	...	...	15,638	,,
Tobacco	...	...	15,950	,,
Wheat	...	...	1,112	,,
Pulses and gram	...	...	5,441	,,

Rusera on the Burhi Gandak supplied the largest quota of this traffic. The import of Tirhut was no less significant. Rusera and Darbhanga were the main importing marts. In 1874, Rusera alone imported 120,000 mds of salt. The other river marts were Hajipur, Lalganj, Samastipur and Darbhanga. The large quantities of saltpetre exported and indigo imported during the period are worthy of notice. Lalganj exported mostly fruits and vegetables.

The utility of this communication can be proved by some other facts also. The river traffic gave employment to a large number of people. The Census of 1901 shows, that people employed in steamer service were mostly

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Mohammedans of Gaya district and Uttar Pradesh.[15] But the people employed in boat service were all local and extremely poor. They earned little comparison to the hardship they generally underwent in the service.

From all these it can be inferred that during the latter half of the nineteenth century, a high order of river-borne trade flourished in Bihar. Though the railway was introduced in some of the towns at that time, it was found profitable to send goods by boat. But the river marts began to decay because of the changing course of rivers. After the full-fledged construction of railways river communication lost much of its former importance.

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Occupational Structure of the Himalayan Population

Dr. Enayat Ahmad

Detailed district-wise figures for the Himalayan region for 1971 are not so far available. The total figures for the occupations of the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh in 1971, however, do help in presenting a generalized picture of the subject :

TABLE SHOWING STRUCTURE FOR 1971

Figures in 000's

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
State	Total population	Total workers	% of workers to the total population	Cultivators	% of cultivators to the workers
1. Jammu & Kashmir	4616	1374	21	890	65
2. Himachal Pradesh	3460	1279	37	904	/1
3. Arunachal Pradesh	468	270	58	211	78
4. All India	547,950	180,373	33	78,176	43

VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Agricultural labourers	% of agricultural labourers to the workers	Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantation, Orchards and Allied activities	% of column IX to the workers	Mining & quarrying	% of column IX to the workers
1. 42	3	50	4	2	nil
2. 53	4	34	3	10	nil
3. 5	2	—	nil	—	nil
4. 47,489	26	4297	2	923	1

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	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
	Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs				Construction	% of XVII to workers
	(a) Household industry	% of XIII to workers	(b) Other than household industry	% of XV to workers		
1.	55	4	38	3	31	2
2.	33	3	20	2	51	4
3.	1	nil	—	nil	—	nil
4.	6,352	4	1,072	6	2,215	1

	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV
	Trade & Commerce	% of XIX to workers	Transport, Storage and Communi-cation	% of XXI to workers	Other services	% of (XXIII) to workers
1.	61	4	46	3	226	12
2.	32	2	16	1	134	10
3.	2	1	—	nil	50	19
4.	10,038	5	4,401	2	15,765	10

(This table has been calculated from the figures given in Chandra Sekhar, A., *Census of India, 1971, Series 1—India, Paper 3 of 1972—Economic Characteristics of Population* (*Selected Tables*), Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1972, 1-61).

In this state-wise picture the U.P. Himalaya is excluded because of the nonavailability of districtwise statistics of occupation for 1971, at the time of writing this section.

Now certain significant conclusions emerge from the above-noted table. There is a remarkable increase in the proportion of the working population as we move from west to east, so that while in Jammu and Kashmir only one-fifth of the total population consists of 'workers', a little more than one-third is such population in Himachal Pradesh, and in Arunchal Pradesh this proportion rises to 58 per cent. One reason for this appears to be the absence of the purdah system in the eastern Himalayas as compared to Kashmir. The other is the greater proportion of tribal population. The Western Himalayas have been more in contact with the waves of history and civilization which cause a sort of 'domestication of human psychology,'

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while tribal life keeps people habituated to open-air life and womenfolk cooperate with their men in day to day work and occupations more than in non-tribal societies in India.

It is interesting to note that despite the rocky, dissected, forested and partially snowy ground, cultivation is much more dominant as a human occupation in the Himalayas than in the all-India picture. The reasons are obvious. In this rugged, sparsely peopled, predominantly rural tract there is little of industrial activity. Similar conditions restrict trade and commerce, communication, construction and other forms of occupation. Thus people have to devote themselves mainly to the cultivation of agricultural crops which engages 65, 71 and 78 per cent of the working population respectively in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh as compared to the all-India average of 43 per cent.

One of the happiest aspects of the occupational structure of the Himalayas is that the percentage of agricultural labourers is the minimum in India. It is 3, 4, and 2 per cent of the working population respectively in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh against the all-India average of 26 per cent distinguishing the Himalayan peasantry from the non-Himalayan. Most of the people have their own land and can build on and cultivate their own plots, as against one-fourth of the total working population in India being 'land have-nots.' Here there is no need of the various moral and legal attempts to give, to those engaged in the fields, a sense of possession in the land, as against the inevitable sense of frustration that must attend the 'hired' workers or agricultural labourers. This might be due to the relative inaccessibility of the Himalayas which prevented the feudal system that dominated the areas of ease, comfort, plenty or laissez faire and remained far from the regions of effort like the Himalayas.

The third category of occupations in the census tables is very varied and extensive covering such occupations as forestry, livestock, plantation, orchards and hunting. For many of such activities the Himalayan environment is suitable, e.g., forestry, orchards, hunting, tea plantation in some areas, livestock particularly with the tribes practising transhumance. This is why the percentage of the working population engaged under this head of occupations is 4 and 3 in Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh as against the All-India average of 2.

But the complexity of structures, inaccessibility, difficulty of terrain and insufficient knowledge about mineral resources have made mining and quarrying practically nonexistent in the Himalayas.

The percentage of working population engaged in household industry is 4 in Jammu and Kashmir, and 3 in Himachal Pradesh while that for India as a whole it is 4. These figures for the Himalayan States are significant in

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view of the difficulty and isolation and negativeness of a part of the environment. These industries in the Western Himalayas are related to princely patronage in Kashmir valley and elsewhere, suitable environment for rearing of wool-yielding goats and sheep and easily available timber for woodwork, etc., numerous pilgrim centres and long periods of leisure during snow-bound winter season. But in Arunachal Pradesh or Eastern Himalayas greater isolation from the currents of civilization and absence of pilgrim centres have checked the development of this household industry.

As expected in the difficult Himalayan environment the development of non-household manufacturing is relatively insignificant, the percentage of working population engaged in such industry being 3 and 2 respectively in Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh as against an all-India average of 6. But even these figures for the Himalayan States are important because they point to a new post-Independence trend in the Himalayan economy i.e., use of power, and heavier raw materials in small-scale industries, the latter possibility having been introduced by the newly-built roads and motor transport. In the predominantly tribal Eastern Himalayas, however, there are no such industries also.

Construction is an occupation which is related to roads, railways, airways, irrigation and urban construction, etc. There are few towns in the Himalayas and a smaller number of villages than in most of non-Himalayan India. Irrigation schemes, except the already existing indigenous short channels, are ruled out by physical geography which also keeps the Himalayas largely out of bounds for railways and aerodromes except helipads. Roads alone form the major item of constructional activity in the Himalayas particularly after 1962, engaging 2 and 4 per cent respectively of the working population in Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh and these figures are far greater than the Indian average of one showing the activity of Border Roads Organization, etc. Note has also to be taken of the construction work in the various hill towns, despite their small number.

Engagement in trade and commerce is lower in the Himalayas than in the rest of the country. The percentage of the working population in this occupation in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh is 4, 2 and 1 respectively as against 5 for the whole of India. The falling proportion of this occupation as we move towards the eastern Himalayas is partly related to the Western Himalayas. Moreover trade itself is directly related to industry which is practically nonexistent in the eastern Himalayas.

The proportion of people engaged in transport i.e., in running various modes of transport e.g., motor, animal-drawn carts, rickshaws, barrows, or

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in other modes of transport, in storage establishments, and in communication i.e., telephone, telegraph and postal services etc., is low as is expected in the rugged, lofty, partly snow-covered, largely forested, sparsely peopled, dominantly rural and relatively inaccessible Himalayan environment. The percentage of people engaged in this occupation is respectively 3, 1 and none in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh as against 2 for the whole of India. The higher proportion under this head in Jammu and Kashmir is due to the beauty of Kashmir attracting tourists who require mechanical, animal and human transport. Moreover the boating industry on the lakes of the Valley is another cause. For the Himalayas as a whole work as porters is the most important type of engagement under this head of occupation.

The percentage of the working population engaged in other miscellaneous services, e.g., administration, education, military service, medical and health services, legal profesion, banks, municipal and domestic services is 12,10 and 19 in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh respectively as against the all-India average of 10.

The high proportion under this head in Arunachal Pradesh is due to the primitiveness of the society where cultivation is the dominant occupation and other engagements are rather ambiguous so that they appear to have been jumbled together at the time of census enumerations. "The people in NEFA are basically cultivators. There are yet no class of people, known by the economic terms like traders, middlemen, wage-earners, landless labourers or known by the professional classifications as carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, masons, sweepers, money-lenders, merchants and so on."[1]

The picture about the occupational structure of population in the U.P. Himalaya will roughly approximate to that in Himachal Pradesh.

For Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan data are not available. According to Karan and Jenkins,[2] population for Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan respectively is 9,500 (1962 estimates), 167 (1961 census) and 850 (1963 estimates) thousands and the approximate densities per sq. mile are 174, 59 and 47 respectively. Basing our conclusions on the rate of growth in the Himalayan districts of U.P. adjoining Nepal or of Arunachal Pradesh neighbouring Bhutan and of West Bengal adjoining Sikkim our present (1974) estimate of population in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan will be 11,000,000; 210,000 and 978,000 persons respectively.

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Morphological Analysis of Surface Land forms of the Rohtas Plateau

R. Upadhyay & J. N. Pandey

The Rohtas plateau, Bihar, (24°, 30′, 30″N to 25°, 5′ 15″ N and 83°, 20′, 45″ E to 84°, 3′, 20″ E), covers an area of 1533.2 square kms. It stretches in the southern portion of the Rohtas district of Bihar. It crops out as a vast tableland, bounded by the Sone in the south and the east and the Middle Gangetic Plain in the north. It is the eastern-most continuation of the Vindhyan range. It comprises of rocks, sandstones, shales and limestones (in a descending order). This region of deeply dissected and rugged terrain presents a host of varied land forms.

The study of variegated land forms evolved in this region throws light on its surface morphology. The present paper, dealing mainly with the type, characteristics and evolution of the surface features, is based on topographical maps Nos. 63 P/5, 63 P/6, 63 P/9, 63 P/10, 63 P/13, 63 P/14, 63 O/8 of the Survey of India on a scale of 1 inch: 1 mile. The morphological analysis of surface land forms is based on the ideas circulated through "Progress Made in Geomorphological Mapping Progress—Delacartographie Geomorphologique" proceedings of the meeting of the IGU—commission on Applied Geomorphology, Sub-commission on Geomorphological Mapping held in Brno and Bratislava on April 27-May 2, 1965, by the Institute of Geography, Czechoslvak Academy of Sciences, Brno.

Surface Land Forms

Any type of geomorphic feature evolved, either due to constructive or destructive causes on the ground, is designated as surface land forms. The development of these land forms depends upon various factors such as structure, process, climate, etc. With the effect of these land forms the nature and character of land forms vary one from the other.

There are four types of sutface land forms with distinct features, detailed below :

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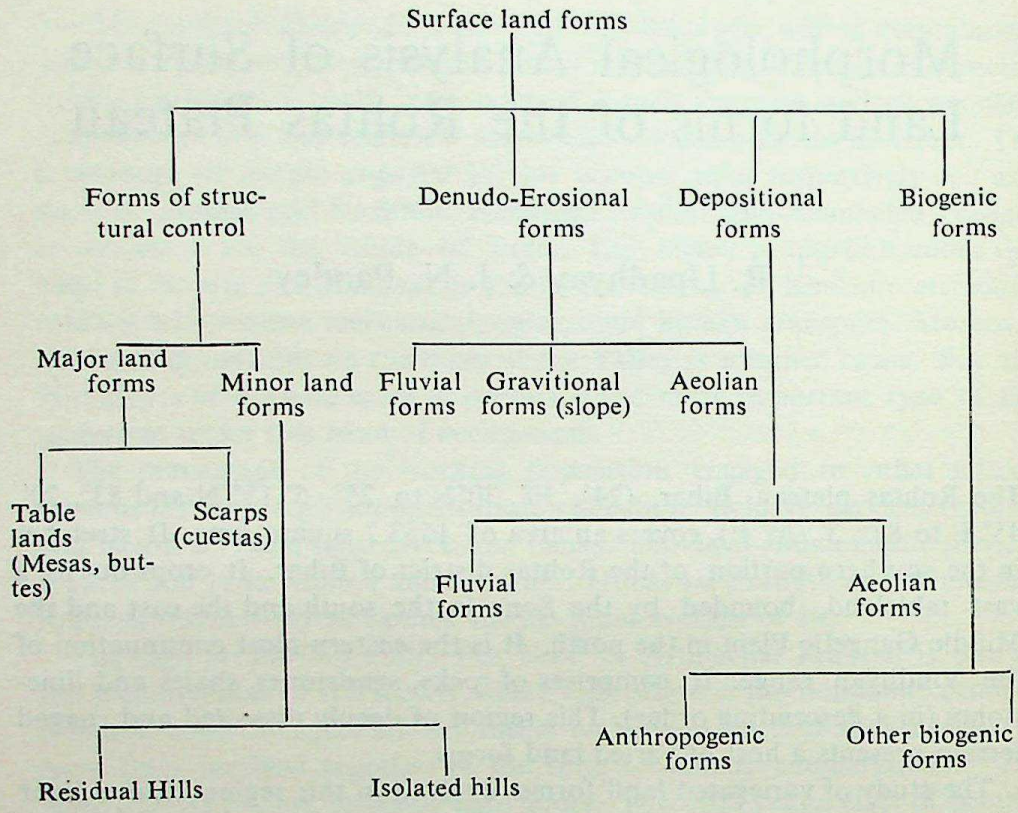

Forms of structural control

Tablelands : The plateau is marked by picturesque flat surfaces of very faint inclination of various dimensions at different levels. They look like an undulating erosional plane with its monotony disturbed only by monadnocks of very small sizes, below 100′ in height. Such land forms are characterized by a bare rock surface with a very thin covering of soil. They are merely covered with the savana type of vegetation which supports a herd of cattle. These land forms are scattered over the plateau in isolated patches. From a distance they appear like mesas and buttes. About 519.5 square kilometers or 33.5 per cent of the total area is covered by land forms of this type, with local names such as the Rehal plateau, the Rohtas plateau, the Sarodag Bahera plateau, the Dahar plateau, the Karar plateau, the Kusumha plateau, etc. These plateaus are of massive mesa forms. Other small flat land forms have their own local names.

The evolution of such flat surfaces is related with the denudation erosion cycle of the plateau which began initially over the prime rumpf (primary-relief). Truly speaking, they bear testimony of a peneplain (of a former cycle) which was punctuated during carboniferous glaciation and inter-

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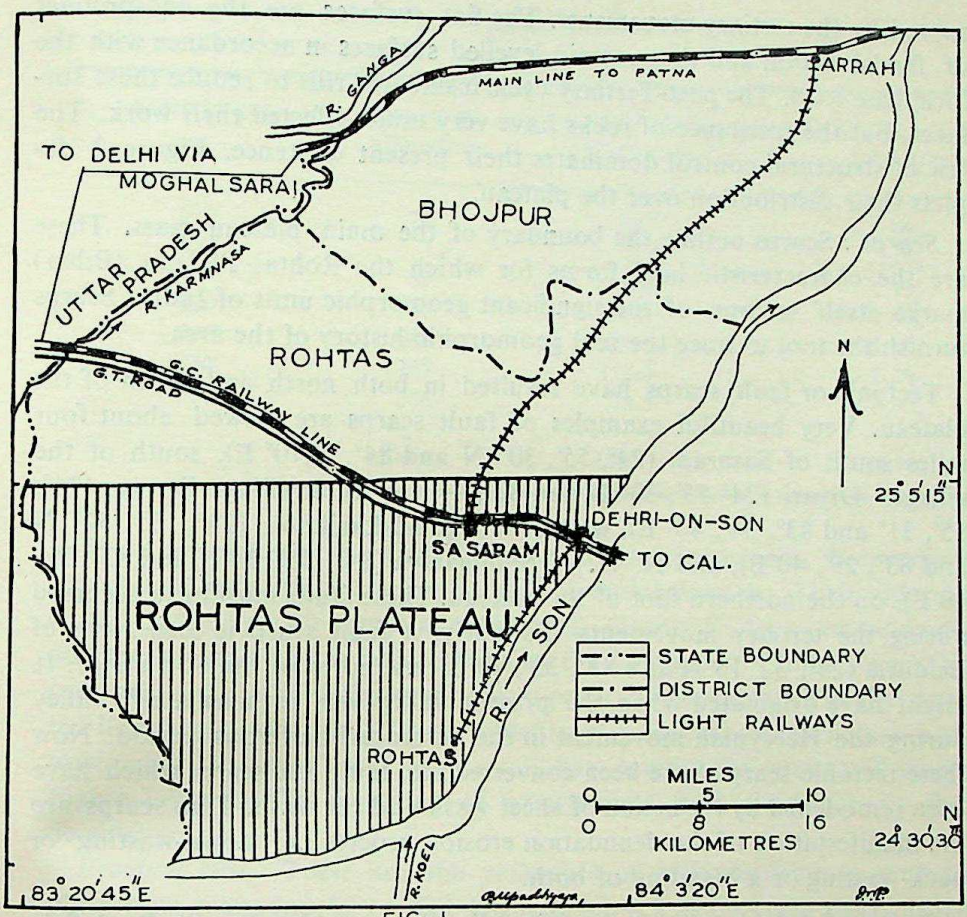

FIG. 1

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rupted by the tertiary movements. The flat surfaces are the end-product of fluvial action and they remain levelled surfaces in accordance with the local base level. The post-Tertiary cycle insinuated rills to reduce these surfaces, but the resistance of rocks have very much effected their work. The law of structural control dominates their present existence. Figure 2 depicts their distribution over the plateau.

Scarps : Scarps outline the boundary of the main plateau mass. These are the characteristic land forms for which the Rohtas Plateau (Bihar) marks itself as one of the significant geomorphic units of India. Scarps furnish the tool to trace the real geomorphic history of the area.

Tectonic or fault scarps have resulted in both north and south of the plateau. Very beautiful examples of fault scarps are viewed about four miles south of Sasaram (24°, 55′, 30″ N and 84°, 2′,10″ E), south of the village, Diyari (24° 55′, 30″ N and 83°, 44′, 15″E), at village Ferriya (24°, 55′, 31″ and 83°, 34′, 40″ E), west of village Makarikhoh (24°, 55′ 32″ N and 83°, 29′, 40″E), and N. W. of Majhganwa (24°, 55′, 30″N and 83° 26′, 40″E), on the northern foot of the plateau. These faults must have occurred during the tertiary movements. Similarly, a fault scarp is seen west of Belduria (24°, 32′ 15″N and 83°, 33′, 40″E) just north of the Son valley. It might have originated when the present valley was torn as a rift valley during the Hercynian movement in the permocarboniferous period. Now these tectonic scarps have been converted into fault line scarps which have been remodelled by the action of sheet wash and rill wash. Thus scarps are the manifestation of the denudation erosion process i.e. down-wasting or back-wasting or a blending of both.

Scarps of denudo-erosional origin fall under two heads : (i) Rock-face scarps (ii) escarpments :

Rock-face scarps overlook the middle Gangetic plain in the north and the Sone valley in the south and the east. They are also seen along the flanks of the narrow glens. They rise abruptly from the plains without forming pediments. The total length of rock-face scarps is 344.1 kms. covering an area of 68.8 square kilometers or 4.9 per cent of the total area. Overhanging cliffs in sandstones, and under cliffs in shale rocks, have been carved out in these scarps. The scarp height over the plateau surface varies between 300 and 500 feet. These constitute the characteristic features of the entire Rohtas Plateau except in the west. They have evolved either by tectonic, denudational or biogenic (man) causes.

There are numerous escarpments of different sizes and heights. They traverse the plateau surface, and have imposing cuesta ranges. The following table shows the characteristics of the escarpments :

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TABLE A

Scarp heights	Length in kilometers	Area in square kilometers	Percentage of the total area
500′	27	13.5	.9%
450′	1.8	0.5	.1%
400′	33	16.5	1.1%
350′	123	36.9	2.5%
300′	449	224.5	15.1%
250′	295	118.0	7.9%
200′	286	78.5	5.3%
	1209.8	488.4	32.9%

These escarpments owe their existence to rock resistance. Escarpments of different heights are the result of differential erosion. Their sides are steep and the summit plane is undulating. Generally, they are elongated and their regularity has been broken by the deep glens of hill streams. The presence of large boulders at their base proves the dominance of the parallel like retreat of scarps. The sedimentary homogeneous structure comprising hard and soft rocks alternately has caused the elongated scarps. Figure 2, depicts the positions of escarpments with reference to their heights.

Residual hills : These are the remnants of hills projecting over the plateau as monadnocks on flat surfaces, as well as on areas where scarps dominate. Their heights are not more than 150′. There are numerous residual hills spotted on the plateau covering an area of about 31.1 square kilometers, which is 2.1 per cent of the total area. These land forms are concave in profile and their crest is conical. Large boulders are strewn around their base. Such land forms reveal the characteristics of the penultimate stage of a former cycle during which they have been evolved.

Isolated hills or Outliers

North of the Rohtas plateau are found numerous isolated hills and hillocks of varying forms and eminences, projecting themselves and overlooking the sky in a country of alluvial plains. These are actually the dismembered and detached parts of the main plateau mass. The height of the hills varies between 300 and 1000 feet. They have their own local names, such as Jhapla hill (786′), Kunda hill (726′), Pateshwar hill (728′), Kota hill (618′), Chainpur hill (646′), Khajura hill (1000′), Panapur hill (1050′), Ibra-

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himpur hill (900′) and Dnanwat hill (1000′), and are the highest detached rock masses in the north. Tarachandi hill (760′), Sonhar hill (250′), Babhani pahari (230′), in the north-east of the main plateau are significant outliers. Between the plateau and the Son valley there are nine outliers less than 200′ high.

Truly speaking, these land forms are a part and parcel of the main plateau. They have been subjected to down-wasting and back-wasting processes after faulting. Now they stand quite aloof from the main mass with their characteristic forms imparted to them by the resistant nature of the rocky base. Some of the former hillocks at places have been worn down to ground level, with only rock outcrops, and rest has been converted into alluvial plain. They break the monotony of the plain, reflecting the idea about the original extension of the Rohtas Plateau both in the north and south.

Denudo-Erosional forms

Fluvial forms : The primary task of land forms evolution begins with the erosional activities of water on the surface of the initial relief. The Rohtas plateau is a dissected tableland mainly due to fluvial action. Consequently, land forms of various types have evolved there. The excavation of hills, rivulets, valleys, the development of river terraces, valley-in-valley, incised meanders due to a break of slope, gorges and waterfalls with narrow deep glens, are the characteristic erosional fluvial land forms of geomorphic significance.

Rills and rivulets notch the faces of scarps and hills. Saucer-shaped and trough-shaped valleys have broken the uniformity of the plateau surface. Where a waterfall has evolved, the lower bottom of the valley forms a gorge and a deep glen, whereas the upper valley has a flat bottom. At their sources the valley bottoms look like ditches. River terraces and valley-in-valley forms are seen where a nick point is found. The valleys look like paths full of boulders with their sides straight.

Examples of river terraces, valley-in-valley forms and gorges are observed on the course of the Durgavati near Barap, on the course of the Karamnasa near Chhanpathar, on the course of the Sura near Karar, on the course of the Kao at Dhuan Kund and on the course of the Phulwaria at Tutarahi. These sites present distinctive erosional fluvial land forms.

Gravitation forms : Gravitation forms are the part of the landscape included between the crest of hills and their drainage lines. These land forms are interdependent with stream channels and the geometry of drainage basins. Such land forms are produced under the effect of gravity, so they are known as gravitation forms i.e., hill slopes between the highest and

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the lowest points. The following types of such land forms are evolved in the Rohtas plateau (a) overhanging cliffs (convex forms), (b) under cliffs (concave forms), (c) debris mantled convex-concave forms (d) rectilinear or straight forms, (e) hummocky or lobate forms.

Throughout the outskirts of the plateau and along the sides of precipitous glens, the upper resistant sandstones form overhanging cliffs or bare rock surfaces, resembling the free-face of arid or semi-arid regions. The angles of inclination varies between 40° and 60° or above. They are convex forms.

The shale rocks lying under massive sandstones, preserved under cliffs which make a gap for their materials, have been shifted downwards. Its sides are between 30° to 50° angle. These are concave forms.

Materials removed from the shale rocks are shifted below under gravity in the shape of boulders. They are deposited on the lower portion of the hill slope. The size of boulders vary from three feet to nine feet in diameter. This portion is characterized by convexity with its concave features downwards. Thus, it remains a convex-concave form resembling a constant slope. On the outskirts and along the side of the valley with a slip-off slope the three (above-mentioned) land forms are found.

Towards the cut bank of a valley the detrital materials have been washed away, so that cliffs have rectilinear forms, or straight forms, with steep slopes. Rectilinear forms have evolved where the upper lying sandstones are absent.

Residual hills and isolated hills are marked with hummocky or lobate forms mainly due to the preponderance of boulders ranging between two feet to five feet in size around their bases. No significant streams rise to wash the detrital materials, only sheet wash reduces them to some extent. Thus the boulders and taluses originate lobate forms in the varied landscape.

Pediments have not evolved and their absence throws light on the nature of the terrain reflecting the role of stream action.

The sides of the valley have a similarity in the upper convex slope and the lower concave slope, except at the lowest debris mantled slope. This depends upon the pattern of the valley bottom characterized by cut-bank or slip-off-slope.

The gravitational land forms constitute the fundamental unit of physiographic landscape. Their morphology and mode of development are controlled by various factors. Although the parallel-like retreat and slope-decline are operative in the development of these land forms, the role of structure is dominant. The horizontal sedimentary strata of hard and soft rocks namely, sandstones, shales and limestones, have been responsible for the

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evolution of such complex gravitational forms having three segments—upper, the crest slope, central, the middle slope and basal, the foot slope.

Aeolian forms : The aeolian forms here are almost negligible from the geomorphic point of view. The rocky surface and the savanna vegetation have retarded wind abrasion which prevails only for a short duration during summer. The wind has only scratched the outlying faces of the plateau and hills.

Depositional forms : Just reverse to the sculptural land forms, the geomorphic processes give birth to the constructional land forms. Such landforms result mainly due to the loss of transporting power and excessive load. They are depositional features.

Fluvial forms : With the accumulation of sediments by the stream different land forms are evolved. A floodplain is a characteristic feature of stream deposition, as the valley is the fundamental feature of stream erosion. Floodplains along the channels of the Rohtas plateau have been constructed with gravel and sand of very short dimension. Because most of the streams flow from/in the hills, they have a tremendous transporting power, resulting in the absence of large flood-plains and the scarcity of material to form them. Channel bars are most prominent in the streams of the Sura and Durgavati basins. The preponderance of materials forces the streams to leave them in their channels—they haven't the force to transport the load. Meander bars are found inside the meanders of every stream.

Natural levels and floodplain scour-routes are found above the break of slopes whereas below the reaches of the streams, the characteristic features are an absence of natural levels and a preponderance of large boulders.

Every stream of the plateau forms alluvial fans when it leaves the rim of the plateau in the north and also in the east. The materials constituting such land forms are coarse boulders and pebbles, generally of sandastones and shales. The coalescence of fans has created a vast plain below the foot of the plateau which is utilized for agricultural purposes these days.

Colian forms : No significant land forms of colian deposits have developed. Only very fine, sand particles are blown by deflation. Such particles remain on the leaves of trees, and minor joints are filled up, but these activities of deflation have little geomorphic significance.

Biogenic forms : Biologic factors evolve land forms independent of geomorphic processes. Man, as well as natural vegetation, and other creatures remodel the shape in accordance with their capacity and need. Organic complexes influence, to a great extent, the operational processes in landscape evolution e.g., vegetation retards transportation and enhances weathering, resulting in distinct land forms, characterizing the role of vegetation.

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Anthropogenic forms : Human activities are related with the geomorphic features. There are four types of land forms evolved by man quite different from other land forms :

(i) Concave forms (quarries and sand pits, clay pits and gravel pits), along the northern and eastern face of the plateau.

(ii) Convex forms (forts, temples and dams) — Rohtas fort, Shergarb fort, temples of lords Siva and Durga, Paramhans Shivanand Ashram, Jagadahanwa Meura and Karamchat dams.

(iii) Agricultural terracing.

(iv) Bordered settlements and huts projecting over the plateau.

(v) Rectilinear forms due to stone-cutting for pebbles from the outliers.

Other biogenic forms : Wild animals make their dens to take shelter below the surface. Such dens are hollows and they are peculiar features. Ants, termites etc., make their habitations by collecting finer materials.

Plants also exert their role in land forms development. The boulder-matted surface of the plateau, under vegetative cover, is a manifestation of plant action in remodelling the land forms. The conservation of soil on the surface, where the savanna type of vegetation is available, reflects the idea that the characteristics of land forms are dependent upon the nature of the plants. The morphological analysis of surface land forms provides a path to trace the geomorphic feature as well as the geomorphic evolution of the Rohtas plateau.

Acknowledgement

The authors are highly grateful to Professor M. Pathak under whose guidance and careful supervision the present paper has been prepared.

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Sugar Industry in Bihar— A Geographical Survey

Dr. Manager Prasad
Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya

If Bengal gave sugar cane to the world, Bihar did the spade work in the development of sugar manufacture in India. This product, which was known as 'sharkara' went to different parts of the globe and assumed different names in various languages as 'sakkar' in Prakrit, 'schakkar' in Persian, 'sukker' in Arabic, 'suicar' in Assyrian and Phoenesian, 'sachhrum,' in Latin, 'azucar' in Spanish and Portugese, 'zuckero' in Italian, 'sucre' in French, 'zuckre,' in German and sugar in English.[1]

From very ancient times sugar cane and sugar cane products have been known in Bihar. The earliest attempt to start a sugar factory in North Bihar was made by the Dutch planters in 1841-42, and then by the English planters in 1899. In spite of the failure of these early attempts, the sugar industry came to be established on a sound footing in this region as early as the first decade of the present century.

It is worth pointing out in this context that North Bihar constitutes the base of this industry. "...the sugar factory belt of Bihar is located primarily north of the Ganga, south-west of the Baghmati and covers (old) districts of Champaran, Saran, Muzaffarpur and Western Darbhanga. The districts of heaviest concentration are (old) Champaran and Saran."[2] With a few exceptions, practically every township between Muzaffarpur and Bagaha, has one sugar factory.

Factors of localization of the Sugar Industry

The production of sugar is an agriculture-based industry. Its existence depends on agriculture because, its raw material is sugar-cane—a 'weight-losing material'. The sugar produced from it ranges from 9 to 12 per cent of the total weight of the cane crushed. The sugar cane is bulky and is more difficult to transport than sugar. Its sucrose content begins to deteriorate after it has been harvested from the field and "better recovery is dependent upon its being crushed within 24 hours of its separation from

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the root."[3] This is why sugar industries are established in proximity to the fields growing sugar cane. Sugar manufacture is essentially a raw-material-localized industry, as the price of cane accounts for nearly 70 per cent of the cost of sugar.

Numerous factors have helped the heavy localization of this industry in North Bihar. The physical features, the nature of the soil, the improved means of transportation etc., in the region have provided ample scope for the development of the industry. Dr. E. Ahmad has rightly pointed out, "It may be noted that the physical conditions of the fertile Ganga alluvium of North Bihar, and adequate in lime and potash, naturally moist by sufficient rain and capillary attraction of moisture from adjoining rivers through porous newer alluvium, having tolerably high humidity during major part of the growing season and a large proportion of Bhit upland west of the Baghmati locate the cane crop and the industry in the western part of the North Bihar plains."[4]

The excessive concentration of the sugar industry in the western part of the North Bihar plain can be attributed to the following factors :

1. This part of the Gangetic plain possesses a rich and fertile alluvium soil which has been brought down by rivers like the Ganga and the Gandak. Lime and potash are necessary for the proper growth of sugar cane. The soil of this region contains adequate quantities of lime and potash. Wherever a loamy soil is found, it is exceptionally suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane.
2. In this region there is concentration of sugar cane crop which enables the sugar factories to get fresh cane supply directly from the fields in sufficient amounts.
3. The source of power is an important consideration for running the factories. Therefore, in establishing such factories the question of power supply always plays an important role in the choice of their location. For the establishment of any factory the following vital factors are to be considered:
   Money, Material, Market, Men, Motive power, Machinery, Management, Momentum of an early start and means of Transport. So far as the sugar industry is concerned, there is no serious problem of power as bagasse, the crushed residue of cane, obtained as a by-product, is more than enough to meet the entire requirements of boilers (in the factories) to raise steam for running the machinery.
4. Irrigation facilities, though to a limited extent, are available for sugar cane crop from the Gandak Project canals and other means, as teh

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Gangetic plain has a level surface.

5. This part of Bihar is thickly populated. Therefore ample cheap labour, skilled as well as unskilled, is available for sugar factories.
6. Transport is not a problem as sugar cane is largely transported by bullock-carts that can ply on kachcha roads also.
7. Being nearer to the consuming markets, this region enjoys the advantages of cheap transport of sugar to the nearby centres.

Distribution of the Sugar Industry

Sugar manufacture is the only organized industry in the north Ganga plain. It is rightly said that "a significant role is played by the cash crops in the economy and industrial structure of the region."[5] After the death of the cash crops of opium and indigo in this region, the only alternative left with farmers was cultivation of sugar cane. Besides this, "As cane was the only crop which could withstand the natural hazard and drought, cane cultivation took its route and began to be grown over extensive areas."[6]

About five lakh agriculturists are directly dependent on the cultivation of sugar cane for their livelihood. About 37,000 workers are engaged in manufacturing and transportation of sugar cane and finished goods from field to factory and from factory to markets. These workers receive between Rs. 3 crores to 4.5 crores in the shape of their wages. These sugar factories pay about Rs. 65 crores as cane price to the cultivators. The Central revenue is augmented through excise collections and amounts to about Rs. 18 crores.[7]

The history of the establishment of sugar factories in Bihar goes back to 1904, when the first sugar factory, with a vacuum pan process and modern milling method, was commissioned in Bihar at Marhowrah. It was followed by Lauriya in 1905, Bara Chakia in 1906, Ryam and Lohat in 1914, Siwan in 1918, Samastipur in 1920, Pachrukhi in 1922 and Busar in 1924.[8]

By 1931-32, of the 31 factories in India, 14 were in U.P. and 12 in Bihar. In 1932 the Government of India granted protection to the sugar industry as it could not compete with the cheap imported foreign sugar. Given this impetus the number of factories shot up to 138 in 1950-51, out of which 57 were in U.P. and 29 in Bihar. By the end of 1961 the total number of factories in the country increased to 174, but the number of factories in Bihar remained static. In the year 1974, the total number of working sugar factories in India rose to 245, but unfortunately, Bihar has now been relegated to a position of less importance. Two factories of Bihar, located at Semapur and Jhapaha were shifted from Bihar. Between 1967 and 1971 as many as five sugar factories had to close down. They were

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Warisaliganj, Bihata and Dalmianagar in South Bihar, and Goraul and Ryam in North Bihar. The Warisaliganj sugar factory was again started in the 1975-76 season. The sugar factory, south of Ganga, at Goraru (Gaya) would have met the same fate if the state Government had not purchased it in 1962. Out of twelve sick sugar factories in the State, seven have already been taken over by the State Government, and are being run under the supervision of the Bihar Government. Bihar's sugar industry is still going downhill as the following figures show.[9]

TABLE 1

STATE-WISE BREAKDOWN OF SUGAR MILLS

Name of State	*No. of mills in 1947-48*	*No. of mills in 1974*	*Licences obtained by the State Govts. for setting up new sugar factories*
U. P.	63	74	25
Bihar	30	30	1
Punjab & Haryana	1	9	2
Tamil Nadu	10	17	3
Maharashtra	10	50	23
W. Bengal & Assam	2	3	2
Orissa	1	3	1
Others	17	59	27
TOTAL	133	345	84

On the basis of the number of factories Bihar, which was second in the country in 1948, has now been pushed to third place and Maharashtra has moved up to occupy the second place. In production during the 1974-75 season, Maharashtra was ahead of other states, including U.P. In 1975 Maharashtra produced 15.95 lakh tonnes of sugar against U.P.'s 14.31 lakh tonnes. The establishment of new sugar factories especially in the cooperative sector, has mainly been responsible for raising Maharashtra's position in the production of sugar in the country. Bihar, in spite of its third position on the grounds of the numerical strength of its factories, is only the fifth largest producer of sugar among the States of India.[10]

The distribution of working sugar factories in the 1975-76 season in the various districts of Bihar was as follows :

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TABLE 2

LOCATION OF SUGAR INDUSTRIES IN BIHAR

Name of District (Old)	*Location of sugar factories*
Champaran	Narayanpur, Lauriya, Hari Nagar, Narkatiaganj, Chanpatia, Majaulia, Sagauli, Motihari & Barachakia.
Saran	Sasamusa, Sidhwalia, Harkhua, Gopalganj, Siwan, Marhowrah, Pachrukhi & Mirganj.
Darbhanga	Samastipur, Sakri, Hasanpur & Lohat.
Muzaffarpur	Riga & Motipur
Purnea	Banmankhi
Gaya	Guraru and Warisaliganj.

The latest and most modern sugar factory in Bihar, estabished in the cooperative sector at Banmankhi (Purnea), was commissioned on 24 February, 1970. The factory so far has crushed the maximum of about 30,000 tonnes of sugar cane a day. The six sugar factories, engaging over 1000 labourers, are Dalmianagar (now closed), Mirganj, Siwan, Lohat, Samastipur and Majaulia.[11] Other factories are medium-sized, generally engaging 500-1000 labourers. As many as seven factories, located in Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts, are small establishments generally engaging less than 100 persons. These factories manufacture deshi sugar.[12]

TABLE 3

CANE ACREAGE AND SUGAR PRODUCTION

Year	*Cane Acreage (in thousand acres)*		*Sugar Production (lakh tonnes)*	
	Bihar	*All India*	*Bihar*	*All India*
1960-61	458	5789	3.85	30.21
1964-65	409	6328	3.92	32.32
1970-71	400	6566	2.93	37.40
1972-73	325	5960	...	37.44
1975-76	...	...	1.70	...

Source : Bihar Sugar Mills Association

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Production of Alcohol

Some sugar factories in Bihar, such as Marhowrah, Lauriya, Narkatiaganj etc., have established their distilleries to produce alcohol from molasses. The S.K.G. Distillery, Lauriya, is the biggest distillery in Bihar. Alcohol is available in three varieties. It can be used as drink, secondly it can be used for the manufacture of a number of chemicals and thirdly, it can be used as motor fuel for the production of mechanical power, known as power alcohol.

Hindrances to growth of Sugar Industry

The sugar industry and sugar cane cultivation in Bihar are not looking up due according to experts to lack of facilities connected with the industry and cane cultivation.

1. The existing means of irrigation in the shape of canals, state tube wells, private tube wells, masonry wells, rahats and pumping sets are extremely insufficient.[13] Only 30 per cent of the cane areas have irrigation facilities. Besides this, irrigation rates of sugar cane are exorbitantly high in comparison to other crops. Irrigation rates should be at par with other crops.
2. The average sugar cane yield in Bihar in 1971-72 was about 15 tonnes per acre, as against Maharashtra's more than 30 tonnes and Hawaii's more than 60 tonnes. The State's target for the package areas in respect of yield has been kept at about 25 tonnes per acre. Thus, due to the low per acre yield of sugar cane, factories are compelled to run long distances for obtaining supplies of sugar cane.
3. Percentage of average recovery of sugar in Bihar is unfortunately lower in comparison to those of other States. The recovery percentage in other countries is high. It is well over 12 per cent in Cuba and 14 per cent in Australia.

RECOVERY PERCENTAGE

Seasons	*Bihar*	*Maharashtra*
1945-46	10.49	10.79
1949-50	9,91	11.84
1955-56	9.76	11.67
1960-61	9.22	11.65
1965-66	9.26	11.32
1970-71	9.01	11.25

Source : Bihar Sugar Mills Association

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4. Most of the sugar factories are over 30 years old. Marhowrah is of 59 years, Barachakia and Lauriya are 58 years, Ryan is 50, Lohat 49, Siwan 45 and several others are above 40 years. Most of them are carrying on somehow with heavy repairs and renewal. They have outlived their period of workability.[14]
(About ten years have elapsed since the report was written. Naturally ten years will have to be added to the age of each of the plants.)
5. The sugar factory areas are not very well connected with pucca roads and link roads are few. Infrastructures like irrigation, drainage, roads etc., are still far from adequate.[15]
6. The average duration of the crushing season is short in Bihar, which results in very high overhead cost.

DURATION OF CRUSHING SEASON

Seasons	*(In days)*		
	Bihar	*Maharastra*	*Tamil Nadu*
1965-66	143	186	190
1967-68	59	132	124
1968-69	104	196	240
1970-71	116	164	192
1972-73	88	155	175

Source : Bihar Sugar Mills Association

7. Another important factor hindering the growth of the industry is the relative economics of gur, khandsari and sugar. Cane is diverted from the factories to the production of gur and khandsari due to the high prices obtained from them, and also due to a wide tax disparity. There is no duty on gur. The duty on khandsari is nominal but there is a heavy burden of excise duty on sugar. This results in the diversion of cane to gur and khandsari manufacture, leading to a premature closure of the factories.[16]

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PART THREE

History and Archaeology

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Archaeology in India— Some Problems and Suggestions

Dr. B. P. Sinha
Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology
Patna University

Indian archaeology, has made immense strides since independence, and can rightfully claim, because of its brilliant achievements both in quality and the extent of its activities, a place of honour in world archaeology. Indian history from the time of the Buddha and, certainly from Asoka's time, was fairly well-documented in literary and archaeological terms. But the pre and protohistory was very imperfectly studied alongside. The loss of Harappa and Mohenjodaro to Pakistan posed a great challenge to Indian scholars to discover sites of the same size and importance. The neolithic pattern in India was hardly known except for stray finds of neolithic celts, and from excavations in South India, particularly Brahmagiri. The Chalcolithic culture was almost unknown. Indian literature is very ancient and varied, and it contains traditions of hoary antiquity. These were still absolutely unrelated to archaeology. But archaeologists (since independence), in spite of tremendous financial limitations and inadequacy of trained manpower have risen to the occasion, perhaps because of the joys of freedom. Realizing the herculean task (for the archaeologists), the universities were called upon to share this gigantic national work, and the results have been singularly rewarding. Lothal and Kalibangan give us not only a mature Harappan culture but also some features not met with at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Phenomenal progress has been made in the discovery of Early, Middle and Late Stone Age sites, found not only in the Deccan and the South, or in the Punjab, but in Kashmir, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bihar, Bengal and the Madhya Pradesh. Dr. B.B. Lal informed me of a new site in Gwalior with well-defined implements from terraces of Early Middle and Late Stone Ages. The contributions of the Deccan College Research Institute under the inspiring and competent leadership of Dr. H. D. Sankalia, the doyen of Indian archaeologists will never be forgotten. B.B. Lal and Thaper's at Kalibangan and S.S. Rao's at Lothal, are epoch-

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making work. Great progress has been made in unravelling and understanding the neolithic pattern of India since the late Dr. V.D. Krishnaswami read a paper on the "Neolithic Pattern in India." Piklihal, Utnoor, Sangankullu and Tekkal Kota, particularly enriched our knowledge of the Indian neolithic complex. But the discovery of Burzhom, as a full-fledged neolithic site, gave us in stratigraphic context a neolithic culture in the Srinagar Valley, which in turn may have been influenced by the Chinese pit-dwelling culture. The discovery of Chirand in North Bihar, as a fully developed neolithic site, with its characteristic large bone-tool kit, and post-firing painted pottery, has been actually sensational. Neolithic culture in the archaeological context has also been found in Orissa and Assam—The Chalcolithic culture with black-and-red ware succeeded the neolithic culture in Chirand. Chalcolithic cultures have been located now throughout the Gangetic Valley, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The antiquity of O.C.P., over the black-and-red ware of the Chalcolithic is proved by the Lal Kila Excavations. PGW is to be rarely found east of Allahabad, and the Allahpur excavations have posed a problem for those who advocate the ante-dating of the PGW. The black-and-red ware and PGW are followed by the NBP in Northern India, with which the historical period begins. This briefest summary just illustrates the fairly extensive and intensive work done in the pre and protohistory of India.

I am extremely grateful to the Archaeological Survey of India, to many Directors of State Archaeology, and to the universities who have kindly sent me relevant information about the work done in the year 1974-75. I am particularly grateful to Professors B.B. Lal, S.B. Deo, S.R. Das and K.D. Bajpai and N.K. Sahu and to Shri B.K. Thapar, Dr. R.C. Agrawal, Mr. J.N. Nanavati, Mr. B.R. Subrahmanyam, Dr. Suraj Bhan, Shri K.M. Srivastav and Dr. B.S. Varma. Three late stone age and four protohistoric sites were located in Gujarat. Sand-dune sites were found near Jaipur and Ajmer yielding microliths and pottery, and showing a relationship with the Bagor cultural complex. The discovery of iron in post-OCP but pre-PGW, and in the black- nd-red ware strata, suggest an early date for iron in Rajasthan. It may be pointed out that at Chirand, in Bihar, iron was also found with the black-and-red ware, before the NBP strata. It should now be accepted that use of iron in Bihar and Rajasthan is pre-NBP, and probably pre-PGW also. The problem, however, needs further elaboration and analysis from the history of technology in India. The Lal Kila excavations take the OCP date earlier than 1800 B.C., in which case it becomes contemporaneous with Harappan culture. A richer and far more extensive than the Kalibanga site has been

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found at Rakhigarhi and the pre-Harappan Siswal-I complex has been identified with other sites in Haryana. So, a pre-Harappan culture complex, or complexes, are being added to our knowledge of protohistory. Continued work in Chirand confirmed the previous results of a developed, full-fledged neolithic complex followed without break, by the Chalcolithic black-and-red ware. And now in Andhra, in Jami in the Vishakhapatnam district, has been discovered a non-megalithic black-and-red ware unassociated with iron. In this first phase only one small copper piece, part of a ring, has been found but two ground axes have been reported from the same phase. The excavator puts the culture as neolithic-Chalcolithic, and places it before 700 B.C. Unravelling the pre and protohistory of India was for a time the constant preoccupation of Indian archaeologists, and was, naturally, little documented. Though much work has been done in this field, much more remains to be done. The Early, Middle and Late Stone Ages whose traces are now being found in the Gangetic Valley, have to be more intensively looked for by a thorough exploration of the Ganges, the Gandak, the Bagmati, the Sarayu, the Damodar and the Son valleys. The changes in the river-courses have been phenomenal. In the *Ramayana* the Son flows by the side of Rajgir, and according to Patanjali, Pataliputra was more on the bank of the Son than on the Ganges. This is just a stray example. In exploring the Bagmati, the Gandak and even the proverbially changing Kosi, the co-operation of the Government of Nepal would be necessary. This is a stupendous task and one agency cannot cope with this in the foreseeable future, when, to me, the task appears urgent. Large scale irrigation projects may damage or even obliterate the evidence we are in search for. For my part the department of Patna University and, I hope, the Directorate of Archaeology, Bihar, would extend all co-operation. This august society could formulate a plan of work. The neolithic pattern, or patterns, in India is now slowly emerging, but more patient and sustained work is needed. The geographical gap between Chirand and Burzahom is wide, and much more wider is the gap between Chirand and the neolithic Deccan and the South Indian sites. There appeared to be no ecological or geographical reasons why Burzahom and Chirand or Kuchai should be isolated neolithic communities. The sophisticated beads and the bone-tools of neolithic Chirand, reflect a technology which must have drawn on some other model(s). Excavations of the Bharatpur mound on the left bank of the Damodar, in the Burdwan district, have exposed a neolithic-Chalcolithic habitation, and this is an encouraging step forward in linking Chirand with Kuchai.

But our preoccuption with prehistory should not make us blind to the

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other equally, rather more, challenging tasks. In spite of the commendable increase in our knowledge of the post-Harappan cultures, it has not been possible to satisfactorily identify the people who composed Vedic literature and created the great Epic Age of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Are these hoary traditions only grandmother's tales, or are they, like the old Biblical traditions, to be unearthed by the archaeologists? Our problem to correlate the Vedic, Epic, and the Puranic literary references with actual archaeological finds is more difficult than that faced by the archaeologists in West Asia. Changes in river-courses, frequent wars and invasions and, above all the funerary customs have conspired to leave negligible traces for (our) archaeologists working on traditional sites. The excavations at Hastinapur, Ayodhya, Mathura, Rajgir, Vaisali, Mahesvara (Mahishamati), have so far yielded nothing to corroborate the Epic grandeur of these cities. But it is to be admitted that the excavated areas have been very small, and only extensive horizontal excavations could settle the problem. As archaeologists we should certainly be relentlessly objective and scientific in our approach, but at the same time we should not start with a negative outlook. Schliemann's work at Troy is still an example to remember. I would concede that our Epic stories and descriptions of cities have exaggerations, as in all epics, but that they have no substratum of truth at all, I would accept, only when thorough extensive excavations are carried out at traditional sites. We may not necessarily come across stone and brick structures. Most of the traditional cities were on river-banks, and Kautilya refers to the use of wood in building cities (puras) on river banks. To imagine that the Vedic Aryans, who must have been, for sometime, contemporary with late Harappans at least, would not learn anything of architecture from them, is not reasonable. What I am pleading with all humility and sincerity is that before we dismiss our ancient literary evidence, we should in all fairness give it a chance to defend itself.

This naturally leads us to the historical period, beginning from the Buddha's time. Much work has been done. Taxila, Kumhrar (ancient Pataliputra), Ujjain, Kausambi, Sravasti have been excavated and additional knowledge, of the political and cultural history of the time, has been added to what was known only from literature, foreign accounts, inscriptions and coins; but this is hardly an occasion to go into details about them. Even last year, excavations at Piprahava settled a knotty problem of the identification of the site of Kapilavastu. Notwithstanding the scepties in our midst, inscribed seals (of course of a much later period) and the cultural stratigraphy of the site with, the relic caskets, do indicate that the capital of the Sakyas was here, in Piprahava. Another important identification of an ancient site comes from West Bengal. Excavations at Raja-

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badidanga, in Murshidabad district, have yielded seals bearing the legend Sri Raktamrttikamahavihara. This settles a long controversy, and the capital of Sasanka, Karnasuvarna, is to be located here. Further excavations are bound to unearth the civil structures of the site. Excavations in Ajaygah, in the Kalhandi district of Orissa, have yielded a cultural sequence from circa 250 B.C. to fifth century A.D. An interesting find is a piece of Chunar sandstone with Mauryan polish on one side only. Roman pottery and early Satavahana coins have been reported from Bhokhandan excavation (Bhoavardhana of the Sanchi and Bharhut inscriptions). Lying on the route from Pratisthana (Paithan) to Ujjain, the city developed as a trade centre, dealing particularly in Roman pottery-amphorae, Roman bullae, and coin moulds. A carved ivory mirror handle, dated first century A.D., reminds us of the Pompei, example. In Bihar, Balirajgarh (Madhubani district) was again taken up for excavation. The site was excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India for one session, a few years ago. This year's excavations gave a good idea of the massive fortification of bricks, and the trench inside the fort yielded beautiful terracottas of birds and animals and human figures. New NBP pieces were being picked up when the sub-soil water came up. This is a serious problem to contend with in this promising site.

This problem is more challenging in Champa. Champa is one of the early cities mentioned in the Epics, and Buddhist and Jain literature. The remains of an extensive rampart, and continuous habitation from the NBP to Gupta levels have been exposed. The antiques which include numerous jewellers' moulds, reveal and corroborate the industrial life of the city. The last seasons excavation has been particularly rewarding. The NBP cultural strata has been very thick, and what is important is that the best quality NBP and antiques are in the lowest strata; quantitatively also, the lowest strata are richer in NBP. It appears, therefore, that the introduction of NBP in Champa was fairly early, to me earlier than 600 B.C. For long it has been believed that the home of NBP is in East India, its epicentre being Magadha. It is important to note that both in quality and quantity the best NBP is obtained from Champa and Sonpur, both in Bihar. But the main problem to be tackled is the correlation of the rampart with the habitation site. The site of Champa is very large and the problem of the sub-soil water coming up both at the rampart and the habitation site is, for us, staggering.

The excavation of Champa is really of national importance. Among ancient cities, Champa with extensive remains of fortifications, typified by large high mounds, may answer the question of the antiquity of the city in ancient India. Sravasti excavations have not solved the problem of the

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origin of the traditional Buddhist city of Buddha's time. Kausambi's datings have been questioned. Pataliputra cannot be placed before the last phase of the fourth century B.C. Ujjain is a promising site and its report is eagerly awaited, but its dimensions as a large city at the time of the Buddha are archaeologically suspect. Champa has some promise. An extensive horizontal excavation of the NBP and the still earlier (buried) phase may give us a clue, and excavations to the foundations of the earlier fortifications may, with its associated finds, help us in arriving at some positive conclusion about the antiquity of the city. The recent excellent work of A. Ghosh on *Early Historical Cities of India* should act as spur to archaeologists to find if there was really any archaeological proof of the beginnings of urbanization in India, particularly in the Gangetic Valley at the time of the Buddha or even before. Iron technology must have become dominant by the sixth century B.C., and Buddhist literature is replete with references of a brisk trade and commerce and industrialization, leading to the development of cities. But the datings of different strands of Buddhist literature are controversial, and many of the works referring to cities and their descriptions are believed to have been put to writing not before the Mauryan period. It is also to be noted that so far no substantial brick or stone structures have been discovered which can with certainty be placed at the pre-Mauryan times. Actually the Kushana structures in Kumhrar art, Chirand, in Bihar, are really the first massive structures we find, leaving aside the eight-pillared hall at Kumhrar. It would be a fortuitous coincidence that at each site, may be Vaisali, Sravasti, Ujjain, Ahicchatra and Champa, the archaeologists lay-out and spade missed the pre-Mauryan massive (?) remains of cities contemporary with the Buddha, even earlier. This serious problem in the history of urbanization in India, has to be tackled as the most important archaeological problem today, mobilizing all heads and resources to plan and undertake this project on an all-India basis. For myself, I extend my fullest cooperation to sister universities, State Directorates and Archaeological Survey of India, to organize and execute a thorough excavation of the largely extensive Champa mounds and ramparts.

Actually the crying need of the hour is an extensive and thorough exploration of the entire country. Every day lost means loss of irreparable national heritage. The large scale irrigation projects, setting up of industrial colonies and urbanization, are an inevitable danger to archaeologically potential areas. The Archaeological Survey of India's scheme of exploration has not yielded the desired results. The universities and State Archaeology departments have to take up this task in a coordinated way. The Government of India on the advice of Dr. Sankalia had thought of roping in

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students in this gigantic national task. In my opinion the M.A.'s in Ancient Indian History and Archaeology or even post-graduate students with Archaeology as their subject could be of immense help. No time is to be lost, and an effective workable scheme should be prepared and sent for approval to the Government of India for financial sanction. This would, while in one way contribute to a reduction in unemployment of specially trained personnel, in another way, it would generate constructive and healthy competition among workers in different areas. Performance orientation should be the hallmark of the scheme, and the modest funds necessary should not be denied.

But the country is very large and archaeological and historical materials are spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. In a democratic world nothing clicks without popular sympathy and support. These would not, I am certain remain wanting if properly approached. I would suggest, at first instance, the formation of archaeological societies in every college and that students and teacher members of the society should collect information about mounds, sculptures, manuscripts in the area of their choice. It may be possible in due course to have an archaeological society at every block level. All this requires hard work and planned thinking. Our society members can take the lead and establish such a society in each state and university they come from. This will ensure a continuous replenishment of new blood to our society and make it a dynamic instrument of not only archaeological research and activity, but a vehicle of generating intelligent interest in the history and culture of the country, in general, and of regional localities, in particular, among the educated people. Professors should encourage M.A. dissertations or Ph.D. theses on archaeology, of a district or a still smaller locality. This would bring, I am sure much new and useful information for archaeologists and historians to work further, and also help in salvaging something from being lost for ever.

But all this knowledge, gathered from so many sources and agencies if not published soon, will gather dust and be lost forever. Publications of full reports of excavations take a lot of time. May I suggest a good summary of the results, with essential drawings and photographs xeroxed for the use of hundreds of co-workers. The *Indian Archaeology Annual Review* is doing this kind of work in its own way with obvious limitations, and is not available to many who want it. It may not be out of place here to take notice of some recent publications on Indian archaeology. *The Potteries in Ancient India*, published by the Patna University is a collection of papers contributed to a seminar on ancient Indian potteries held at Patna. Till today it (probably) remains the only book which deals

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with all aspects of ancient Indian pottery. Studies in ancient Indian seals by Thapaliyal is a fairly comprehensive work on inscribed seals from early historical times. D. P. Agrawal's work the *Copper and Bronze Age in India*, is an exceedingly useful work for the study of ancient Indian technology. Manchand's book *Study of Harappan Pottery*, with a profusion of drawings gives a good descriptive account of the Harappan pottery. S.P. Gupta's *Disposal of the Dead and Physical Types*, is a pioneering effort in this rather difficult branch of study. S.R. Rao's work on *Lothal and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, fulfils a long awaited dream of many of us and Agarwal and Ghosh's work on *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, gives up-to-date data on C 14 datings of ancient Indian cultures. These sources and reference books will, for a long time, be on the shelves of the archaeologists at work. But many more equally useful publications are our urgent requirement. A scheme should be drawn up for preparing an album of pottery types, region-wise and also type-wise. So much ancient pottery is being dug out every season that it is difficult for any one to keep pace with ceramic industries of the past, the keys to unlock many cultural mysteries. Detailed monographs of specific ceramic cultures should be planned. An album of terracottas period-wise, with due notice of exact stratification and locus, has to be attempted. This study may be taken regionwise to stress regional variations in technique and adornment. An up-to-date archaeological and historical atlas of India is a long-cherished dream which should be realized in the near future. I have only indicated a few lines of enquiry and work. Many others may be equally important. The work envisaged is certainly heavy but I am sure this society, run by enthusiastic and competent young scholars, would welcome challenges.

Archaeology, to serve its objective and also to get adequate financial backing from the authorities, central or local, has to be popularized. Readable pamphlets, booklets, monographs and learned articles in Indian languages have to be brought out. I am sure there is an unspoken demand for these. It is inconceivable that a person can have no interest in his or her country's past. Archaeology from being the monopoly of tight-lipped archaeologists has to be made freely available and understandable to the people at large. Extramural lectures in cities, in block-centres, even on topics of general and particular local historical interest may be arranged. An archaeological temper, as may be said, is to be generated among the common people who will actively assist in discovering the country every day and in salvaging and preserving the national and local heritage.

This is absolutely necessary today when priceless pieces of national heritage sculptures, paintings and manuscripts are being stolen. Eternal vigilance on the part of the government, the archaeologists and the people

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is the only answer. Making people realize the importance of these objects is a task which the Indian Archaeological Society and its branches could take up with profit. The Government of India passed the necessary legislation, and some of us had hoped that the scheme of compulsory registration of antiques would have been in force in right earnest by now. But somehow the scheme is not getting the right leadership and momentum.

The discovery of new sites and antiques is a continuous process, but the conservation of what is with us is still a sacred task towards a repayment of our debt to our ancestors. The Class IV low paid monument attendants are often required to look after more than one monument spread at long distances and are hardly a desirable agency to stop vandalism at important monument sites. These monument attendants are seldom provided accommodation, and are expected to attend to the monument for twenty-four hours. This must end. Monument attendants are to be increased in number, are to be paid better, and more than all this, tours of inspection are to be more frequent. Vandalism at Khajuraho is a glaring example, exposing the limitations of the present machinery of watch and ward. But all these efforts would be little rewarding and of insignificant social relevance, if archaeological data, so painstakingly recovered from the bowels of the earth, cannot be processed within a relatively reasonable and absolute chronological framework. To talk of prehistory and the history of early man and his society, without firm datum lines, within a possible chronological bracket, may be akin to talking through one's hat. All of us are deeply indebted to Dr. D. P. Agarwal and his competent colleagues for giving us, within limitations of course, a series of C 14 dates for reconstructing the chronology of our ancient cultures. The dates have also thrown a spanner in our traditional scheme of chronology. Take the Harappa Culture. On the basis of C14 datings, Agarwal estimates the metropolitan Harappan within 2300-2000 B.C. and the peripheral Harappan at 2200-1700 B.C. This considerably reduces Wheeler's bracket of 2500-1500 B.C. S. R. Rao strongly argues for an earlier date for the beginnings of Lothal; and while he accepts the first series of dates, he rejects the inconvenient second series. The upper levels of Mohenjodaro, are brackected at 200 B.C. But the antiques down at sixty feet below the present flood level plainly show that the occupation of Mohenjodaro was much earlier than 2300 B.C. where contacts with the Sargonid period, and comparable materials, have been found only from the upper layers of Mohenjodaro. How much earlier is uncertain. In this connection it should also be noted that the Pre-Harappan Kot-Diji materials of sixteen layers, overlying, the neolithic, have been found in Saraikhola, in Pakistan. The Kot-Diji Culture in W. Pakistan has been placed within 2300-2100 B.C.

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(taking the earliest and youngest dates for Kot-Diji, Sarai Khola's lowest Kot-Diji material is to be dated in this background). Pre-Harappan Kalibangan I's earliest date is 2370-120, and it would not be unreasonable to place the beginning of early or Pre-Indus Kalibangan between 2600-2500 B.C. unless data from the foundation level of Kalibangan I give us a number of younger dates. Some years ago, I had pointed out, on the basis of painted motifs on Harappan pottery, that some of these show affinities with the much earlier than 2500 B.C. painted potteries of West Asia. Of course, we have no answer to the question why no definite pre-Sargonid contacts are demonstratively shown in Harappa or Mohenjodaro. But it is not unlikely that the bottom layers, below the flood plain of Mohenjodaro are perhaps, cancelling the necessary cues. However, I think that one has to wait for sometime before arriving at a definite conclusion about the beginnings of Harappan culture, (though there can be hardly any doubt about the date of the end of that culture). Coming to the Indian neolithic scene what surprises us are the much younger dates than lowest Grian that are found in the S-E Asian sites, for Burzahom, Chirand and the South Indian sites. Neolithic in neighbouring Burma has been dated to 7000 B.C., in Thailand 6500 B.C. and on the Western Border in Afghanistan at Kupiuk, the Ceramic neolithic is dated 2375-120 B.C., 7200-100 B.C. In India, the earliest date is from Burzahom. There is no reason why the neolithic should be so late in India. A large horizontal excavation at Chirand and some sites in Assam are bound to be more fruitful. Moreover, the C 14 datings from neolithic Chirand are not from the bottom layers, when the total neolithic deposit is four meters thick. Another important point to bear in mind is that in Chirand we have the Chaleolithic culture succeeding the neolithic without a break. But we have still to find stratified evidence to show that LSA or mesolithic led to the development of the neolithic. About Chaleolithic cultures in the country our information is reasonably adequate. What should be done is to study intensively the material site-wise and prepare a consolidated account noting the differences and similarites between the cultures. This would indicate the unity of the cultures, or culture, and the regional variations, and would thereby help us identity the peoples responsible for introducing this culture-complex and its directional movement. At present, on the basis of the C 14 datings, the Banas Culture appears to be the nucleus. Chalcolithic Chirand with many common Aharian forms in pottery, has only one distinct white-painted black-and-red ware example, where Ahar has many. The later date for Chirand Chalcolithic thus appears to be true, but it must belong to a time before the white-painted black-and-red ware disappeared from Ahar. On the basis of the thermoluminescent datings of Lal

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Qila pottery, OCP is put in the time bracket of 2650-1170 B.C. But doubts have been expressed that this ware is different from the OCP and associated material discussed by Lal, and has therefore no bearing on the OCP. But OCP in Atranjikhe is found to be earlier than the black-and-red ware and therefore an early date for OCP appears to be reasonable. The PGW has been again in the thick of controversy. The C 14 dating (except one from Atranjikhera) and the Allahpur evidence almost knock out the theory of early dating towards the close of the second millennium B.C., as proposed by Lal. But it is more important to note that the PGW people knew the use of iron; the problem there is when was iron introduced in the Gangetic Valley. At Pirak iron appears in the sixth level, but is in general use in level four dated to 755-105 and 810-125. So in Pakistan iron appears at about 900 B.C. It is too unreasonable to postulate that the use of iron and burnished grey-and-black ware at Pirak may mark the eastward march of the PGW people or rather the culture into upper Gangetic Valley, and 800 B.C. as the upper limit of the PGW, on the basis of C 14 datings, can be thus confirmed. Iron is used in the middle and the lower Gangetic Valley by the black-and-red ware people. The Satapatha Brahmanais dated seventh century B.C. on the basis of Tirhaka's date in Egypt, 700 B.C. may be the date for the introduction of iron in the middle Gangetic Valley. But in South India we have a date of 1105 B.C. for iron-horizon at Hallur. Iron may have been introduced in South India earlier by sea-route. The question naturally arises that if iron was used in South India two or three centuries earlier than in the Gangetic Valley, why did organized urban life and empires based on iron technology appear so late in the south, as compared to the Gangetic Valley in the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. The final answer may be found in more thorough and complete excavations of some promising sites in South India. I would not be surprised if it is found that our traditional idea of civilization coming from the north and diffusing in the south is to be drastically revised the way the Eastern European and Mediteraenean chronologies are being ante-dated and some of the claims of the diffusion of civilizations from West Asia are being seriously challenged.

Radio Carbon datings of Indian cultures are still quite suspect, and for many valid reasons. In the first place there are too few dates for each site to give the C 14 dates respectability, and there are still fewer dates layer-wise for any site. Then there are hazards of miscollection of the samples. The Tata Fundamental Research Laboratory has to work within severe limitations, some of which noted above, are outside their control; and then we have to make allowance for errors in the Laboratory as well. It would be better if archaeologists in the field are properly

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taught to collect the samples in fair number from each layer, and certainly for each cultural period. Workers of the C 14 laboratory should be available at every important excavation for the entire duration. It may mean increase in their staff but this should not be grudged. Also attempts should be made to compare the results by getting samples tested in other laboratories also. It was at one time reported that another laboratory would be set up in Lucknow shortly. Tests in foreign laboratories of samples from the same cultural strata would be valuable. C 14 datings have to command much more respectability than at present. Recently bristlecone-pine dendochronology has challenged the basic premise of the C 14 dating system. Calibration of the C 14 dates is said to have been accepted by all participants in the twelfth Nobel Symposium at Uppsala in 1969. It has led to a moving of European cultures earlier in time en block. The Mesopotamian dates remain unchanged, and the Egyptain dates for the earlier period arrived at by the comparative method of comparison with West Asian materials, have now, by calibration, shown to be correct, while Radiocarbon dates (before calibration) had put them much younger. The Vinca culture after calibration is now put to 5300-4000, B.C. a period much earlier than Ubaid or Uruk and Alegean cultures from which they were earlier said to have been derived. The theory of the diffusion of culture from West Asia is thus virtually shaken, and even the beginning of writing as traced on Ramanian tablets, of the Vinca cultural period, ante-date Uruk writing by more than a thousand years. It has been observed that the late neolithic cultures both of Iberia and the Balkans are far earlier than had been thought of very much earlier than their supposed ancestores in east Mediterranean. These calibrated dates have been checked with Thermoluminescent dates from the pottery of the Danubian early neolithic. Varve datings also confirm the calibrated dates. Childe's theory of the irradiation of European barbarism by Oriental civilization, is now shown to be very good reasoning. If the calibrated dates are good for western and eastern Europe, good for Egypt and the Near East, the thousand dollar-question is why not for India? If it is believed that the C 14 datings are true for all places, on the basis that the level of radiocarbon has been the same in Europe as elsewhere, why should variation in the quantity of radio-carbon in the atmosphere be true for California only, and not apply to the rest of the world, including India. Here I may quote from Libby's observation in 1970, "The principle of simultaneity means that radio carbon dates are the same at any given epoch over the entire earth, so that a calibration at one location is equivalent to a world wide calibration; finding the same concentration of neutral radio-carbon all over the world and in different forms of life

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nearly guaranteed this result." If Indian C 14 dates are to be read after calibration, all dates would have to be read earlier by 800 or so years. This may take the origins of the Harappa culture towards the beginning of the third or early fourth millennium B.C., a date which may explain the lower levels, and the still sunk levels of occupation of Mohenjodaro.

I am aware that the concerned scientists could only give us the right answers, but let there be no prejudice this way or that. It appeərs that today our leading archaeologists and historians are almost competing to arrive at younger dates for our cultures which some of them even begin to see as colonial cultures derived from the West Asiatic civilization, perhaps. Toynbee thought long ago that the Indus Valley Civilization was a colonial culture of the Sumerian. But it is interesting to see these volte face attempts of ours, in the light of recent trends of European archaealogists. Long ago Greece was acknowledged the mother of all western civilization later the mantle fell on West Asia as the nucleus of western civilization. The direction of locating the origins moved from west to east. But now the picture is changing. Megalithic Chamber tombs of western Europe are now dated earlier than the Pyramids; the impressive stone temples of Malta are now believed to ante-date any near-eastern architecture. Copper metallurgy is said to begin in the Balkans earlier than in the Ubaid, and the Vinca proto-writing was much earlier than the proto-literate period in Mesopotamia. European scholars have now turned their back on the diffusionists school, which looked to West Asia as the focal diffusion centre. The debate between the Evolutionist and the Diffusionist has been reopened. Why should we also not look at our materials with non-jaundiced eyes, free from obsession about West Asia.

Agarwal, in another context, warns archaeologists from dating their sites earlier in time than facts warrant. It is an apt warning, no doubt, but it is also true that many archaeologists, on the other hand, are anxious to date the findings of other archaeologists later than the facts warrant. We have to caution both sides. Examples of Chirand neolithic can be taken. Four metres of metal free neolithic deposits with many varieties of bone-tools, and polished stone-axes because of some affinity with the form of some vessels of the Jorwe ware, is suspect as neolithic. It would be logical to think that some Jorwe forms could be derived from cultures much earlier in date. Has a similar bone-tool-kit with celts been found in quality and quantity in the Malwa or Jorwe cultures. Even spouts of many sizes and forms have been found in Chirand. Instead of putting a late date for this culture, one should try to appreciate the skill of the Chirand neolithic people. After all, except at Jericho we have no fortified village (city?) in the neolithic culture complex anywhere else. But this uniquely developed

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feature did not make the site any younger in date. One is reminded of the Jarmo-Jericho controversy. Braidwood, the excavator of Jarmo ridiculed Kathlean Kenyan's early dating of the pre-pottery neolithic city of Jericho and 'deplored the bandwagon phenomenon for generally earlier dates.' But subsequent C 14 dates proved Kathlean more correct, even erring on the conservative side. Actually the innovative genius of any people from the paleolithic times onwards cannot be overlooked. Thorough horizontal excavations of Chirand neolithic and Chalcolithic stratas with a number of C 14 samples for dating will settle the issue.

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Paleoenvironmental Studies in Saurashtra

D.P. Agrawal & R.K. Pant
Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad

Recent discoveries of Early Stone Age (ESA) and Middle Stone Age (MSA) tools from stratified levels in Saurashtra have intensified Quaternary studies in this region. Of late, geologists are also taking keen interest in the Quaternary problems of this area. A dated eustatic curve is now available for the late Quaternary period. We have carried out some river valley surveys and multiple analyses of miliolite rocks. Below we discuss our work and the relevant problems under river geomorphology and miliolite formations. We have also suggested some hypotheses to interpret the currently available data to place the early man in Saurashtra in a chronological and paleoecological framework.

River Geomorphology

River Bhadar is the longest (200km) river in Saurashtra and has been studied in greater detail than the other rivers. It originates near Jasdan southeast of Rajkot, and traverses the Saurashtra peninsula diagonally. It flows through the basaltic country and meets the rivers Chaparvadi, Mog and Vinu from the northern slope. The river Ozat meets it towards its southern course; beyond Isra it cuts through the Pleistocene deposits before debouching into the Arabian sea. During the course of our explorations, we examined the river Bhadar sections at Isra, Upleta, Jetpur and Srinath garh (Rojdi) and river Ozat at Shapur.

Fig. 1 gives a composite section of the river Ozat at Shapur. From bottom to top, the section shows a consolidated miliolite resting on the trap bedrock. Overlying this is a two metre thick cemented gravel, capped by a thin (one m.) silty deposit. A calcareous miliolitic deposit appears in patches, over the silt, but only on the right bank. Topping the sequence is a thick (two-four m.) silt deposit.

Rajaguru and his colleagues have reported (p. c.) a similar sequence from the coastal area of Bhavnagar to Chorwad, and also from the

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inland areas around Junagarh and Rajkot. They have also reported Middle Paleolithic and late Acheulian artifacts from a calcreted older alluvial gravel at Samadhiala, 50 km west-north-west of Bhavnagar. They have also discovered Acheulian tools from a pre-miliolitic gravel near Junagarh and assign it a date before the first Quaternary marine transgression.

The schematic section (Fig. 2) on the river Bhadar at Srinathgarh (Rojdi) shows a cemented gravel (thickness 1.5 to 2.5 m.) with pebbles five to ten cms. in diameter lying over the bedrock. Few flakes were discovered by us. Earlier, Sankalia (1965) had reported ESA tools from this gravel. This gravel is covered over by a three metre thick deposit of light brown silt. Though Sankalia showed two major cycles of erosion and aggradation, we have been able to find only one major cycle.

We have been looking for evidence of earlier transgressions marked by high sea level strandlines which, when correlated with the implimentiferous gravels, will provide chronological markers. Gupta (1972) metre has reported three late Quaternary sea-level strands at about +three metre at *c.* 5000 30,000 and 1,20,000 B.P. But so far the correlation has evaded us.

ESA tools have been reported from a gravel below the miliolite. At other places, MSA tools have been reported from inset terraces in the miliolites thus indicating a post-miliolite formation age. However, Sperling and Goudie (1975) have reported MSA artifacts underlying a miliolite formation This controversy makes it imperative to study the miliolite formations in detail.

Miliolite Formations

This leads us to the controversy of miliolite formations. These miliolite rocks are relevant to climatic changes in Saurashtra, as also to the dating of the Stone Age industries.

The term 'miliolite' was proposed by Carter (1849) for a brownish white coloured limestone having a uniform granular texture, compacted out of the oolitic particles of calcareous sand. Though recently Sastri and Pant (1960) have shown that foraminfers of Miliolidae are in minority in these rocks, yet the name derives from this family. Originally only oolitic limestones were included under the term miliolite, but Srivastava (1968) made it more broad-based by including biopelsparites, biosparrudites, biosparatises, etc. Even the oyster beds, dead coral reefs and coast fringing rocks are included in this category now.

Of course, some forms of miliolite are obviously marine, e.g., oyster beds, coral reefs and other coastal formations. A great controversy revolves around the formation of the inland miliolites. Some hold them to be of marine origin (Shrivastava, 1968; Lele, 1973, 1975), while others think

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that they are aeolian (Sperling and Goudie, 1975). Varma and Mathur (1976) hold that it forms a number of terraces which are correlatable with the pre-glacial and inter-glacial highs of the sea during Quaternary.

We also carried out some studies on these rocks. The quartz grains incorporated in the miliolite showed a bimodal origin. The coarser fraction (>0.5 mm) dominated and was angular and locally derived. The finer fraction (<0.5 mm) was well-rounded and must be aeolian.

We found some foraminifers, gastropods and some bryozoa fragments in the miliolite. The average diameter of these fossils was 0.4 mm. The surfaces of these fossils showed clear marks of abrasion and polish which have obliterated the characteristic surfacial ornamentations — suggesting aeolian agencies at work.

Generally these inland miliolites occur as obstacle dunes e.g., in Junagarh, Dungarpur and the Barda hills. These exhibit typical dune features e.g., reversal of bedding dips, wedge-shaped laminations and crossbedding dipping at angles of 33°-36°. The other occurrences appear as simple sand drifts, e.g., Chotila and around Farda (north of Una). Observed thicknesses are 1 to 1.5 m and the altitudes range from 15 to 220 m. They do not show any dune characteristics.

The deposits near Bamanbore (near Chotila) seem to be more complex as they appear to be reworked. Further investigations are going on.

The Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) has been used quite extensively in recent years to identify original environment of deposition (Krinsley and Doornkamp, 1973). Some of our investigations and procedures using the SEM have been reported elsewhere (Agrawal et. al., 1976).

We studied under the SEM about 15 grains of quartz obtained, after dissolution of miliolite in acid, from Dungarpur, Chotila and Junagarh. Upturned plates, cleavage planes, solution and precipitation, dish-shaped depressions, rounded, abraded grain, and a rolling topography over a plain surface are all characteristics of aeolian transport. There is a complete absence of any glacial or sub-aqueous features. It is, therefore, obvious that the last aeolian transport obliterated the previous sub-aqueous features, if any.

The age of the miliolite formations has a direct bearing on its origins. The consensus is that they are not older than the Pleistocene period. Sastri and Pant (1960) assigned these rocks at Pleistocene to sub-recent age on the basis of micro-paleontological analysis. Archaeological data for dating is a bit confusing. Lele (1975) has reported MSA tools from inset terraces in miliolite rocks. Sperling and Goudie (1975) have, however, reported that miliolite underlies MSA tools, though we could not confirm these findings during our recent field trip. Recently, Rajaguru et.al. (p.c.)

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discovered a few Acheulian hand axes from a well section below the Junagarh miliolite at Adi Chadi No Vav.

Since the exchange possibilities are there, miliolite is not a very suitable material for C 14 dating and, therefore, the C 14 dates reported here (Table 1) are only the upper limits. The range of C 14 dates is 14,000 to 30,000 B.P. Oyster shell beds at Badalpur and river Hiran, supplied by Rajaguru, give a mean age of *c.* 22,000 $\pm$ 2,000 B.P. These dates suggest to us that these miliolite formations were formed after the 30,000 B.P. marine transgression reported by Gupta (1972). We suggest that during the incursion of the sea, marine carbonates were formed, and were later perhaps deflated and redeposited inland by wind-transport during post-30,000 B.P. regression. Badalpur and Hiran oyster shells may represent this marine transgression, though the C 14 ages are apparently younger and represent the upper limits.

Conclusion

The river Bhadar shows only one major aggradation erosion cycle, though there are three major marine transgressions reported in the Late Quaternary period. Apparently, there are two miliolite formations, as shown by the river sections. The main miliolite formation seems to be post-Acheulian and pre-M.S. in terms of archaeological cultures. The C 14 dates of the oyster beds on the Hiran river and at Badalpur suggest that they represent the 30,000$\pm$5000 B.P. transgression. The miliolite formation, since it is aeolian inland, must have been formed by deflation and redeposition of coastal miliolites, deposited during marine transgression of 120,000 or 30,000 B.P. This may also indicate strong aeolian activity during the regression of the sea.

At present these conclusions can only be tentative. But the multi-agency and multi-disciplinary work that is being carried out in the region will soon provide a fuller and clearer picture of the chronology and paleo-ecology of the Quaternary period in Saurashtra.

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Some Important Ancient Indian Materials and their Industries

Dr. K.T.M. Hegde
Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda

Copper, iron and pottery were some of the important ancient Indian materials. Copper implements, weapons and ornaments, have a great antiquity in our country. They go back to the mid-centuries of the third millennium B.C. But until 1963, not much was known of the technique of their manufacture. We did not even know where they came from. Some scholars were of the opinion that they were imported into India. It was therefore interesting to know whether these objects were imported or manufactured indigenously; the source of copper ore that was used in the extraction of the metal; the techniques that were used in smelting the ore; the quality of the metal produced, whether it was alloyed, and the techniques that were used in converting the extracted metal or alloy into useful objects.

Similarly, ever since the invasion of Alexander the Great, in 326 B.C. India has been renowned for the quality of her iron. But how this iron was produced and converted into useful objects and powerful weapons is a subject on which until 1968, there had been very little information. The same is also true of ancient Indian ceramic industries.

From pre-Harappan times, there has been a succession of many excellent pottery industries in our country. Among them, the manufacture of the Northern Black Polished ware popularly referred to as NBP ware, and dated second half of the first millennium B.C., is considered to be the highest achievement of the Indian potter. The main centres of the NBP ware, were distributed in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, in the Ganga valley. But its shards have been excavated at a number of sites, spread over several hundred thousand kms., and at places as far away from the centres of its manufacture as Taxila, Charsada and Udegram in the north, Amaravati and Chebrolu in Andhra Pradesh and Korkai in Kerala, in the south, Somnath in the west and Bangarh in Bangladesh, in the east. It is intimately

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associated with a number of early historic Buddhist sites. And thus, it is the first material that testifies to pan-India movements in the second half of the first millennium B.C. Yet, until 1962, it was not known how this pottery was produced; nor did we know how two of its important predecessors, the Painted Grey Ware (PGW) and the Black Slipped Ware, were produced.

At the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History of the M.S. University of Baroda, we have raised these questions and constantly tried to equip ourselves with laboratory facilities and necessary background knowledge, for an answer to these questions. We have pleasure in presenting here, in honour of the late Shri L.N. Mishra, a summary of our studies.

Copper Metallurgy

The earliest ancient Indian copper objects come from the Chalcolithic cultures which used copper and stone as raw materials for making tools and implements. The Indian Chalcolithic cultures have a wide distribution both in time and space. They date from the mid-centuries of the third millennium B.C. to 1000 B.C. and spread over the Punjab, Sindh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and the Deccan. Some of the Chalcolithic communities lived in large urban settlements like Harappa, Mohenjodaro or Kalibangan; some others lived in small settlements like those of Navdatoli, Jokha, Nevasa, Chandoli, etc. All these communities used cutting-tools and ornaments made of copper.

Until 1963, however, it was not known where these copper objects came from. The shapes of some of these objects are similar to those objects excavated at Susa and other contemporary Persian sites. On the basis of this evidence, Sir John Marshall, the excavator of Harappa and Mohenjodaro observed that the Indian copper artifacts were probably imported from Persia.

In 1963, Professor H.D. Sankalia of the Deccan College, Poona, leading an excavation to the Chalcolithic site at Ahar, near Udaipur in Rajasthan discovered copper tools and heaps of semi-fused glass-like material. He sent these materials to the Department of Archaeology of M. S. University of Baroda, for technical examination and analysis. On analysis, the glass-like material was found to be slag from smelted copper.

This identification was significant; it gave evidence of copper smelting. Ahar, therefore, was a copper smelting centre in the Chalcolithic period. This observation led us to make the important deduction that the Indian Chalcolithic copper artifacts were (probably) produced indigenously.

To confirm this deduction, it was necessary to link the copper artifacts with Indian copper-ore deposits, and find the source of the metal. Ancient

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metal objects contain a large number of elements, some of them in minute traces, as impurities. These could not have been deliberately fused into the metal. The impurities must have got into the metal from the ore from which the metal was extracted. These impurities, therefore, can serve as clues in tracing the source of the metal. Impurities in a metal can be determined by a spectrometric analysis of a sample cut from the metal. This analysis is very simple. The sample is exposed to a light source and the spectrum it emits is recorded on a photographic plate and analyzed for its composition. The composition reveals the impurity pattern of the sample. The impurity patterns of the metal samples can be compared with the impurity pattern of the likely ore samples, and the source of the metal can be determined.

Close to the areas inhabited by the Chalcolithic communities, are extensive copper-ore deposits, located in the Aravalli Hills. These deposits are also dotted with deep shafts and large slag heaps, the marks of ancient mining and metallurgical activities. Aravalli copper ore deposits were, therefore, considered the likely source of the Chalcolithic metal smelters. Spectrometric studies were, therefore, carried out on these ore samples and on metal samples of representative artifacts from the Chalcolithic settle ments at Mitathal in the Punjab, Ahar and Bagor in Rajasthan, Somnath, Langhnaj and Jokha in Gujarat, Navdatoli in Madhya Pradesh and Chandoli in the Deccan. Impurity patterns of these artifacts and ore samples were found to be similar. From this study we may observe that the Arravalli copper-ore deposits were exploited as early as the Chalcolithic period.

At this stage it was interesting to find out more about the metallurgy of the period, the purity of the metal extracted, whether it was alloyed and how the useful objects were fabricated. An analysis of the artifact samples indicated that the copper metal extracted was ninety-six to ninety-eight per cent pure. This purity is equivalent to that of the present day 'bilster copper,' produced after Bessemerisation of the matte. This observation is also significant. It shows that in the Chalcolithic period, an advanced stage in extractive metallurgy was reached and maintained. Some of the objects were made of bronze, with a tin content of three to twelve per cent. Bronze is much harder and stronger than copper. It also gives a harder, keener and more enduring cutting edge. Besides, alloying helps in casting and forging. So the Chalcolithic copper-smiths knew the advantage of alloying copper with tin. But the fact that there were only a small number of bronze objects suggests that tin was probably scarce.

Metallographic examination of artifact samples revealed that the axes were cast. But their cutting edges were not entirely a feature of the casting moulds. The edges were bevelled by hot and cold forging. Some of

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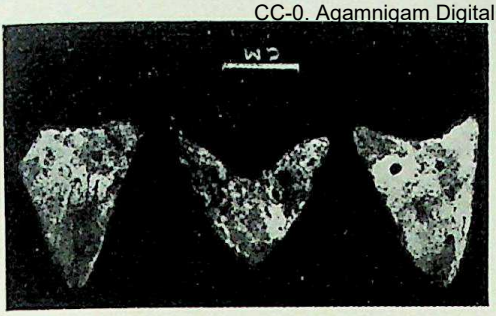
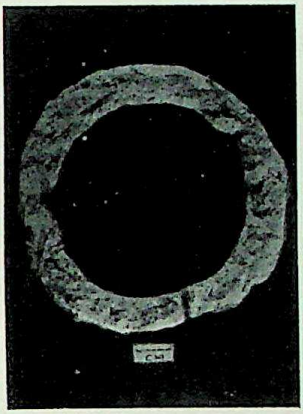
Plate I

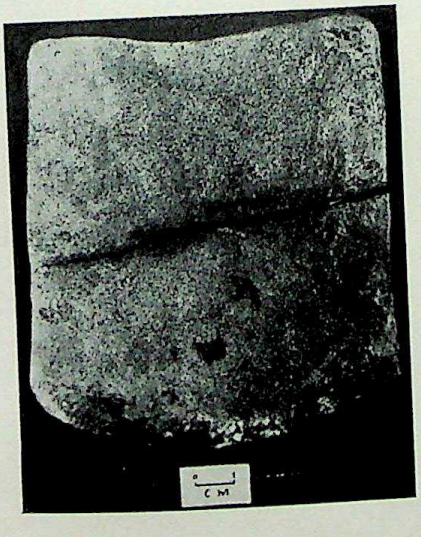
Text : **Some Important Anceint Indian Materials, p. 142**



1. Three copper arrowheads, dated to 2500 B.C. excavated from Bagor in Rajasthan.
(*Courtesy :* Department of Ancient History, M. S. University, Baroda)



2. A copper bangle, dated to 2000 B.C. excavated from Mitathal in the Punjab
(*Courtesy :* Department of Ancient History, M. S. University, Baroda)



3 A bronze axe, dated to 1500 B.C. excavated from Somnath in Gujarat.
(*Courtesy :* Department of Ancient History, M. S. University, Baroda)

4. An iron hoe, dated to 500 B. C. excavated from Dhatwa in Gujarat.
(*Courtesy :* Department of Ancient History, M. S. University, Baroda)

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the axes were cast in unventilated moulds. Axes recovered from Somnath and Navdatoli were, however, cast in well ventilated moulds. Proper ventilation is essential for good casting of copper and bronze. Some of the objects were produced entirely by forging. A chisel, recovered from Navdatoli, and a knife, recovered from Langhnaj, were found to have been shaped by hot forging above 500°C, the recrystallization temperature of copper.

Iron Metallurgy

Ever since the Greek historian Herodotus recorded the use of iron, and Alexander the Great invaded the country in 326 B. C. India has been renowned for the quality of her iron. But how this iron was produced is a subject on which, until 1968, there had been little information. The excavation of an early historic iron-smelting site near Dhatwa, a village in the Tapi valley in Surat District of Gujarat State, by Professor R. N. Mehta in 1968 and the ensuring investigations into the metallurgical technology of the site, at the Department of Archaeology of the M.S. University of Baroda, have shed a ray of light on the problem.

The excavation revealed evidence of an iron-smelting industry in the form of iron metallurgical slag and lumps of iron ore. These materials occurred in association with crude black and red ware, lead ear-studs, bone points and glass beads all of which belong to the early historic period in the mid-centuries of the first millennium B.C. Among the iron objects recovered were a hoe, knives, nails and chisels. It appears, therefore, that the blacksmiths at Dhatwa produced a fairly wide range of tools and implements and catered mainly for the needs of the agricultural communities settled around them.

Technical studies of this metallurgical site consisted of spectrometric and chemical analysis of samples cut from artifacts, slag and ore, and hardness and metallographica examination of metal samples. The study revealed some interesting facts about the ancient Indian iron metallurgy. They are: (1) Dhatwa iron smelters exploited the locally available limonite ore; (2) they roasted this to convert it into haematite. Roasting of the ore increases its iron oxide content, weight per weight, and renders it more, porous, fragile and hence easier to crush and more suitable for smelting; (3) the crushed ore was mixed with charcoal and fed into small, clay-lined crucible-shaped shaft furnaces into which air was forced with the help of bellows; (4) the small bloom that separated out was 99.84 per cent pure iron, quite like the present day wrought iron. But wrought iron is softer. It was therefore of interest to discover how the hard implements such as the hoe, chisel and knife were manufactured; (5) hardness tests and metal-

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lographic examination of the artifact samples revealed that their metal was harder than the wrought iron in the interior of the implements. And near the lower and upper surfaces of the implements, the metal was found to be much harder. Also in the interior of the implements the metal had a laminated structure. These are interesting indications. They tell us that the implements were fabricated in three or four stages. First the bloom was heated to redness in an open hearth and the red-hot metal was forged on an anvil close to the hearth. In the forging process, the adhering slag separated from the bloom and, simultaneously, the surface of the metal was carburized and case hardened. In the second stage, the bloom was further heated to redness and beaten to make it into a thin strip of metal. In the third stage the red-hot strips were joined laterally one by one by forge-welding to build up a thick mass of iron. In the fourth stage this built up mass was heated and forged to shape it into an implement. The laminated structure within the implements indicates the lines of the lateral forge-welding of several thin strips of the metal.

These are some of the facts that the technical studies on ancient Indian copper and iron objects have enabled us to come by and from this data, it has been possible to reconstruct the important features of their metallurgy and smithery. Similarly, technical studies on the Kshatrapa lead coins have enabled us to trace the source of the lead metal to the galena deposits near Zawar in the Aravalli Hills and show that the Indian lead smelting industry was at least sixteen centuries old. Studies in the Vishnukundin Kings' coins have revealed two hitherto unknown coinage alloys and a new technique of minting coins.

Ancient Indian Ceramics

Relics of ancient Indian pottery are often the only evidence of past human habitation at a site. But they are very valuable relics. They help us establish the cultural sequence at the site, and throw light on the food habits of the people, their religious and social customs and their technological expertise. Among the numerous pottery industries of ancient India the manufacture of the Northern Black Polished ware, (the NBP ware) is, as mentioned earlier considered the highest achievement of the Indian potter. According to Sir Mortimer Wheeler, it is a deluxe ware as distinctive in the Indian subcontinent as the *terra sigillata* in European sites. As this pottery is considered to be the hallmark of the early historic period in northern India, it is of considerable significance to the study of Indian archaeology. It is wheel-made, normally thin, with a steel-like quality. It has a grey core and a coal-black lustrous surface. The ware has been recovered from several sites. They indicate that the ware was mainly

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manufactured in the Ganga plain, but it had also moved far and wide: from Somnath in the Saurashtra coast to Bangarh in Bangladesh; Charsada near Peshawar to Amaravati, the famous Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh and Korkai in Kerala in the south. There are now a number of radiocarbon dates for the NBP ware levels. They suggest a time-span of 500 years, from *circa.* 500 B.C. to circa 100 B.C. Its importance in archaeology and in the study of ceramic technology notwithstanding, until 1962, the factors contributing for its black colour and the lustre of its surface were not known.

A study of the NBP ware was the first technical study that the Department of Archaeology of the M.S. University of Baroda, carried out. Chemical analysis of the ware revealed a high percentage of sodium and iron on the surface dressing of the ware. When a shard of the ware was heated in an open crucible, the black colour (of the ware) slowly turned yellow, then orange and finally red. When a small fragment of the black slip of the ware was held near a magnet, it was attracted by the magnet while, a similar fragment from the core of the shard was found to be relatively much less magnetic. These observations tell us the components of the lustrous slip on the NBP ware. It was produced by an application of liquid clay, quite similar to that employed in the preparation of the body of the ware which, in addition, contained finely ground red ochre (haematite) and an alkaline substance. This alkaline substance was traced to *sajjimatti.* Sajjimatti is a natural alkaline efflorescene found profusely in the Ganga plain which, as noted above, is also the central zone of manufacture of the NBP ware. Red ochre in such alkalined clay liquids, used as surface dressing on pottery, gives a black lustrous surface when the pottery is baked under reducing condition, on account of the following reaction taking place within the reducing atmos phere of the sealed saggar:

$$3\ Fe_2O_3 + CO = 2\ Fe_3O_4 + CO_2$$

Fe_3O_4 is a magnetic oxide of iron, magnetite. It is opaque, isometric and black with metallic lustre in reflected light. The effect of alkali is reduction in vitrification temperature of the clay. Alkali combines with silica in the clay to fuse it at as low a temperature as 700°C. It acts like a flux. The liquid so formed does not crystallize on cooling, instead it forms an amorphous glass-like substance. This imparts the NBP ware its glossy, lusturous surface. An electron microsopic study of the NBP ware surface confirmed the above observations. The electron micrograph revealed crystals of magnetite in a background of amorphous structureless glass-like substance.

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The slip on the NBP ware has a tendency to crackle. This shows that the slip was applied on baked clay. The wares were first baked at about 700°C. and baked again at 800° to 900°C. with the slip on, in the reducing atmosphere, in a sealed saggar. The high sodium content of the slip imparts it a higher coefficient of thermal expansion than the body, which results in its crazing. Using ground red ochre and sajjimatti in clay, we have been able to synthesize the NBP ware slip in the laboratory.

The NBP ware is the most attractive pottery produced in ancient India. But this highest achievement of the potter was not 'reached in a sudden flight'. We have found out that it was a gradual development, starting from the Painted Grey Ware (PGW) and followed by the Black Slipped Ware.

The PGW is also a distinctive kind of pottery. It is largely wheel-thrown, smooth, ash-grey in colour and often painted with linear, dotted or circular patterns in black pigment. Sometimes these patterns include spirals, sigmas and swastikas. Among its most prominent forms are straight-sided bowls and dishes with incurved sides. It has a fine-grained, uniformly thin grey core. It is made of well-levigated clay. It is also evenly baked. Lal associates it with the early Aryans. Banerjee associates it with the people who brought iron technology into our country. During the last thirty years, it has been found at a number of sites. Excavations at some of these sites have shown that this pottery was the hallmark of the early Iron Age in northern India. It is dated to the first half of the first millennium B.C.

At all the excavated sites, it preceded the NBP ware. And it has much in common with the NBP ware. Both similarity in the techniques of preparing clay paste, in wheel-throwing of the wares and in the shapes of dishes and bowls. Our experiments on the PGW shards have shown that it was also baked in a reducing atmosphere and ground red ochre was used to decorate it. Therefore, it appears that the NBP ware potters used the technique of baking in a reducing atmoshpere, and the painting medium of the Painted Grey Ware. This development in the manufacturing technique of the wares became clearly discernible from a study of the Black Slipped Ware.

The Black Slipped Ware was a notable industry found in association with the PGW at Hastinapur, Ahichchhatra, Atranjikhera and Noh. It is a fine, wheel-thrown ware. It has a grey core like that of the PGW. Its surface is treated with a smooth, burnished, black slip. But it does not have the lustre of the NBP ware. Our study of this ware revealed that the black slip on this pottery was produced by the application of a slip made of liquid clay containing finely ground red ochre, burnishing it and then baking the ware in a reducing atmosphere.

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It appears therefore, that the potters were experimenting. They first used red ochre as the painting medium to decorate the PGW. In the second stage, they ground it with clay to produce the black slip on the Black Slipped Ware. In the third stage, they ground it with clay and sajjimatti to produce the lustrous slip-glaze on the NBP ware. All the three ware were baked in a reducing atmosphere. The NBP ware was their highest achievement.

The main aim of archaeology is to discover ancient materials and study them, in order to throw as much light on their makers and users as possible. The few technical studies illustrated above show how useful these studies are to archaeological research.

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Are Indian Cultures at the Receiving end ?

Dr. R. C. Prasad Singh

Indology, specially Indian archaeology, had been a subject of wild speculations. Authorities in archaeology would make their appearance, look at the Indian materials, and try to find parallels elsewhere. Once the similarities had been found they would come forward with the suggestion that the objects under consideration were of exotic origin.

Let us begin with the round-butt-axe of the Neolithic Age in India. It was discovered in Brahmagiri and also in other parts of the subcontinent. Similar tools have reportedly been found in Burma and Malaya also. They are well known in the river cultures of Northern China, Schechwan and also in Yunan. Here we find Col. Gordon coming forward with the suggestion that the tools found here have been derived from Malaya or Burma. Professor Heimendorf has suggested that they had their origin in South-East Asia. Professor Worman made a similar statement when he said that China is the source of these celts. According to Professor Fairservis, facetted tools and shouldered-axes are widely distributed throughout South-East Asia, and even occur north of the Yangtse and in Japan. Their eastern derivation is therefore certain.

Celts with a rounded, narrow butt are the dominant tools of the Neolithic culture of India (there is no evidence of any adze). Wheeler reported an adze from Sangankallu. Those found from Sangankallu have a flat undersurface. Whether the flat surface is obtained by primary grinding or some other process is difficult to say at present. Axes on the other hand are always associated with adzes in South-East Asia. Adzes from South-East Asia show primary grinding on the lower surface. Thus whatever evidences of adzes we do have, they differ from those found in the South-East. Hence, if the Neolithic cultures of India and South-East Asia are to be related, adze blades should have been found alongwith axes in the Indian subcontinent as well. But whatever materials we do have, they contradict the theoretical speculations.

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As far as the question of facetted tools is concerned, two types of facetted tools are found : (i) Rectangular and (ii) Triangular. Several examples of these varieties have been found in Mayurbhanj. The triangular variety has not (so far) been found in Assam nor has it been reported from Burma, Malaya or Siam. A single specimen was discovered in the Pho-Binh-Gia cave of the Bacsonian Culture in Indo-China. But the Bihar specimen can hardly be said to have been derived from this specimen. It may be noted that the Bihar specimen is hardly distingishable from the rounded butt-type-axe. The Mayurbhanj specimens are rectangular in cross-section. It seems that the triangular variety developed from the local rounded butt-axe as a result of contact with the rectangular variety of facetted tools. The distribution of the rectangular variety is much wider. It is wellknown in Assam, Darjeeling, South Bihar and Orissa. The distribution of this type, however, seems to be limited to Eastern India. The materials out of which they are made are locally available and hence they were manufactured locally.

With regard to the distribution of the shouldered-tools it can he said that they were fairly widely distributed. It may be noted that they occur sporadically in India except in Assam. It may also be pointed out that the majority of the Indian shouldered-tools are made of chert. Another important feature is that the majority of shouldered-tools found in the Indian Peninsula are of a rectangular variety while in Assam this variety is known only in the Kacchar or Naga Hills. Beyond these two hills, only the irregular variety has so far been found. It has been suggested that the shouldered-tool-types came to Assam via Burma where only the rectangular variety is known. It must be noted however an exceptionaly long variety from Madras is also found in the southern districts of Burma. If the shouldered-tool types of Peninsular India came through Assam, it is hard to believe how/why only its irregular variety is found in the Brahmaputra valley, Khasi and the Garo Hills, i.e., in zones which are further removed from the borders of Burma.

Excavations of the Rock Shelters at Adamgarh in central India brought to light the domesticated species of dog, humped bull, goat, sheep and pig. The carborn C 14 date received for the domestication of these animals is 5500 B.C. Mr. A.K. Sharma and others believe that a group of people in this part of the subcontinent, may have come into contact with nomadic pastoralists who brought these animals with them from outside India. But the remains of the early species, i.e., *Bos nomadicus*, found in the Narbada valley are of the mid-Pleistocene age. They have been found from the Pravara basin and belong to the same chronological sequence. The Mesolithic Age remains of the domesticated species of bull, dog,

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deer, pigs, etc. have been found in Langhnaz. It may be argued that Langhnaz specimens are of a later date than those from Adamgarh. But dates assigned to these animals have been tabulated by C 14. On the other hand the geological date assigned to the Langhnaz specimens is earlier than those from Adamgarh. Hence, we can assume that men had domesticated animals at quite an early stage of evolution. The economy of the age made men realize the significance of animals and this led them to keep animals in their farms or cattle-pens. They may have been reared for meat, milk, skin and finally for other utilitarian goods.

The scarlet-ware of Mesopotamia preserves a scene of bull-worship. On the basis of this Dr. Guha has suggested that the idea of bull-worship came to India from Mesopotamia. The bull depicted on the scarlet-ware is purely Brahmi, and they are typically Indian in origin. Terracotta figures of these bulls have been found in Damb Saddat, Ranaghundai and other sites chronologically earlier (in date) than the Mesopotamian scarlet-ware. Shiva in the form of Pashupati occurs on one of the seals of Harappa. As the bull happens to be the vehicle of Shiva, Indians may have considered this animal sacred and started worshipping him. We have innumberable evidences of such services when we come down to the classical and historical ages. We therefore, find it is difficult to accomodate Dr. Guha views.

Similary when we come down to the Chalcolithic Age we find authoritities like Prof. H.D. Sankalia and others making observations on the basis of characteristic chalcolithic potteries that "In the light of fresh study of the relationship one has to say that the Harappan influence on the Aharian, Navadatolian, Jorwe-Nevasian and the distant Neolithic of Brahmagiri was considerably less than the Iranians." Likewise Zedneprovosky found only two to three per cent of Harappan influence on the Central Indian Chalcolitlic sites.

When we make an analysis of the facts mentioned above we are faced with a difficult question: How is it that these specific shapes such as channelled-bowls, spouted vessels, cups etc., are totally absent in the Pre-Harappan or Harappan sites in the entire Indo-Pakistan subcontinent ? On the other hand, we find these shapes associated with the Neolithic sites of India. Those from the Neolithic sites are entirely handmade and chronologically much anterior to the Malwa sites. These are evidences of the regional evolution of their pottery. The various technological stages can be outlined starting with the crude handmade pale-grey or burnished-grey ware as far off as Narsipur and Hemigge in the south and Nagarjuniakonda on the east coast. Piklihal, Terdal, Brahmagiri, Tekkalkota, Hallur and Andhra Karnataka made black on red wares at Navadatoli — the nor-

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thern type site. In between the northern or southern sites we have a considerable number of Neolithic sites containing handmade black painted pottery.

Hence, it would not be unreasonable to hold with A.V. Schchetenko, a noted Russian archaeologist that the chalcolithic culture of India is purely indigenous, both in orgin and development. He strikes a note of disagreement with Prof. Sankalia and Zadneprovosky and finds no significant influence or contact from the Fargana valley. Recently Dr. S.P. Gupta has also shown the untenability of Zadneprovysky's views.

Thus it seems that some of the developments that are visible in prehistoric and protohistoric ages have their roots in the Indian soil. They have gone through different evolutionary stages and reached perfection at a time when similar developments had been taking place in other parts of the world. But the picture representing all these developments is so hazy that one is bound to be led astray. The practice of comparative study adds to the confusion. What is required in Indian archaeology is to make the picture sharp and clear and in order to make the pictures more sharp, one has to work hard and plunge into extensive spade-work.

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Archaeology and the Vaishnava Tradition in Indonesia

Dr. B.N. Puri

The numerous stone and brick temples which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration owe their existence primarily to a mighty wave of civilization carried across the ocean from the mainland. They belong to the Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods who are worshipped in India proper to the present day," observed the late Prof. Vogel.[1] It is easy to trace Indian influence in these objects of worship. The temples with their icons and beautifully carved sculptures, suggest this influence on the socio-religious history of ancient Indonesia, comprising of Java, Sumatra and the far-flung island of Borneo (now a separate political entity). It is difficult to assess whether these works were the products of Indian immigrant artists, or local work inspired by Indian ideas and helped by Indian artists and craftsmen. The history of these monuments fails to mention if the building activity was a continuous process — steadily working its way through from the fourth century A.D. to about the fifteenth century — stretching to a little more than a thousand years over a wide geographical canvas.

Vaishṇavism, in the light of these observations, has a history of its own in Indonesia. It was never a dominant religion like Saivism or Buddhism, but was a strong religious movement with its separate individuality — its icons, conceptions, and traditions. Its study centres round different aspects — Vishṇu, a divinity, a component part of the Trimūrti, the different incarnations of the god, his association with Śiva in the compound form of Harihara; and Vaishṇavism in literature and mythology. These aspects need to be considered in detail in the light of the evidence available from the epigraphy and archaelogy of the region.

Vishnu, a divinity

The divine conception of Vishṇu was well known in Indonesia in fairly early times. The artists were conscious of his pecaliar traits, his form and

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his associates, including his vāhana, Garuda and Śakti Śrī or Lakshmī. The earliest figure of Vishṇu is in gold, a small four-armed figure holding a discus, conch shell and mace in three hands, while the fourth, the lower right is in varamudrā. It was recovered from Muara Kaman in the Kutei province of Borneo.[2] The workmanship is of a primitive character. Vaishṇavism seems to have reached there from Java, the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien, and referred to earlier in the *Ramayana*. It was at that time a strong centre of Brahmanisn.[3] In one of the famous inscriptions of Pūrnamvarman, the ruler of Taruma in western Java, not far from Batavia (*c.* A.D. 450), there is a reference to the footprints of Vishṇu (*Tarumānagarendrasya Vishṇoriva pādādvayam*).[4] The footprints are deeply cut in stone. The comparison of the king's feet with that of this Brahmanical god sheds light on the importance of this deity and the ruler's position.

The Changal inscription dated in the Śaka year 654, with its script characteristic of that found in Southern Indian inscriptions from the fifth to the tenth centuries A.D., while referring to the installation of a linga on the hill by King Sañjaya, also eulogizes Vishṇu. He is described as living in a bed of water with the Goddess Śrī, his eyes like those of lotus petals through meditation, and praised by the gods for protecting them.[5] This description (of the god) is typical of his ananta-śayana posture, which was well known in the eighth century A.D.; this is also evident from the sculptural finds depicting it. The Trimūrti conception is brought out by the Kelurak inscription[6] of the Saka year 704, in which Mañjuśrī is identified with Brahma, Vishṇu and Maheśvara. This is also suggestive of another aspect of Brahmanism in which the Buddhist god — primarily Buddha — finds a place in the Trinity and is looked upon as an incarnation. This is evident from several inscriptions and sculptures from Indonesia and Indo-China.[7]

The Different Incarnations

Both the artists and the authors seem to have been cognizant of the different incarnations of Vishṇu — Rāma (from Rāmāyaṇa), Krishṇa (from Krishṇāyāna), the Man-lion (Narasiṃha), Boar (Varāha), Fish (Matsya) and Tortoise (Kūrma).[8] Of these the first four are beautifully depicted by the artists in sculptures and statues carved in stone. Sometimes there are female figurines on two sides of the divinity, generally known as Lakshmī and Satiavana (Satyabhāmā) in Bali[9] This divinity might be Krishṇa with his consorts Rukminī and Satyabhāmā. The *Vishṇupañjara-mantra* mentions the names of different avataras — Govinda, Trivikrama, Varāha, Vāmana, Vāsudeva, Narasiṃha, Krishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Garudhvaja, Vainateya and Keśava. The *Narasiṃhadhyāna* has a long list of epithets

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where the god, as the destroyer of all enemies (*sarva-śatru-vinasāya*), is described as wielding different weapons for their destruction, sword (*khaḍga*), conch shell (*saṁkha*), discus (*chakra*), mace (*gaḍa*), bow (*chāpa*), arrow (*śara*), chisel (*tanka*).[10]

In the temples in the Pramban valley, two small images represent the Vāmana or dwarf, and Narasiṃha, or man-lion incarnations of the deity.[11] The sculptures on the inner side of the balustrade of the Vishṇu temp le depict episodes from the life of Krishṇa. The principal image in this temple is the four-armed Vishṇu, but three smaller ones of the same god represent the Vāman and Narasiṃha incarnations, while the third figure with two arms holds a four-armed figure of Lakshmī in one hand.

At Lara-Djonggrang a series of reliefs depict scenes from the *Ramayana* culminating in the arrival of Rāmā and his troops, in Lanka.[12] The *ananta-śayana* of Vishṇu,[13] represented on the first panel, shows him seated on the serpent, Śesha, in the sea (delineated by wavy lines) abounding with fish and crab. Vishṇu holds a discus in the upper right hand and the conch shell in the upper left. An indistinct object is in the lower right hand, while the lower left is stretched out in benediction to figures on the left, probably gods who came to request him for incarnation. The person with a peaked head and peculiar head dress is probably Brahma presenting an offering (*arghya*) to Vishṇu. The god is seated with his left leg folded and two ends of a girdle tied a little below the knees, pass round his body. Garuḍa seated to his right reverentially holds a lotus and a long stalk in his hands and seemingly offers it to his Master.

The life story of Rāmā is depicted in several panels — Daśaratha with his queens and sons, the banishment of Rāmā and the coronation of Bharata, Rāmā and Sītā on their way to the forest in a chariot, the King and the Queen of Ayodhyā, their heads drooping with grief, the attitude of Bharata and his queen, the episodes of Śūrpanakhā and Mārichī, Sītā in the hut guarded by Lakshmaṇa, the deer chase in the forest by Rāmā, Hanuman and his return from Lankā narrating the story of Sītā to Rāmā, are all graphically depicted. These point to the artist's intimate knowledge of the story and command over his medium in portraying[14] the incarnation and deeds of Rāmā.

The incarnation of Vishṇu as Krishṇa, and the episodes connected with his life are also noticed in Indonesian art and ancient literature. The *Krishṇāyana* by Triguna (dated in the beginning of the Kadiri period)[15] deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukminī by Krishṇa and his subsequent fight with Jarāsandha. This poem supplied the themes for the sculptured reliefs in the temple of Panamtaran. Other works that supplied the theme of the Krishṇa legend, are *Harivaṁśa* by Mpu Panuluh who also

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wrote and completed *Bharatayuddha* during the reign of Jayabhaya. The death of Krishṇa and the destruction of his family[16] forms the theme of Kakawin's *Krishṇāntaka*.

Krishṇa's story in art is best illustrated at Chandi Jago.[17] The lower part of the temple is decorated with scenes from *Krishṇāyana*, while at Chandi Kedaon some of the relics illustrate scenes from the story of Sambas, as told in the *Bhomkaya*. At Chandi Panataram[18] Krishṇa is seen eloping with Rukmiṇī followed by her brother Rukma.

Besides these sculptures, carved in stone and depicting incarnations of Vishṇu, certain statues in round deserve special attention. The statue of Vishṇu, found in the village of Tjibuaja in western Java, is supposed to be the earliest image of the Hindu god in Java, and has the usual attributes, a club, a chakra, a conch, and a fruit. The general style of the image and the conical head dress are similar to those of statues from the south Indian Pallava kingdom, about sixth-seventh century A.D.[19] The standing Vishṇu image from Chandi Banon, with Garuḍa at the back, now in the Djakarta Museum (formerly from Chandi Banon), is a magnificent representation of the Java school of sculpture. The last one from Belhan — the statue of Airlanga — is supposed to be a portrait. Vishṇu is shown here sitting on Garuḍa who is fighting his natural enemies, the snakes, holding two of them in his claws. The god, in an attitude of meditation, holds in his hands (those at the back) a flaming chakra or discus and a winged conch[20] the chakra on his forefinger extended horizontally. The two consorts of Vishṇu Airlanga, Lakshmī and Śri, signifying fertility and wealth, are also shown alongside the god. The two niches on either side of the central one from which the Belhan Vishṇu image was recovered, have standing images of a goddess in two forms. The goddesses are still in situ[21] while Vishṇu-Airlanga is in the Djakerta Museum. It was not unusual for kings to identify themselves with divinity. Besides the Belhan statue signifying Airlanga, a Vishṇu image in the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden is also supposed to be a portrait of the same king[22].

Siva and Vishnu

Despite the superiority of Saivism to Vaisaṇavism and the corresponding deities of that order, the association of the two gods is closer in Indonesia. This is evident not only from the finds of the Vishṇu images in Śaiva temples, but also from the compound deity Harihara whose image was found at Simping.[23] Vishṇu is represented with two of his hands holding the Saṇkha or conch shell, and the club (*gadā*). The other two hands hold the rosary (*akshamālā*) and the *triśūla*, the symbols of Śiva. Besides the compound deity, Vishṇu also appears as a part of the Trinity. The Trimūrti

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image was also found in Java — the three heads had the same appearance. The three gods were regarded merely as different aspects of the one indivisible Supreme Spirit. They were, however, known under different names, each with his Śakti — Umā or Pārvatī (of Śiva in his benign attitude), Kālī and Dūrga (representing his destructive power), Śrī or Lakshmī (of Vishṇu as Protector) and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning (of Brahmā).[24]

Vishnu legends in Mythology and Archaeology

Legends connected with Vishṇu are also noticed in Javanese literature and depicted in archaeological monuments. Besides reference to the features and attributes of the deity, his different avataras or incarnations, and names, the mantras and ceremonies for his propitiation are also recorded. The *Kalyavantaka* mentions[25] the story given in the *Vishṇu Purāṇā* of Kalāyavana invading Mathura to avenge Kansa's death; he was ultimately reduced to ashes by Mucukunda. So also is the reference to the story of Arjuna taking away Subhadrā when the Andhakasand Vrishnis were celebrating a feast on Raivataka. The *Tattva-Savang-suvang*,[26] a work on cosmogony, refers to the birth of Brahmā and Vishṇu out of the right eye of the creator named Sang hyang Taya — and on his command Brahmā erected the first man Kakimanuh, and Vishṇu the first woman, Nim Manuh. The story of Brahma and Vishṇu trying to fathom the depth of the Śiva Linga is depicted on a nicely executed bronze piece, referred to by Schnitger,[27] with the two deities standing on two sides of the Linga. This undoubtedly refers to the well known story, related in the *Vāyu Purāṇā*, of Brahma and Vishnu's inability to trace the upper or lower limbs of Śiva in the form of a Linga, thus acknowledging his superiority. This theme was also depicted in Champa.[28]

Different sects of Vaishṇavism are not noticed. The records of Airlanga[29] refer to the principal sects as Śaiva (Māheśwara), Saugata (Buddhist), and Rishi (or Mahabrahma). An analysis of the different religious sects enumerated in the texts was made by Goris.[30] According to his calculation, all the texts mention one or more Śaiva sects, but only four refer to the Vaishṇava sect and three to Brahman or those devoted to Brahma. It appears from the finds of the images of Vishṇu and other Brahmanical deities, that Vaishnavism and Śaivism were not placed in separate compartments. The two flourished in complete association and concord without either completely merging his identity in the other. Vaishṇavism did enjoy royal patronage, especially under Kritarājasa, and Airlanga. The Wayang dances, with the Rāmāyana story forming the theme, is suggestive of the deep impact which this religion had on the life and thought of the people. Later religious movements failed to disturb the firmly rooted

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emotional legacy of the past. That explains why the Indonesians still cling to their old traditions associated with Hinduism of the past, though it is an Islamic country. The monuments are, no doubt, there as reminders of the earlier religious movements in that country, but the past also plays a substantial role in the life of the people.

REFERENCES

1. *The Relation between the Art of India and Java*, p. 13.
2. Majumdar: *Suvarnadvipa*, Pt. I, p. 126, Pt. II, p. 335; Chhabra JASB. *Letters*. Vol. I. 1935, No. 1, p. 40; The four inscriptions of Mulavarman engraved on stone pillars, probably served as sacrificial posts. The reference to charities given to the Brahmins, testify to the settling down of Brahmanism in that island by the fourth century A.D., as is evident from the paleography of the records. The particular sacrifice, *Bahusvarnika* is identified by Kern with *Bahuhiranyaka*, a special kind of Soma Sacrifice, while according to Dr. Chhabra, it is mentioned in this form in the *Ramayana* (*Bāla*. I.95). An inscription from Kambuja refers to the setting of the footprints of Chakratirthsvami by Gunavarman. (Majumdar : *Kambuja* Ins. No. 2, p. 2).
3. Legge : *Fa-hien* p. 113. Scholars are generally agreed that Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien denotes Yavadvipa (=Java).
4. Chatterji and Chakravarty : *India and Java*, Pt. II. p. 24. According to Vogel, the foodprints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Purnavarman. He also suggested that Ci-Aruton rocks marked the spots of the kings' cremation, and that the footprints of the deceased monarch were credited with a magical power to protect his followers, and to hurt his enemies. (The earliest Sanskrit inscription from Java, quoted from Majumdar. Op. cit. Pt. II. p. 105n).
5. Chatterji and Chakravarty, Op. cit. Pt. II. p.29.
6. Ibid., p.61, V. 15.
7. Majumdar : *Kambuja* Ins. No, 156 p. 399 mentioning Padmanabha (Brahma), Ambhojanetra (Vishnu) and Buddha. *See also* Coedes. *Etats Hindouises d' Indo-Chine et d' Indonesie* (henceforth *Etats* pp. 206 and 333 on the Siva-Buddha cult in Java.
8. Majumdar : Op. cit. II. p. 104. The names and the stories connected with each seem to have been known, as is evident from the texts mentioned below.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. *See also* the *Vishṇu Purāna* (Trs. by Wilson) for the different names of the god.
11. Ibid.
12. For a description of the temple *see* Kampers: *Ancient Indonesian Art*, p. 58, Pl 139-60.
13. The version of the *Rāmāyana* illustrated by the reliefs at Lara-Djonggrang, according to Kampers, is different from the old Javanese epic (*Kakawin*) about the adventures of Rāmā and Sītā as shown in the reliefs at Panataran (pp. 279 ff). Neither is entirely consistent with the classical Sanskrit epic of Vālamiki. The railing of the Śiva temple illustrates the story up to the arrival of the monkey-

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army in the island of Lanka. It is continued on the Brahma temple (Kempers : Op. cit. p. 61).

13. Majumdar : Op. cit. Pl. XX, fig. L. The same theme is well exhibited at Myson E.I. but he is depicted as sleeping with Brahma sitting on the Lotus, and emerging out of the navel of Vishnu. (Stern : *Champa*, Pl. 22 C). Kambuja was equally noted for Viashṇava motifs in art. This particular subject of Anantaśayana of Vishṇu finds a prominent place (Bosslier : *L'étudier Khemere* Part II No. 29).
14. The name of the author of the *Rāmāyana* and its composition are not definitely known. For the *Rāmāyana* in literature and art in Indonesia see, Stutterheim : *Rama legend and Rama reliefs in Indonesia* (1926); Kats : *The Ramayana in Indonesia* (BSOAS. Vol. IV. pp. 579ff); Chatterji : Op. cit Pt. I pp. 29 ff ; Kempers : Op. cit Pl. 153 f, 160, 278, 281, 323; Majumdar : Op. cit, Pt. II, Pl. XX-XXI.
15. According to Coedes, in the reign of Jayavarsha Digjaya Sastprabhu, of whom an inscription is dated in the year 1104, Triguna composed the *Krishnāyana*. an epic poem relating to the legend of Krishṇa, illustrated by the bas-reliefs of Chandi Jago and of Panatarau (*Etats* p. 268).
16. Majumdar : Op. cit. Pt. II. p. 67.
17. Kempers : Op. cit. Pl. 159. The reliefs of the temple of Vishṇu depict scenes from the youth of Krishna, a favourite subject little known in Indonesian art and literature.
18. Ibid. Pl. 283. cf. *Vishnu Purāṇa*, Book V, Chap. XXVI, p. 454 (Indian Ed. 1961).
19. Ibid. Pl. 23.
20. Ibid. Pl. 42.
21. Ibid. Pl. 202.
22. Majumdar : Op. cit. p. 293, quoting Bk. I, Vol. 89 (1932), pp. 251-52.
23. Ibid. p. 292. Harihara images were known in Kambuja in the Pre-Angkorian period (Coedes : *Etats. p.* 107), Hara and Achyuta joined into one were known as Hari-Hara in Kambuja (Majumdar : *Kamubja* Ins. No. 60 p. 74), and also as Sankara-Narayana (ibid, no. 40, p. 50).
24. Majumdar : Op. cit. p. 105, 139.
25. Ibid. p. 72. Wilson : Trans. *Vishṇu Purana*, Bk. V, Chap. XXIII p. 449 (1961).
26. Ibid. pp. 78-79.
27. Ibid. p. 303. This is also noticed in Kambuja.
28. Majumdar : *Champa* Ins. No. 69.
29. Majumdar : Op. cit. p. 101.
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The Bhitari Pillar—Some Observations

Dr. V.C. Pandey
Department of Ancient Indian History, Punjab University, Chandigarh

The Bhitari Pillar inscription is a very important source of Skandagupta's history. But many of its words, phrases and sentences have either been read differently or interpreted differently. As such, the inscription admits of a re-appraisal of some of its contents.

1. धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तक समस्य: This is how Samudragupta has been described in this inscription[1], as also in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription[2],—reminiscent of similar descriptions of kings in several ancient Indian works. For instance, the Rāmāyana[3] avers that king Kshupa ruled the earth with the tejas of Indra, protected his subjects with that of Varuna, acquired the lustre of the Lord of Wealth, with the tejas of Kubera, and punished criminals with that of Yama. The *Mahābhārata*[4] informs us that the king assumes the forms of Agni, Sūrya, Mrtyu, Kubera and Yama in the course of performing his various functions. Similarly the *Agni Purāna*[5] says: 'The king is Vāyu, since he roams all over the world in the person of his spies. He is Yama, since he burns the evil-doers. He is Kubera, since he makes gifts to the Brāhmanas and the learned. He is God of rain, since he pours down wealth on the poor.'

These references do not call the king an incarnation of God. They only attempt a functional comparison between the king and a number of deities, implying thereby that the king was regarded as a deity and he claimed respect and loyalty of his people only when he performed his functions truly well. The moment he stopped functioning righteously, he lost his divinity. It was only a just and virtuous king who was regarded as divine. An unjust and wicked ruler, on the other hand, was condemned as a demon.[6] Thus, the scribe of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription has used the expression *Dhanadavaruṇendrāntakasamasya* not to propound the theory of the king's infallibility based on his divinity, but to make kingly power restrained and responsible.

2. न्यायागतानेक गो हिरण्यकोटिप्रदस्य: While describing the origin of the State, the *Mahābhārata*[7] informs us that the people had promised to

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pay to Manu, their first king, 1/50th of their cattle and the same portion of their *hiraṇya* (gold), among other things. Since then the State collected taxes in these forms. It maintained thousands of animals in its *Śālās*. Likewise, its treasury was full of *kanaka, rajata, vajra, vaidūrya, ratnas*, etc.[8] But the king was forbidden to collect these taxes either excessively or improperly.[9] It is from his huge acquisition, lawfully made (न्यायागत), that Samudragupta made gifts of cows and gold.

3. प्रथितयृयुमति प्रभावशक्ते: Generally it is read as प्रथितयृधुमति स्वभाव-शक्ते: and is taken to mean 'renowned for the innate power of (his) mighty intellect.'[10] But the use of the word स्वभाव as an adjectivequalifying शक्ति seems to be very inappropriate. It is likely that the word स्वभाव is a mistake for प्रभाव. In that case, the inscription refers to the mati-śakti (or mantra-śakti), and prabhāva-śakti of the king. It should be noted that the ancient Indian political thinkers speak of the three Śaktis of the king, namely, the utsāha-śakti, the mantra-śakti and the prabhāva-śakti. Since the utsāha-śakti of Skandagupta was more than suggested by the vivid description of his achievements in the inscription, the scribe thought it would be appropriate if he mentioned only the remaining two in a categorical manner.

4. विनय बलेसुनीतै: विक्रमेण क्रमेण: Fleet has translated this line in the following manner: 'By whom, having... step by step (attained his object) by means of good behaviour, and strength and politic conduct.'[11] The word '*vikramcṇa*' need not be taken to mean 'Vikramādityena' (or Skandagupta who had assumed this title). It simply means by 'means of (his) valour.' Ancient Indian literature refers to valour (vikrama) and wisdom (buddhi) as two means of attaining sovereignty[12]. The line under reference suggests Skandagupta's employment of both these means for establishing his authority. Whereas the demonstration of his vikrama involved use of force and violence, his wisdom very often eschewed their use and enabled him to attain his object through peaceful means and persuasive methods, rooted in the strength of humility and good policies.

The word *Kramena* would indicate that Skandagupta employed vikrama and buddhi alternately to suit his requirements. It is pertinent to note that the ṣāgḍuṇya theory of State provided for *dvaidhībhāva* with alternate recourse to sandhi (peace), and vigraha (war).

Thus, the whole line should be translated as : 'By whom, having, ... (attained his object) by the alternate employment of strength, of humility, and good policies, and valour.'

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5. क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामाः It is generally believed that it was in the course of his fight with the Pushyamitras that Skandagupta had to spend a whole night on the bare earth. But it is not at all necessary to connect his bivouac with the course of the war. Line twelve 'पितरि दिवमुपेते ——' etc., makes it absoluteiy clear that the catastrophe which had ruined the fortunes of the Gupta family had taken place immediately after the death of Kumāragupta. So the period during which Skandagupta had to fight the Pushyamitras was also the period of mourning in the royal house. The post-cremation rites included sleeping on bare earth by the mourners.[13] It was on such a sombre day of mourning that Skandagupta had to face the wrath of the onslaught of the powerful Pushyamitras.

6. समुदित बलको शान् पुष्यमित्राँश्च जित्वा A recent effort[14] to read it as समुदित बलकोश राष्ट्रमित्राँश्च लबध्वा is entirely unjustifiable on the following grounds:

(1) The suggested reading does explain why only four elements of the State, and not all seven, have been referred to in the inscription.

(2) The allusion to Bala, Kośa, Rāshtra and Mitra in, that order is contrary to the order of precedence generally set forth by ancient Indian political thinkers. The seven elements referred to by them are Svāmi, Amātya, Janapada (Rāshtra), Durga, Kośa, Bala (Danda) and Mitra in order of their precedence.[15]

The inscription refers to the Bala and Kośa of the Pushyamitras in particular for the simple reason that these two were regarded as constituting the roots of the king and that the security and prosperity of his kingdom depended largely upon these two elements[16].

7. गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दकजनो यं प्रापयत्यार्य्यताम्- Fleet has translated this line in the following manner:

'Whom the bards raise to distinction with (their) songs and praises.' But he seems to have missed the real significance of the use of the word '*Āryatām*' in the inscription. Actually it means 'the Àrya status' to which Skandagupta was raised by the songs and panegyrics of bards. Skandagupta's mother was not a Mahādevī, though there is nothing to warrant the suggestion that she was a concubine. However, she seems to have belonged to an avara varna. This explains why her son, Skandagupta was probably regarded as Anārya by birth by a section of the orthodox people. These notions about his low descent were repudiated by the bards through their songs and panegyrics.

A similar instance is brought to light by the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. One of the reasons why Samudragupta's claim to the throne was con-

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tested seems to have been his birth by a Lichchhavi princess. The *Mānava-Dharmaśāstras*[17] regards the Lichchhavies as Vratya Kshatriyas and, therefore, lowly. It was probably on account of the low social status of his mother that Samudragupta was not regarded as an Ārya by his rivals. The king, who did not subscribe to their view, went out of his way to address Samudragupta as 'Ārya' a term of address never used by a father for his son in Sanskrit literature to emphasize the noble lineage of his son.[18] Missing the real context in which the words 'Āryatām' and 'Ārya' have been used in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription, and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, several scholars have arbitrarily suggested alternative readings and interpretations which are highly untenable.

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1. *CII* p. 53
2. Ibid, p. 8
3. *Rāmāyana*, uttara., 76, 36-45
4. *Mahābhārata* XII, 67, 41

कुरुते पंच रूपाणि कार्ययुक्तनि यः सद
भवत्यग्निस्तथा मृत्युर्वैश्रवणो यमः
यदा ह्यासीदतः पायान् दहत्युग्रेन तेजसा
मिथ्यो पचारितो राजा तदा भवति पावकः
यदा पश्यति चरिण सर्वभूतानि भूमिपः
क्षेमं च कृत्वा ब्रजति तदा भवति भास्कर :
.....
यदा त्वधार्मिकान्सर्वा स्तीक्ष्णै र्दन्डैनि यच्छति
धार्मिकाँष्चानु गृहणाति भवत्यथ यमस्तदा
यदा तु धनधारामि स्तर्पयत्युपकारिणः
तदा वैश्रवणो राजा लोके भवति भूमियः

5. *Agni Puārna*, 225.16
6. *Mahābhārata*, Sānti., 91. 4-6; *Sukra*; 1.85.86
7. *Mahābhārata*, Sānti:, 67.23, *Manu.* ,7.133-132

पंचादशभाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययोः

8. Junagarh Inscription, *Select Insciptions*, p. 179
9. *Mahārbhārata*, Sānti., 71.11- दापयित्वा करं धर्म्य राष्ट्र नीत्या यथाविधि। *Manu.*, 8.170-171; *Yāgna.*, 1.340
10. *CII*, p. 55
11. *CII*, p. 55

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12. *Mahābhārata*, Adi., 1.112 - पाण्डुर्जित्वा वहून् देशन् बुद्धया विक्रमेण च ।
Mahābhārata, Sabhā, 16. 14-17, Includes 'नय' among the five means of attaining sovereignty.
13. *Mahābhārata*, Adi, 126, 31 : यथैव पाण्डवा भूमौ सुषुपुः सह बान्धवैः The details of the death-ritual included collection of bones on the third or tenth dery till which time the relatives observe certain restriction such as sleeping on the ground, non-coking and observance of chastry (V. M. Apre, *Social and Religious* life in the Grihya Sutras, p. 240
14. Sohoni, I H Q, Vol. XXX VII, p.272. Upendra Thakur, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Hist oryand Culture.*
15. Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, 61-स्वाभ्यमात्यजन पद दुर्ग को शदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः
16. Mahābhārata, Sānti., 119.16, 128.35 राज्ञः कोशबलं मूलम्
17. *Mānava-Dharma-Sāstra*, X. 20122
18. *CII*, p.6-आर्य्यो हित्थुपगुह्य भावपिशुनै रुत्कर्णितैः रोमभिः

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Indian Brahmanas in Cambodian Epigraphy

Dr. Mahesh Kumar Sharan

Indians established colonies in South-East Asia not by force of arms but by peaceful commercial contacts and religious endeavour. The Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas helped the traders. Disgruntled at home, the Kshatriyas appear to have been persuaded by the Vaśya traders to seek their fortunes in these areas. A section of the Brāhmanas unable to earn their livelihood at home joined them in their new ventures. The result of this exodus was bound to be both wholesome and of almost permanent value. This unique method of persuasive performance continued to flourish in Asia under the tutelage of the regional forms of Brāhmana, Buddhist and Tāntrika religions before the founding of the Mongol Empire. Hindu civilization is catholic and based on a spirit of harmony and all-inclusiveness. It does not regard anything human as alien or repugnant either to man or God, and this basic charity of the Hindu mind brought self-respect, with civilization, to people (within and outside the geographical limits of India) who came in contact with its vivifying influence making their life richer and more universal.

The earliest Indianized state in Indochina is known by the Chinese name of Funān which attained a high degree of Indian civilization. We know that this kingdom of Funān was established by the Brāhmana Kaundinya, in the first century A.D. According to Chinese texts, he was a follower of the Brāhmanical religion.

For the propagation of Sanskrit language and Indian culture among the natives of South-East Asian countries, the Brāhmanas were more enthusiastic than they were elsewhere and worked with a missionary zeal. People who had great faith and regard for learning, and for the generosity of the Brāhmanas, extended to them all possible help for propagating Indian culture.

The object of the present paper is to give from epigraphy and literature a detailed account of the Brāhmanas in the ancient Hinduized kingdom

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of Cambodia, and to bring out the role of the Brāhmanas in that society. The magnitude of the role of the learned Brāhmanas and Hindu priests can be put together in the following chronological order:

(1) *Vidyādeśa :* An inscription of Sambor Prei Kuk dated A.D., 627 speaks of this learned Brāhmanas who set up a Śivalinga during the reign of King Īśānavarman I and was proclaimed by scholars of multiple sciences as the highest authority in the systems of grammar, *Vaiśeṣika Nyāya, Sāṁkhya* and also Buddhism.[1]

(2) *Durgasvāmin :* The same inscription Sambor Prei Kuk also refers to this great Brāhmana, who received the daughter of King Īśānavarman in marriage (A.D. 635). He was well-versed in the *mantras*, the *Brāhmanas* and the *Sūtras*.[2]

(3) *Vidyāpuspa :* The stele of Phnom Prah Vihar attributed to the reign of Bhavavarman II (A.D. 639), tells us of this poet. He was a master of the Pāśupata sect. He gave a certain meaning to (*Sabda*) grammar the *Vaiseṣika* and logic (*nyāya*).[3]

(4) *Nāga :* The Tuol Komnap inscription dated A.D. 734, contains the name of this learned Brāhmana, who was gifted with faith and was versed in the Vedas and various other types of knowledge.[4]

(5) *Śakrasvāmin :* A stele of western Baray dated A.D. 713 says that queen Jayadevī had in her service this Śaiva Brāhmana. He had profound knowledge of the doctrines of Vedāṅta and Taittiriya.[5]

(6) *Śrī Nivāsa Kavi :* The inscription of Bakon speaks of this preceptor, who had been at first in the service of King Jayavarman (II or III) and later in the service of King Indravarman. He had become the most celebrated of those who knew the Vedas. He was full of zeal for reciting the Vedas and was considered to be the master of four Vedas.

(7) *Hiranyadāma :* The Sdok Kak Thom stele inscription of Udayādityavarman II tells us about this learned tāṅtrika of India. King Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-850), had invited him to instal the cult of Devarāja. This learned Brāhmana taught the Śāstras, called *Śirachheda, Vināśikha, Sammoha* and *Nayottara*, the four faces of *Tamburu*, to *śivakaivalya* through magic.[6]

(8) *Śivasoma* : The inscription of Prasat Kandol dom (north) informs us about this Brāhmana who was the guru of Indravarman (A.D. 877-889). In the inscription, he is said to be a unique receptacle of all the sciences, and a master of the Vedas. He came from a Brahmana family and is claimed to be another Rudra.[7] He had acquired pure inteligence based on logic, rhetoric and other sciences.[8] He was also an expert in the Śāstras,

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namely Purana, *Mahābhārata*, Śaiva grammar, grammar of Panini, in its entirety and other treatises, as if he were the author of these.[9]

(9) *Śrī-Svāmin :* In the inscription of Prasat Kok Po, which dates on paleographic grounds from the second half of the ninth century A.D. (probably A.D. 885), this Brāhmana, who possessed superior knowledge of the Vedas, Vyākarana, and the philosophical systems, has been mentioned. He is said to have been gifted like Brahmā with a unique face.[10]

(10) *Amarabhāva :* The reign of *Yasovarman* (A.D. 889-900), is marked by great literary activity. Inscriptions of this period are full of allusions to the study of the different branches of Indian literature. Phnom Bayan's stele inscription of this king contains the name of this ascetic (yati), who knew the meaning of texts dealing with Śaiva (taṅtra), astronomy (Jyotisa) and grammar.[11]

(11) *Śrī Satyāśrava :* The inscription of Phimanakas dated A.D. 910 mentions the name of this learned minister, who is claimed to be comparable to the minister of Indra, and who had covered and mastered the whole ocean of astrology (Horāśātra).[12]

(12) *Agastya :* Reference to this Brāhmana, knower of the Vedas and Vedāṅga has also been found. He was a native of Āryadeśa.[13] He married the glorious Yaśomatī.

(13) *Yogīśvara :* The stele of Loley tells us that the king learnt his duty towards his subjects by taking advice from this learned man known also as Yâjñavalkya. The princes used to prostrate themselves before his feet, and made of him another Manu.[14]

(14) *Suśrūta :* This celebrated author of Indian medical science was known in Cambodia as early as the time of Yaśovarman "with a speech which was the expression of an excellent science, and whose essence was wisdom, a physician unique of his type, he cured the disease of his subjects, even of the other world."[15]

(15) *Çaitanya Śiva :* King Harṣavarman II, a son and the successor of Jayavarman IV, (A.D. 942), had at his service the best āchāryas, one of whom was this learned āchārya, who is claimed to be the foremost in grammar and in Śaivite Śāstras. He was the receptacle of wisdom.

(16) *Śikhā Śiva :* The inscription of Vat Thipedi engraved during the reign of Īśānavarman II (A.D. 925), mentions this learned scholar who had commented on all the Śāstras, and his teachings observed the established rules. He was also a master among masters and the foremost among the yogīns.[16] The inscription further tells us that though he elucidated

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innumerable doctrines relating to eloquence, and grammar (Sabdasastra), he did not reject the six great systems of philosophy.[17]

(17) *Somésvara Bhaṭṭa :* The Pre-Rup inscription tells us about this Pandita that after having learnt from this Brāhamana, the mīmāṁsā, whieh explains the meaning of the Vedas, King Rājendravarman began to visit sages devoted to Brāhmanical learning.[18]

(18) *Yajnavarāha :* Epigraphic texts of the reign of Jayavarman V are characterized by familiarity with Indian literature. The inscription of Bantay Srei tells us that this Brāhmana was the guru of the king. He was foremost in the knowledge of the doctrines of Pātañjali (the founder of the Yoga system), of Kanada (the founder of the Vaiśēṣika system), of Akshapāda (or Gautama), the founder of the nyāya system, of Kapila the founder of the Sāṁkhya system) of Buddha, of medicine, of music, and of astronomy.[19]

(19) *Viṣṇu Kumāra :* Another verse of the Pre-Rup inscription tells us that all the treatises, like those of grammar, all the arts, and the Śaivite Yoga, which was that of his guru, Visnu Kumāra acquired them from the elder brother Yajñavarāha.[20]

(20) *Divākara Bhaṭṭa :* The stele of Prasat Komphus speaks of this learned Brāhmaṇa who knew the Śāmaveda.[21]

(21) *Rājendra Vaidya :* The Prasat Kok (south) inscription describes, in a fragmentary verse, this physician as the best of those who know the Ayura and the Dhanurveda.[22]

(22) *Kīrti Paṇḍita :* Several verses of the stele of Vat Si Thor speak of this great scholar, who is said to have rekindled the torch of Madhyavibhāga and other Śāstras which were extinguished under the destructive influence of sin.[23]

(23) *Vagīsvara Paṇḍita :* The inscription of Prasat Samkhah speaks of this Brahmana, who had unstained intelligence. He recited, with the gravity and eloquence of a master, the numerous Purānas, Kāvyas and Śāstras, rich in śaivite legends without omitting any.[24]

(24) *Panchagavya :* The stele of Prasat Trapan Run informs us about this learned Brahmana who was an expert in the five Vyakarana (grammar).[25]

(25) *Kavīndra Paṇḍita :* The stele of Prasat Trapan Run mentions this Professor of Sanskrit literature. He had learnt the treatises on grammar, and on politics and religion (agama), the poems, the *Mahabharata* (i.e. in its enlarged form) and the *Ramayaṇa*. He taught them to his students.[26]

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(26) *Yogendra Paṇḍita :* The inscription of Phnom Sandok speaks of this Brahmana. He was the purohita (chaplain) of Suryavarman. He was well-versed in the revealed literature.[27] The Tuol Tapec inscription, containing the eulogy of King Suryavarman I, also mentions this learned Brahmana, and says that he knew profoundly the precepts of the six Vedaṅgas, namely — pronunciation, metre, grammar, lexicography, astronomy and ritual.[28]

(27) *Sikhantāchārya :* He was the purohita of King Śrī Indravarman and was well-versed in the Śaivite āgamas.[29]

(28) *Yogīśvara Paṇḍita :* We find mention of this Brahmana in the inscription of Vat Praptus. He was the guru of King Suryavarman and was venerated for his erudition in science and the Vedas.[30]

(29) *Sadāśiva :* The large stele of Sdok Rak Thom tells us that this grand Brahmana was the purohita of Suryavarman I. He knew music and had studied the arts, astronomy, and medicine, etc. He also possessed knowledge of the rituals. He knew the Sāstras, such as grammar, from his guru Vagīndra Kavi.[31]

(30) *Vāgīndra Kavi :* He was the guru of Sadaśiva.

(31) *Śivasoma :* The Pon Ken Kan inscription, which dates from A.D. 1074 mentions the name of this ascetic, who used to practice Yoga. He had excellent knowledge of Yoga.[32]

(32) *Bhūpendra Paṇḍita :* The stele of Prasat Tor refers to this Brahmaṇa, who was an official under kings Jayavarman VI, Dharanīndra Varman and Suryavarman II. "He had drunken this intoxicating liquor which is the five oceans of Siddhāṅta (astronomy), of philosophy of grammar, of the sage Panini and of the Vedas, and of polity."[33]

(33) *Hiraṇya :* The stele of Phnom Run (Verse XXVIII) mentions this individual. Having attained the young age of 15 years in the abode of Suvarṇa liṅgeśa, he had traversed on the boat of a series of sacrifices, the essence of commentaries, third and sixth ocean.[34].

(34) *Siddharṣi :* An unpublished fragment of the stele of Kapilapura, called the stele of Angkor Vat, mentions his name. He was said to be worthy of being honoured by those who knew Yoga, and possessed knowledge of all the books on learning.[35]

(35) *Śikhāre :* According to an inscription of Kampeng Nai, a dignitary named Śikhare was a reciter of the sacred *Dharmaśastra.*[36]

(36) *Kaṇtha Paṇḍita :* The stele of Kuk Trapan Srok dated not earlier than A.D. 1073, informs us about a Brāhmaṇa of this name who was a scholar in the *Dharmaśastra.*[37]

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(37) *Divakara Paṇḍita* : The stele of Phnom Sandak refers to this venerable guru. He was conversant with what had been handed down by traditions and had not ceased to learn and to teach all the sacred texts.[38]

In praise of the manifold personality and contributions of the Brahmaṇas in the expansion of Indian culture reference can be made to the inscription of Vat Prah Einkosei which reads, "Brahmaṇas famous for their heroism, with subtle and penetrating lustre, who have dissipated the darkness of evil, who possess the essence of the learning of the Vedanta, who are pleased to follow the path of the Smrti, who are free from passions, disinterested, faithful to their duty, manifested examples of the eight perfections of the Yoga, guided by the movement of the sun, uninterruptedly moistened by the nectar of meditation and profoundly versed in the Veda and the Vedaṅga, have saluted (Jayavarman) by their reputed acclamations.[39]

The inscription of the Saigon Museum, which dates from the tenth century, on Palaeographic grounds (reign of Jayavarman V) contains the reference of a person who knew the dual nature of the arts, and who was well-versed in grammar. He was very learned in the Śaivite doctrine and was expert in calculation.[40]

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11. IC, I, 257, V. 9.
12. Ibid., III, 20, V. 8.
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24. Ibid., III, V. 22, 48.
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28. BEFEO, XXVIII, 624.
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30. ISCC, XVI, 117.
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32. IC, V, V. 6, 276
33. Ibid., I, V. 47, 237.
34. IC, V, V. 28, 302.
35. Ibid., IV, 255.
36. Ibid., VI, line-4-5, 251.
37. Ibid., II, line-22-24, 130.
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Prehistoric Art in Bihar

Dr. Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha
Patna Museum

Man is by nature creative. The difference between a man and an animal lies in a man's capacity to think. And this unique ability to reason and plan and think helped the prehistoric man to overpower and control a hostile environment. The first concern of the early man was, naturally food. He survived on wild roots and vegetables, and stalked and killed annimals for their flesh. In order to get more for their livelihood, early men slowly learned to manufacture tools and weapons which would help them kill animals more effectively. They presumably, used natural pebbles before they learned to fashion any tools. It is also possible that thermally fractured stones were used for killing wild game. In a series of experiments, the primitives must have observed the degree of effectiveness of round pebbles and the naturally split stones in hunting animals.

Gradually, in the course of evolution they devised newer methods and manufactured a variety of tools by chipping stone to obtain a sharp cutting edge. An idea of this gradual development in the technology of tool making can be had if we look at the entire series of implements beginning from pebble-tools to the finest Acheulean hand-axes. This may, in a way, reveal that these men inclined more and more towards refinement, and they strove to give the tools a symmetrical look. It is true that in giving a symmetrical look to the Acheulean tools, people were guided more by the usefulness of the artifacts than by any overt aesthetic motives. The Early Stone Age was the period in which people were more concerned with problems of subsistence and as such we have not been able to trace any object which could strictly be regarded as artistic.

During the Middle Stone Age, the size of the tools gradually diminished and the variety in the tool types changed. The tools mostly comprised of scrapers of various shapes, blades and a few miniature hand-axes. In the whole assemblage of tools there was not one which could have been utilized for rock engravings. Even during this phase people were mostly

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preoccupied with the problem of subsistence and consequently, had no time to indulge in artistic pursuits.

The tools belonging to the Late Stone Age, as compared to earlier periods were smaller in size. During this phase, apart from other tool types, a tool known as 'burin' began to be manufactured. Its working edge was chisel-like and it is more than likely that it was utilized for rock engravings. In Bihar the evidences of prehistoric art are scanty. A few remains have, however, been reported from the Chakradharpur[1] area of Singhbhum district. At Manbhandar[2] near Ghatsila, a life size figure of a man in archaic style has been found, and may be said to belong to the Late Stone Age. A fresh exploration of the area may bring to light some more art specimens of the prehistoric people of Bihar. Besides this, no other examples of art have come down to us which go back to the Late Stone Age phase of human history.

The beginnings of agriculture go back to the Neolithic phase. This forced the people to lead a settled life, without which it would not have been possible to guard the agricultural fields. This domesticity in turn provided them some spare time which they utilized in the pursuit of a variety of crafts, such as pottery, bone tool-making, stone tool-making etc., to make life happier—the discovery of archaic figures of bull, bird snake-hood, coiled snake, etc., at Chirand,[3] in Saran district testifies to this. Although the artists did not portray the animals realistically they succeeded in giving them some definite form. In a way, such representations provided in them a magical strength. It has, therefore, rightly been observed by the great art critic Fischer[4] that art in the beginning performed the function of magic and had little to do with beauty.

In the succeeding phase (Chalcolithic phase) men learnt the technique of extracting copper from the ores. They practised different crafts, viz., copper, bone, bead making etc., and followed planned agriculture. But copper, bone, bead-making etc., required full-time workers, and experts in different vocational crafts were, naturally, dependent on the surplus food produced by those engaged in agriculture. In the formative stages of human life, people were more concerned with discovering new things which could make their life happier. Because of their preoccupations with a variety of crafts, they had no time for artistic activities. In Bihar, only two terracotta figurines belonging to the Chalcolithic phase have so far been discovered. The excavated site at Oriup[5] in the district of Bhagalpur, yielded an archaic variety of Mother Goddess, while at Sonepur[6], in the Gaya district, a perforated bird was discovered. Besides these, copper as a new material began to be exploited for the manufacture of tools, weapons, and ornaments but a few sculptural representations in this metal

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have survived which account for their use in artistic expression. One such example has been discovered from Manbhum, which in now preserved in the Patna Museum.[7] The figure is the conventional type of human form. Its genital is clearly delineated. In this figure the shoulder and the leg have been moulded in stylized form. The mould for casting this figure was probably prepared on the ground over which the molten copper was poured. After it solidified, it was taken out.

With the advent of the Iron Age in Bihar in the seventh century B.C., the material culture of the people changed gradually. The people were mentally more developed than their predecessors. The wide use of iron during the Mauryan period revolutionized the entire field of human activity. The Iron Age in Bihar can be divided into two phases—the Early Phase and the Later Phase. In the former, the art pieces that have survived are in the form of clay figurines which were discovered from the Mahabirghat excavations[8] in Patna City. In the Later Phase, artistic activities increased due to a fairly wide use of iron. Besides clay, stone, wood, metal and ivory had also begun to be used by the artists. The carving of stone sculptures and other materials was made possible by an iron chisel and fine burin.

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4. Ernst, Fischer : *The Necessity of Art*, p. 35.
5. *JBRS*. LVIII, p. 32.
6. Ibid.
7. *Puratattva*, No. 1, pl. XI (Arch. No. 240), Fig. 1.
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A Beautiful Doorjamb from Mithila

Dr. Vijayakanta Mishra

The Mithila school of sculpture was at its height during the medieval period. Mithila is the 'stronghold of popular Hinduism and of Sanskritic and Sastric learning.' It was a great centre of Sakti, Vishnu and Siva worship. Mithila was also closely associated with Tantric forms of beliefs and practices. The literature and the recent archaeological remains, unearthed from a number of ancient sites (in Mithila), throw a good deal of light on the religious beliefs of the people.

The Sastras have laid down severe canonical laws for sculpture. Any sculptor which who attempts either a 'hinanga' or 'adhikansa' sculpture, dies immediately. In the *Vastusara* there is a detailed account of the misfortunes that would dog a sculptor who carves a 'sadosha' sculpture. The worship of a 'bhagna pratima', is prescribed; and one is enjoined to perform a 'visarjana' of the 'bhagna pratima.' The disfigurement of the face, ear, nose, navel, and waist of a 'mula nayaka pratima', disqualifies it from being worshipped. It is further laid down in the *Vastusara prakarana*, that any sculpture which has been given Pranapratistha by a great man and has been an object of worship for more than three hundred years, retains its sanctity and the right to be worshipped even if it is 'vikalanga.' Ritual authorities have criticized the renovation of any stone pratima.

Broadly speaking, the mediaeval Maithila sculptures can be divided into:

(1) Vishnu and the cult of Vaishnavism,
(2) Siva and the cult of Saivism,
(3) Sakti and the Sakta, the cult.

There are, besides a few sculptures of Buddha, Tara, Ganesa, Surya, and Brahma, those of Ganga and Yamuna also. Saiva, the most important cult, inspired the construction of a number of Siva Temples which we find in Mithila even today. However it should be kept in mind that every Mathila of the mediaeval period was a Sakta, a Saiva or a Vaishnava. There is a saying prevalent in Mithila

Plate II

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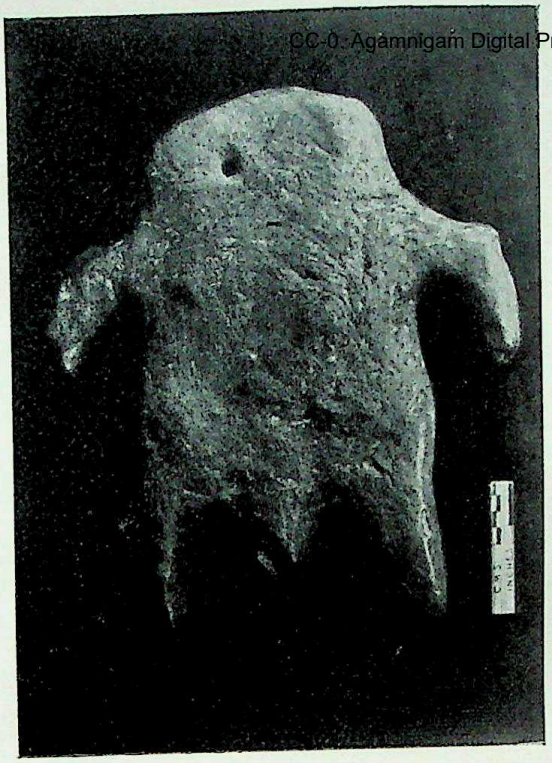

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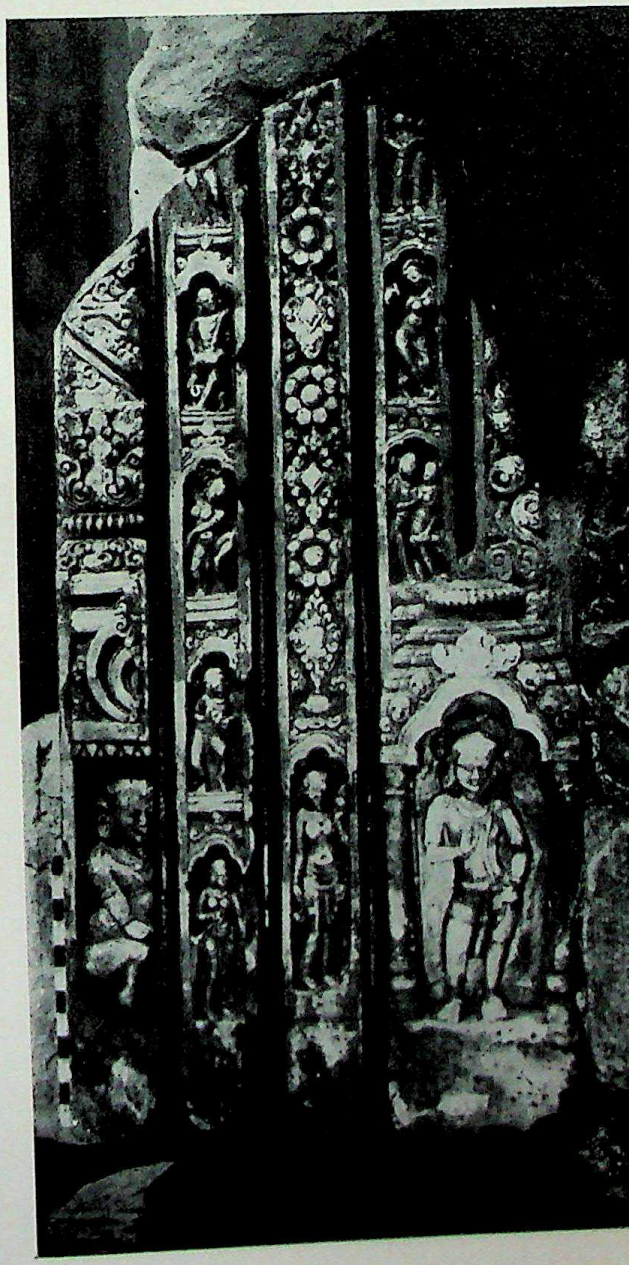
1. Conventional type of human figure from Manbhum (*Courtesy :* Department of Archaeology. Government of India)
Text : **Prehistoric Art in Bihar, p. 173**



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2. The doorjamb of a temple. (*Courtesy :* Archaeological Survey of India).
Text : **A beautiful doorjamb from Mithila p. 176**

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अन्त : शावता : बडि रैवा : सयामहपे त, वैप्पावा : ।

No complete picture of any temple where these sculptures were installed has been found so far. There may be several reasons for this. However that is not a subject for this article which describes the beautifully carved doorjamb of stone. This prastara piece has been unearthed from the village of Bhit Bhagwanpur, supposedly the capital of Sri Malladwa, in Madhubani district. This piece was the doorjamb of a temple where a number of beautiful sculpture pieces have been unearthed. The carving on this piece is four-tiered if seen from the side. On each row there are floral and geometric designs as well as several dancing and other figures.

In the first row, there is a dwarfish figure, wearing a necklace, with his right leg raised. A male figure playing on a mridanga is in the second row from the top. He is wearing beautiful earlobes and his right leg drawn back and flexed behind the left leg is partially bent. The next figure is a large-breasted dancing lady. Her left leg is raised navel-high and flexed, the foot at thigh level of the slightly bent right leg. Her left hand neatly crosses the torso diagonally and reaches a little below the right hip joint, while the right is raised towards the head. She is wearing an undergarment whose folds are clearly shown. The third figure is a standing lady. She has a rosary in her right hand, while the left is hanging down. She is wearing large rings in her ears and a necklace. Her breasts are also very prominent. The upper half of the third row is full of floral and geometric designs. The lower portion has a standing lady with a rosary in her right hand, and in her left, she holds a kamandalu or pot. She is wearing Yajnopavita Katibandhas, sari and necklace. She has full lips, full breasts and a prominently displayed navel. In the fourth row there is a standing lady in the 'tribhanga' pose. She is wearing anklets. She is looking into a mirror. Katibandhas are shown by beads. The mirror is in her right hand, while the left appears to be giving final touches to her coiffure. She is wearing a sari. Such sculptures are very common in the temple of Orissa and Khajuraho. The second figure is of an amorous couple. The male is fondling her breast while the woman, her right hip arched, revels in her physicality. Below this figure is a temple with 'amalaka', four tiers and an arch supported by two pillars. Its 'Kumbi' is of double 'Kalasas.' In this temple is a figure of some deity whose right hand is in the 'abhaya mudra,' while the left is on his hip. While the right leg is firm, the left is bent. He is wearing a Yajnopavita necklace, 'keyura' and an undergarment. He has ornaments in both his ears.

A beautiful specimen of mediaeval Maithila art comparable to this doorjamb has not been unearthed so far from any part of Mathila.

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Balirajgarh—A Unique Historical Site

Dr. Sita Ram Roy

Situated on the India-Nepal border, on the northern fringe of Bihar, a large mound of about two hundred acres, locally famous as Balirajgarh, presents such a colossal look that it attracts the attention of passersby from a few miles all around. The site lies partially in three villages, viz., Balirajpur, Khoir and Ramanipatti, in the Babubarhi block of Madhubani district. Although tradition associates the Garh with the Danava King, Bali of the epic and the puranic legends, the archaeology of the site reveals the ancient glories of Mithila and assigns its flourishing days to the time of the Śuṅgas (second century B. C.).

The site is, more or less, well-preserved, largely due to the local superstition which has saved it from destruction. The local people believe that the ghosts of the King and his army still live there, and should anybody steal even one brick from the Garh he will be (greatly) harmed by those ghosts. This is enough to keep the people away.

Because of its rural location, cut off from road and rail communication by the annual devastating floods of Kamala, Balan and Bhutahi Balan rivers, the site had long been neglected by archaeologists. Recently, in 1963, the Mid-Eastern circle of the Archaeological Survey of India ventured to lay out a few trenches on the site, but could not continue further. It was at the instance of the late Shri L.N. Mishra, the then Railway Minister of India, the Government of Bihar sent their proposal, for excavations at Balirajgarh, to be considered by the standing committee of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology in 1972-73. The proposal was duly considered and in 1972-73 the State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, started excavations and continued it for one more season (1974-75), under the field-direction of the author.

The remains at the site suggest that it was once a great fort, surrounded by a gigantic brick rampart, the remains of which still remind us of its past glories. The rampart shows its two constructional phases (one of the bricks measured $50 \times 20 \times 4$ cm.), and belongs to the Śuṅga period as suggested by the occurrence of a few shards of the NBP ware from its core.

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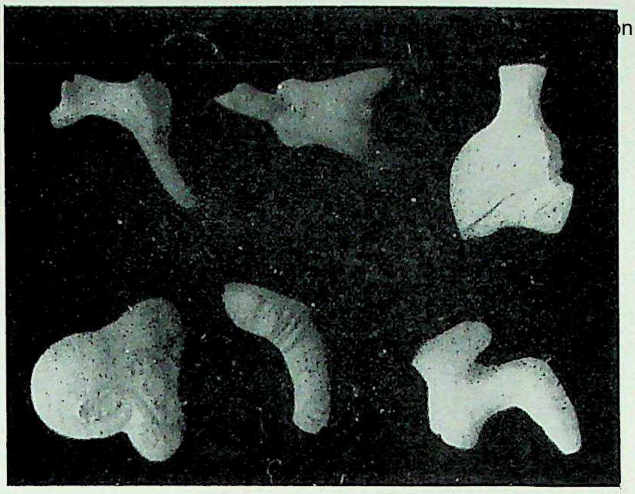
Plate III

Text : Balirajgarh—a unique historical site, p. 178



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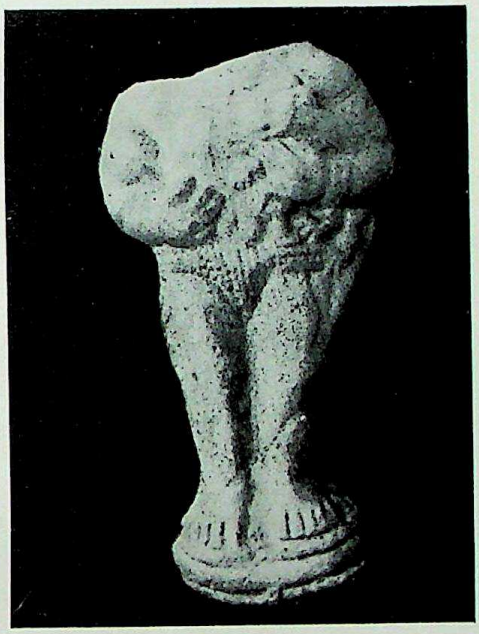
1. Terracotta animal figurines



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2. Terracotta human figurine

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3. Terracotta dwarf

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Plate IV

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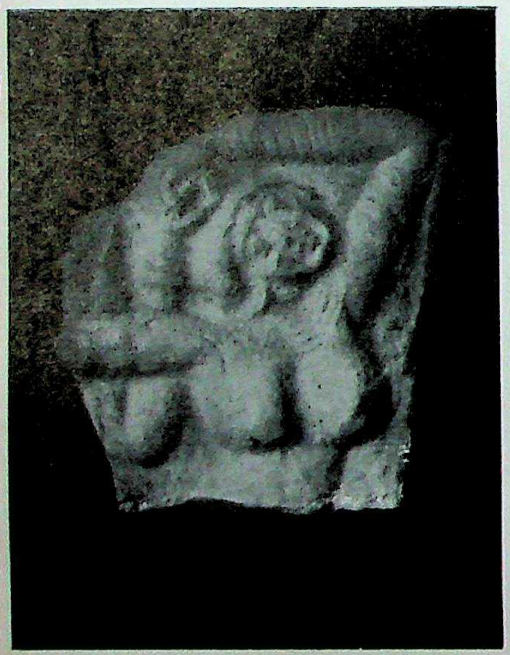
4. Terracotta plaque



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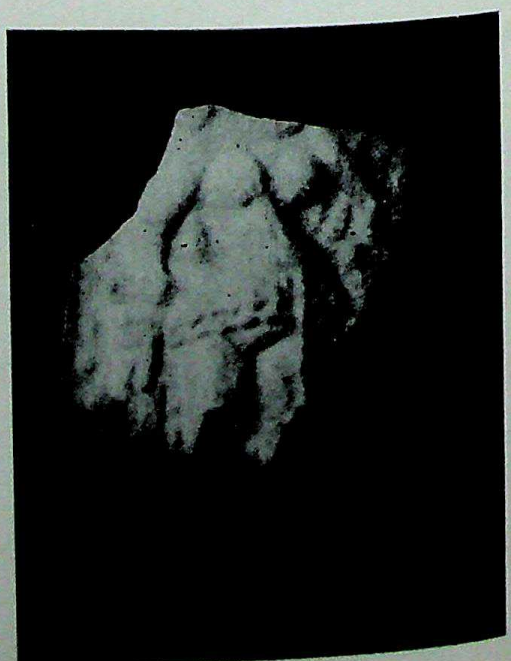
5. Terracotat plaque



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6. Terracotta plaque

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The second phase shows the use of comparatively smaller sized bricks (one of which measured about 40×20×2 cm.). Besides, not only is the complete area of the site full of small brick mounds, but the country around it has the same character.

The habitational area of the site, though examined in a very small portion, revealed very promising results. Even a small area of 10×5 metres, when half-excavated, unearthed about five hundred antiquities and considerable structural details, belonging to two different cultural periods. In Period I an approximately two metre thick deposit brought out the remains (of a part) of a brick-built residential building along with a well, measuring 1.40 metres in diameter, built of wedge-shaped brick, and a ring well that measureed the 1.25 meters in diameter. The size of the wedge-shaped bricks, used in the well, measured 24 centimeters long, 19 centimeters wide on one side and 15 centimeters wide on the other, the thickness was 2.5 centimetres. Besides, the discovery of a large number of fragmentary tiles, gives an idea of the tiled superstructure of that time. The tiles, rectangular in shape, had circular holes in the middle; they were curved on one side which, possibly, facilitated the bonding process.

The antiquities that were disinterred are abundant, both in variety and number. The Śuṅga level yielded a number of beautiful terracotta plaques with both male and female figures. It is worth mentioning that from this level terracotta human figures without plaques were altogether wanting. The heavy ornamentation, coiffure and hair-locks speak of the affluence and fashionable character of contemporary society in the region under discussion. The different ornaments on the figures not only represent expertise of the terracotta artisans but they also reflect the skill of different smiths. Besides, from the earliest level so far excavated were discovered few hand-fashioned mother-goddess-like figures whose coiffure and workmanship of the other part of the body reflect the antique character of the objects; these figures were without plaques.

The animal figures, represented mostly by rams and bulls, reflect the predominantly agricultural and cattle-rearing character of the time. In addition to these antiquities, terracotta beads and balls have also been abundantly found. Bigger terracotta balls were probably used as sling shots during war and to overpower wild animals in hunting, while, smaller ones were possibly, used for striking wild birds and small animals. Stringed terracotta beads, were probably used as garlands for the animals. The other antiquities included bone pins, copper-cast coins, copper antimony rods, terracotta sealings and a terracotta crucible. Above all were the beautifully fashioned beads of different semi-precious stones such as carnelian, agate, jasper, crystal, topaz, etc; they were varied in shapes and sizes and outnum-

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bered all other antiquities of Period I. Since these antiquities are well-executed and of high artistic value, they suggest an early beginning of this art.

In Period II a deposit of about 1.60 metres showed signs of a big brick structure in the form of a wide brick wall. The other finds which were unearthed from the site included terracotta animal figures, stone beads, terracotta balls, etc.

The site furnished sufficient evidence of the contemporary ceramic industry. No doubt, from Period I a few shards of the N. B. P. Ware were picked up as also a few pieces of the grey-and-black wares but the complete deposit was predominated by the red ware industry. The shards of the NBP ware were essentially the dish and the bowl types with a fabric that was both fine and medium, in black, golden and chocolate colours. The black-and-grey ware specimens were not different from the NBP ware in types and fabric. The red ware showed coarse to medium fabric and was represented by different shapes, viz., vessels, troughs, spouted pots, pots and pans with handles, perforated jars, lid-cum-miniature pots, knob-bed lids, finials, etc. A few of the red ware specimens possessed impressions of mats and reeds, and a few troughs showed rope-bands on their shoulders.

It is worth mentioning that in the entire Mithila region Balirajgarh is the only site so far discovered which is well preserved and which may, if examined extensively yield enough data for the contemporary cultural history of the region.

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Vaishnavi image

Plate V

Text : An image of Vaishnavi from Antichak

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An Image of Vaishnavi from Antichak

B. S. Verma

The village of Antichak lying a distance of nearly 15 km. from Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur (Bihar), supposed to be the most probable site of the Vikramshila Mahavihara which was founded by the Pala ruler Dharmapala, is currently under excavation by the Archaelogical Survey of India, for the last three seasons. Excavation of the Shrine proved fruitful and a Buddhist stupa and monastic establishments have come up along with stone sculptures, terracotta figurines and decorated and sculptured plaques. The excavation site is covered by a conspicuously lofty mound representing the remains of a Buddhist temple. A small kacha road passes nearby its western side hardly half a furlong from the mound. In the course of a random walk, further west of this road I fortunately picked up almost intact, a miniature stone sculpture (of black basalt) representing a female deity, which to judge from the inconographic point of view, is of considerable significance.

The stone piece, art in the form of a stela, conical at the top, measures nearly 13 cms. in height and 7½ cms. in extreme breadth at the base. The female figure has been shown seated cross-legged, in the Padmasana, upon the back of an enormous bird with outstretched wings, which can be identified beyond doubt as Garuda holding a serpent in its mouth. The left wing of the bird is, however, damaged. The Goddess seated in the Tribhanga pose, with her body tilted to the left and head towards the right, is holding a fully blossomed lotus in her regular left hand, whereas she is grasping a noose by its lower end with her right hand placed on the right thigh. She has a conical Karanda-Mukuta over her head and Makar kundala in her ears. There are no other accessory figures — neither attendants nor flying Vidyadharas. The Goddess is represented alone by herself on her vahana. The lotus as a symbol in her left hand and Garuda as her vahana, would indicate here an association with Vishnu; and on these counts she can definitely be identified as Vaisnavi. But the noose in her right

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hand may lead one to suspect her identification as such. In my opinion, the presence of the noose in her right hand need not pose a hurdle in her identification with the Goddess Vaisnavi (or Lakshmi as she is) emerged out of the ocean as a result of its churning (Samundra Manthana). Varuna, the Lord of Ocean, has a noose (Pasa) in his hand; and a pasa in the hand of the Goddess may point to her origin from the ocean. No wonder, if guided by the impulse of introducing something novel and original, the ingenious anonymous artist placed the object in the right hand of the Goddess. Further more, Garuda, the Vahana of the Goddess, in accordance with the *Agni Purana* may hold a pasa as one of its emblems; and the author of the sculpture desirous of introducing newness in his creation transferred the emblem of the vehicle to the hand of the Goddess as one of her emblems, besides further suggesting her association with the vehicle. Taking into consideration, these points as well, the goddess may be identified with Vaisnavi, one of the seven mothers (Sapta Matrikas) an aspect of Goddess Lakshmi, the consort of lord Vishnu.

It may however, further be pointed out that certain Brahminical gods and goddesses were adopted in the Buddhist fold, including the Mother Goddesses and consequent upon it, the original characters of these deities underwent some alterations and modifications. It would, therefore, no be out of place to add that the present figure of the Goddess obtained from an undoubtedly Buddhist site, may also have been subject to Buddhistic influence; and this may as well explain the reason why a noose has been provided in one of the hands of Goddess. Thus the figure of the Goddess Vaisnavi has been represented here in a 'Buddhist parle'; she is verily a Buddhist Vaisnavi.

Stylistically and materially the sculpture, carved out of black basalt may be placed in between the 12th to 13th century A.D., when some degeneration in artistic style had already set in.

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Plate VI

Text : Antiquarian Wealth from Sonkh

1. Young lady standing on a prostrate dwarf. A bracket figure (Salabhanjika) CO 100 A.D.

2. A general view of Sonkh excavation site. (*Courtesy :* Government Museum, Mathura)

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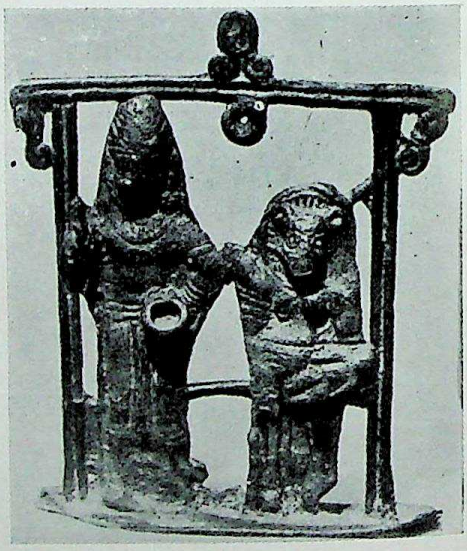
Plate VII

3. A terracotta medallion depicting a lion killing a boar, Kushan period.
(*Courtesy :* Government Museum, Mathura)



4. A bronze plaque representing Kubera and his spouse. Kushan period *c.* 2nd century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Government Museum, Mathura)

5. The Court of a Naga king *c.* 100 B.C.
(*Courtesy :* Government Museum, Mathura)

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Antiquarian Wealth from Sonkh

Dr. R.C. Sharma

The religious and cultural glory of the Mathura (region) is cherished and admired by innumerable visitors who go there from distant parts of the world. Both historically and archaeologically it occupies an important position. For over two millennia, the city, and its environs, have been subject to periods of construction and destruction—while the adherents of different religious creeds have raised temples and monasteries and cultural centres, these have been pillaged and destroyed by repeated foreign invasions and sectarian rivals. The wrecks and ruins of Mathura and its vicinity are those early settlements that lived through, and shaped its chequered history. The discovery of a bacchanalian group by Col. Stacy in 1836 (now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), lured many archaeologists and savants of Indology. Their perseverance and unflagging efforts resulted not only in the discovery of wonderful art treasures, but also helped in shedding light on some dark patches of Indian history.

Cunningham, Growse, Führer, Vogel, Radha Krishna, Agrawala and a host of other foreign and Indian scholars explored many rich sites in search of antiquarian ruins. The growing quest to reveal the glorious past of Vraja Bhoomi remained uninterrupted since the arrival of the West German Archaeological Mission in October 1966. The team under the leadership of Professor Dr. Harbert Härtel, Director of Indian Art Museum, Berlin, completed its eighth and last excavation at Sonkh in March 1974. The Mission was deputed to unfold the total cultural sequence of this lofty mound, measuring roughly 300 (l) × 250 (w) × 12 (ht) metres. Situated at a distance of 35 kms, by road and 21 kms, as the crow flies, in the south-westerly direction of the District Headquarters, the site, because of its compactness, promised a rich archaeological treasure.

While a total picture will emerge only after the publication of a comprehensive report by the excavators, it is nevertheless possible to assess the salient features and main achievements via Dr. Härtel's first-hand annual briefings, his notes appearing in some issues of the *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology* in U.P., my close association with several exca-

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vatory campaigns and finally, the rich find of antiquarian wealth the party handed over to the Government Museum, Mathura. The nomenclature of the mound, 'Hati Singh-ki-garhi', preserves the memory of a Jat Chief, Hati Singh, who built a mud fortress here in the eighteenth century when Suraj Mal was on the throne of Bharatpur. Sonkh, according to some, derives its name from the sage Śaunaka, who lived during the Epic Age.

With the help of some German architects skilled in the techniques of excavation, students of Indian Art in Berlin and about 150 Indian labourers, excavation was resumed every year in the middle of October, and closed in March when the party left for home. In their eight expeditions the excavators traced 37 layers from top to bottom presenting almost a complete sequence of about 3000 years of Indian culture in the Vraja region—beginning from modern times to *c.* 1000 B.C. The Jat period (eighteenth-nineteenth) is distinguished by the presence of a large number of cannon balls suggesting, to some, the possibility of a fierce battle. Mughal occupation preceded the Jat period. And this is testified by some of coins of Shahjahan, Akbar and Shershah Suri, besides the very fine quality thin glazed porcelain, and a few glass and shell objects, which have been unearthed.

In the lower levels we get the spouted jar with floral motifs and some thin, small, grey-stone plaques carved with Hindu deities, particularly Sūrya and Vishṇu. These can be dated about the late medieval period *c.* tenth to twelth century A.D.); some plaques may be ascribed to the ninth century A.D., also. The mud fortress of Hati Singh had its foundation on a brick structure of the late phase of the medieval age (*c.* fifteenth century A.D.). The deeper layers reveal objects of the early medieval period (*c.* seventh-tenth century), characterized here by pottery marked with a geese pattern and geometrical and floral motifs. The site appears to have been neglected during the Gupta era (*c.* fourth to sixth century A.D.), as the contemporary remains are few and far between. A double-rimmed *handi*, an incense burner and a fragmentary terracotta brick-plaque depicting a crocodile and a human foot (possibly representing Ganga) are notable specimens. A clay seal, reading Sūryagupta or Aryagupta in the Gupta Brahmi script, has yet to be properly identified.

Continuing to dig in the lower strata, the excavators reached the Kushana layers (*c.* late first to third century A.D.), consisting of some brick-pavements and structures. A horizontal expansion of the trenches to know better the exact nature and behaviour of these structures, gradually exposed a Kushaṇa dwelling with several rooms built of almost uniformly large-sized bricks, measuring $36 \times 24 \times 6$ cms. Besides, an apsidal shrine was the most significant discovery in this area. The position of its walls indicates that it was begun in the early Kushana era (late first century A.D.), and

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rebuilt in the third century A.D. A circumbulation path was also provided with it. It is a happy coincidence that a stele bearing the figure of a seated Matrikā (mother goddess) was also recovered from the shrine. The place, being the earliest instance of a Hindu temple, is a remarkable achievement of the Sonkh excavations.

The date of these structures is based on some very positive evidences. A vase containing 120 copper coins from Vasudeva I to Kanishka III is a notable discovery from these layers, and we can safely assign to this Kushana settlement the period between late second century and early third century A.D. It can also be said with a measure of certainty that the residents of this ancient locality wers followers of Brāhmanism (Hinduism). This is evident from several small statuettes of Vishṇu, Skanda, Kubera, Mahishāsuramardini Durga and other mother goddesses that have been found. The cult of Skanda-Kārtikeya and Mātrika seems to have been more popular. The pottery of this period includes a spouted jar and other vessels with floral decorations and auspicious motifs, like the Nandyāvarta and Svastika.

Thc discovery of some bronze figures from the Kushāna layers was of high magnitude. One is almost a square plaque depicting a divine couple — the male with a bowl in his left hand and his lion or cat-faced spouse holds a child to her left side. The right arms of these figures are raised in an attitude of protection (Abhaya mudrā). The other small plaque represents young Kārtikeya with a long spear. A few years later, a high cup with a lid was disinterred. The literary traditions inform us that when Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded Mathura he took away several gold and silver statues with him. But there was no archaeological proof for the existence of metallic icons in the early period. These are the earliest bronze figures of this region.

An interesting find was a tympanum piece carved on both sides with a human-faced Garuda killing a three-hooded cobra. A similar fragment, acquired by the Mathura Museum from the neighbouring hamlet of Jogipura, showed a nāga slithering up a hillock. These architectural fragments encouraged the team to locate the site of the building which may have been the source of such casual finds. Their attention was arrested by a spot nearby (about 400 metres north of the main site), from which the villagers frequently removed old bricks. The team opened a trial trench near the present Chamardevi shrine, which houses a colossal Nāga deity of the Kushana period. Their surmise proved right and the excavation yielded a rich treasure. It revealed an old apsidal shrine with distinct phases. The earlier one, on the basis of mud bricks (42×48 cms.), and roof tiles, as found in the Sūryamitra level at the main site, has been dated first century

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B.C., while the second phase, standing above the same foundation and distinguished by the remains of fifteen round brick pillars, was built in the late first century A.D., i.e., in the Kanishka era. The finds repeatedly display serpent figures or their anthropomorphic representations, hence the shrine has aptly been identified as the abode of Nāga deity. This is the earliest Nāga temple in India.

The small mound of Chāmardevi is a rich mine of the Mathura School of Art, and reveals some of the wonderful creations of the early plastic art of India. A lintel piece probably exhibiting the court of a Nāga king shows him with a canopy of seven serpent hoods, majestically sitting on a couch (throne) and fastening a long turban which has been presented to him by a group of four children, who form a part of a delegation to his court. A lady with a similar snake-hooded canopy occupies a place on his right with grace and elegance. She is stretching her right arm towards a young lady who is facing the delegation and putting on a single-hooded snake scalp a small necklace-type ornament. To the king's left are two female and three male attendants, each with a snake-hood on top. The first female attendant holds a flywhisk, and the other, a long-shafted royal umbrella. The three male figures wearing long bulging scarfs are standing with folded hands. A propos the commanding position of the lady, Dr. Härtel, Director of the Excavation, refuses to accept her as the wife of the Nāga king, and is of the opinion that the royal Nāga pair represents the Nāgarāja Vasuki and his sister Jaratkaru This author however, prefers to interpret it as the delineation of some important ceremony in the court of the Nāga king—the coronatlon is evident from the presents brought him by the guests, one of whom is holding a flask of water, probably for anointment (Abhisheka or Sankalpa); the depiction of a flywhisk and royal umbrella (chhattra), and the king's preparation for the occasion. In this case, the lady is no other than the queen (Rājamahishi). In certain sacraments, the ladies are given an important position, and her position to the king's right (Kalyanasundara form) is justified. Whatever may be the interpretation of the scene, it is a superb specimen of Kushana art of Mathura.

The other sculpture of a very high degree of workmanship is a Śālabhanjika figure i.e., of a young lady standing on a postrate dwarf and holding a branch of a tree with her right arm, while the left hand is held akimbo. Wearing different ornaments and diaphanous drapery she reveals a beautiful form of fine curves and contours, charming features and a graceful posture. Even the dwarf is seemingly happy under her feet. Her association with the Nāga family is ascertained by a serpent hood in her anklet. The figure served as a bracket for joining the lintel to the doorjamb. Other remarkable pieces include a fragmentary coping, showing a man wearing

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a Nāga hood and emerging out of the wide-open jaws of a fish-tailed crocodile. This probably suggests that the Naga family passed through some critical moments and ultimately emerged victorious. Yet another beautifully chiselled fragment displays a fish-tailed elephant holding two stalked lotus buds in his half-raised trunk.

The excavators from the main site unearthed several interesting objects of Kushana period viz., hollowed terracotta plaques with arcobatic scenes, an amorous couple and a round plaque representing a lion killing a boar etc. Going even deeper they recovered the coins of the Kshatrapa and Mitra Kings — dating from the end of the first century B.C., to the middle of the second century B.C. These refect some dark phases of early history. Other items of this age are a terracotta model of a house with three rooms, human figurines in grey, a seal reading 'Nandikaraka' in Sunga Brahmi letters, and a silver punch-marked coin. A few shining black, polished pottery pieces (NBP) represent the Mauryan and earlier period. The lower levels reveal black-and-red wares beginning from the sixth century B.C., and found with the painted grey ware, the earliest remains of Sonkh. The last variety from the deepest part is a fine quality grey pottery, with black pigments, dated ninth-tenth century B.C. Below that there are no remains of human civilization.

The excavations at Sonkh, by the West German archaeologists, have been a great success, and its significance is immensely enhanced by the recovery of some of the outstanding sculptures of the early Kushana period. While the excavators have been allowed to carry a small number of object to Berlin, the best pieces are with the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

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Pala Sculptures from Bodhgaya

Dr. B.N. Sharma

Bodhgaya, a veritable paradise for tourists and connoisseurs of art, is one of the four most sacred places of pilgrimage for the Buddhists. Situated about ten miles from Gaya, a famous Hindu tīrtha of great antiquity, the Mahābodhi temple is the place where Buddha had attained enlightenment under the holy pipal tree. Stylistically, this temple appears to have been contemporary with the brick-built Gupta temple at Bhitargaon near Kanpur. But it has gone through several modifications due to restorations done through the centuries. The main *śikhara*, measuring about fifty-five metres in height and showing *chaitya* arch decorations seems to be original in the essential plan, while the four corner towers were added by the Burmese Buddhist in the fourteenth century. The temple is beautifully embellished with magnificent sculptures of Buddhist divinities. An almost life-size image of the Buddha seated in bhūmisparśamudra (earth-touching) is enshrined in the sanctum of the temple.[1]

A number of sculptures of Hindu and Buddhist gods and goddesses are kept in the surrounding areas of the Mahābodhi temple. During my visit to Bodhgaya in 1972, Professor Upendra Thakur of Magadh University informed me of a very fine collection of Pāla sculptures in the possession of the M hanta of Bodhgaya. But as the collection is not for public display, he deputed Dr. Artsa Tulku, a Tibetan scholar, to accompany me. The Mahanta kindly allowed us to see and photograph some of the important sculptures lying scattered in the precincts of his palatial mansion.

Among the numerous sculptures of various deities, an important example of the Pāla period from a Buddhist site like Bodhgaya, is a syncretistic icon showing on its four sides the figures of Gaṇapati, Sūrya, Śiva and Vishṇu. The image of Gaṇapati is seated on a cushioned seat, with his proboscis curved towards the left shoulder, found also in several other sculptures of the god from that region (Fig. 1). The four-armed elephant-headed deity, wearing a tiara, holds a lotus and a battle-axe in the two upper arms, while the lower hands carry a fruit and a sweet-ball. His mount, a mouse, is absent In this image.

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The second side depicts Sūrya, or the Sun god, standing and carrying lotuses in his hands (Fig. 2). Though the deity wears a crown, ear-rings, a single-beaded necklace, lower garment and boots, yet the *udichya-veśa*, prescribed by Varāhamihira for a Sūrya image is conspicuous by its absence in this relief. He is flanked by his two attendants, Piṅgala and Daṇḍa, though his celestial chariot, drawn by seven galloping horses and shown in the independent images of the god from this region, is absent.

The third side shows Śiva standing in the samabhanga-pose. He wears a jatā-mukuta and holds a rosary, a lotus and a trident with an unusually heavy base resting on the ground, while the lower right hand is held in a gift-bestowing attitude (Fig. 3). An interesting feature here is that Śiva is shown as *urdhva-retas*, which suggests his yogic control of the senses :

कान्तासंमिश्रदेहो ऽप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद्यतीनाम् ।
(*Mālavikāgnimitram*, I, 1.)

The fourth side shows the *sthānaka* image of four-armed Vishṇu, with his rear hands placed on the heads of his *āyudha-purushas* or the personified weapons, namely, *chakra-purusha* and *gādā-devi* (Fig. 4). The figure of *chakra-purusha* is slightly dwarfish and less elegant than a similar image of the 'Angel of the Discus' from Apshad, now displayed in the Cleveland Museum of Art (No.45.367). The short crown, *ekāvalī* and the frizzled locks of hair, trailing on the shoulders, shows the perceptible influence of Gupta art in this sculpture of the Pāla period, eighth century A.D.

The top of the sculpture has a full-blown lotus facing the sky, and signifies the way to heaven. As the four gods are the manifestations of one Supreme Being, worship of any one of these helped a pious devotee attain salvation, the ultimate goal of one's life. The ideology underlying such sculptures has been beautifully expressed by Lord Krishṇa:

सौराश्च शैवा गाणेशा वैष्णवा : शक्तिपूजका : ।
मामेव प्राप्नुवन्तीह वर्षापः सागरं यथा ।।
एकोऽहं पञ्चधाजातः क्रीडया नामभिः किल ।
देवदत्तो यथा कश्चित्युत्राह्वाननामभिः ।।
(*Padma Purāna*, Uttara, 90, 63-64.)

It will be interesting to note that another Pāla sculpture from Bihar, now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows Gaṇapati, Sūrya, Pārvatī and Vishnu.[2] Here Śiva, as seen in the Bodhgaya image, has been replaced by his consort Pārvatī, a form of Śakti. In a contemporary

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Pratiharā sculpture, in the collection of the Maharaja of the Benaras, Sūrya remains the same, and Gaṇeśa is shown standing and not seated with his proboscis twirled to the left as in the Bodhgaya image. But Vishnu's place has been taken by his Varāha-avatāra, and Śiva is depicted with his consort Umā, like the Haragaurī images of the mediaeval period.

The Images of Harihara reflect the harmonious feelings between the followers of two main sects of Hinduism, viz., Vaishnavism and Śaivism. Literary references to the Harihara form are not only found in the epics, but also in several *Puraṇas*, particularly in *Harivaṁśa Vāmana Puraṇas*. That the artist of the Mathura region was well aware of this form, as early in the Kushāṇa period first-third century A.D., is evident from several images of the god displayed in the local Government Museum.

In a few Gupta images of Harihara, like the one from Bihar in the Patna Museum, and the other from Madhya Pradesh in the National Museum, he is shown as *ūrdhva-meḍhra*. And this very idea appears to have been followed in an elegant image of the deity in the Mahanta's collection, assignable to the tenth century A.D. (Fig. 5). In this composite form, he wears a *jaṭā mukuṭa* on the right half of his head and the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* on the left half. Similarly he has a muṇḍa-mālā on the right side and vana-mālā on the left. His right hands carry a rosary and a trident and the left have a disc and a conch, the distinguishing attributes of Śiva and Vishṇu. The couchant Nandi-bull, the vahana of Śiva, is shown on a pedestal to the right, and Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, on the left.

The worship of Harihara had gained great popularity during the early mediaeval period. At Osia, near Jodhpur, there are a few temples dedicated to Harihara. An excellent life-size sculpture of the god from Kanauj is on display in the British Museum, London, while another piece is in the collection of the Heeramanecks, in New York. A unique image from Bihar in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows the deity flanked by Sūrya and Buddha. Another unique image of Harihara from Madhya Pradesh, and exhibited in the National Museum, shows him seated in the aliḍha-pose, another example of which is not yet known in Indian art.

An excellent sculpture of the eighth century A.D., shows on both its sides a male figure dancing against the backdrop of the spokes of an oblong chakra (Fig. 6). His hair arranged in śikhaṇḍaka fashion, and the necklace with a tiger's claws for warding off evil, reminds us of the image of Kārtikeya from Kanauj, in the Allahabad Museum, and Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara from Nalanda, in the National Museum. Jayanāka in his *Pṛthvīrājavijaya-Mahākāvya*, tells us that as a child Pṛthvīraja III, also wore such a necklace to keep the evil spirits away. The dancing figure, the Mahant's belief notwithstanding, does not represent Śiva-Naṭeśa in any way. As it is carved against

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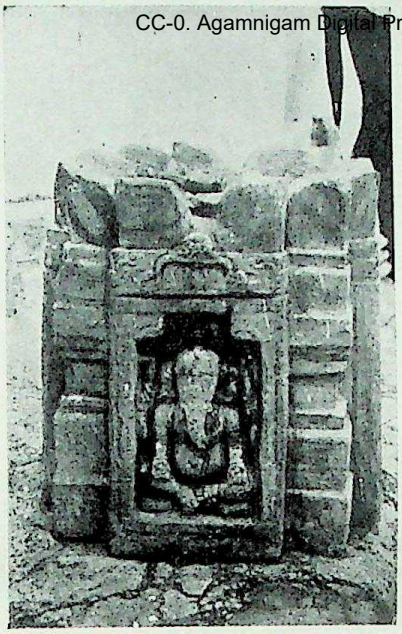
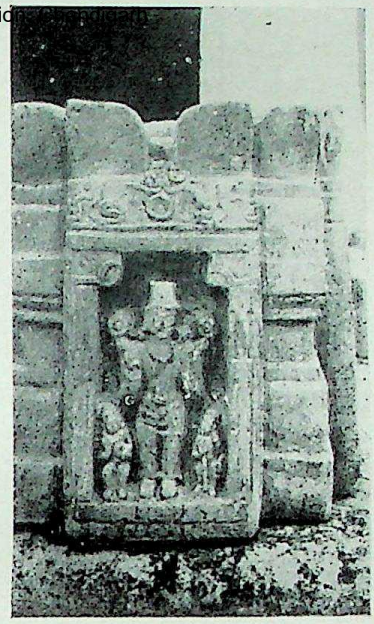
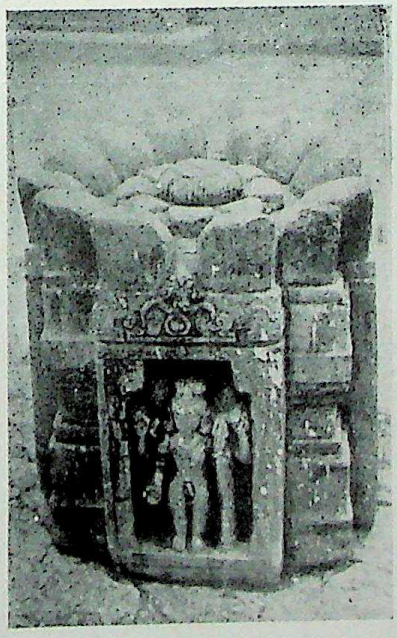


1. Ganesa, Pala, 8th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)



2. Surya, Pala, 8th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)



3. Siva, Pala 8th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)

Plate VIII

Text : **Pala Sculptures from Bodhgaya**

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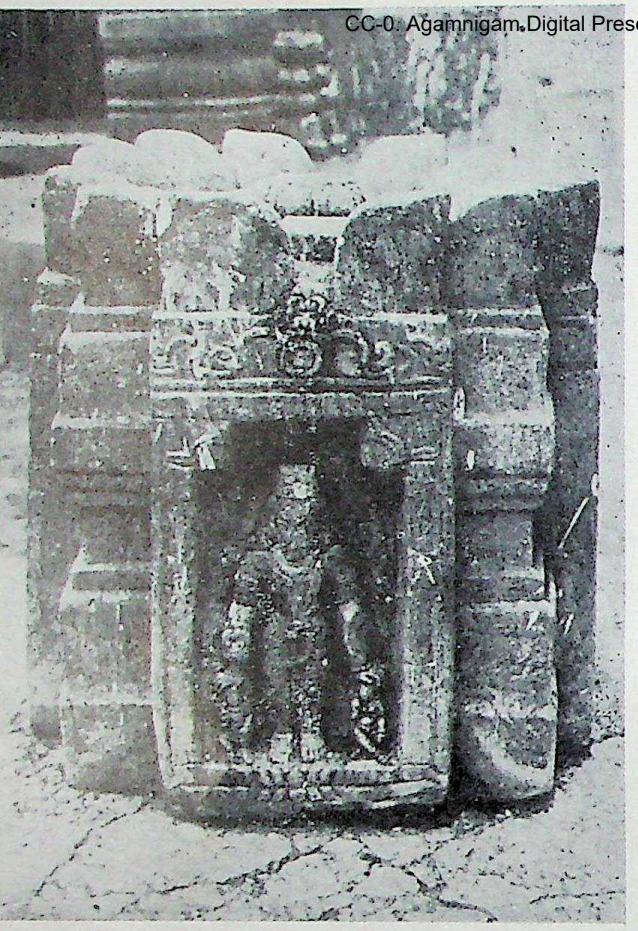

4. Vishnu, Pala, 8th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)

. Harihara, Pala 8th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)

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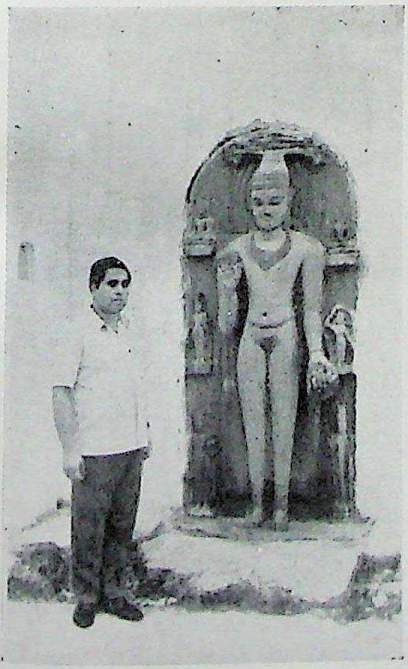
6. Chakrapurusha, Pala 8th century A. D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)



7. Scenes from Buddha's life,
Pala 10-11 century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection,
Bodhgaya)

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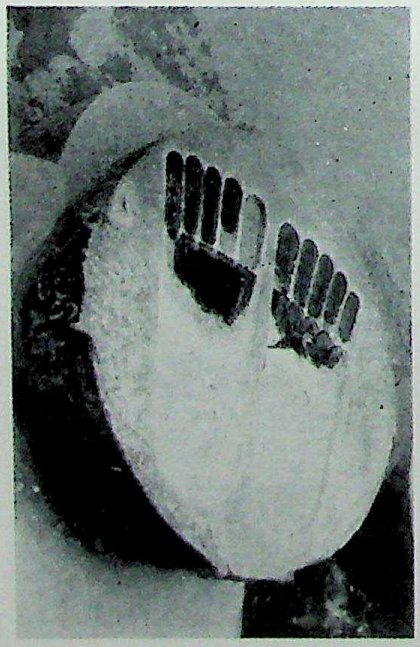
8. Khasarpana Lokesvara, Pala 10th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)

9. Arapachana, Pala 10th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)



10. Footprints of the Buddha, Pala 10th century A.D.
(*Courtesy :* Mahanta Collection, Bodhgaya)

Plate XI

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the chakra, it may represent a chakra-purusha in all possibility. One chakra carved on both sides was discovered at Sharishadaha (Bengal) and is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta. But unlike the Bodhgaya sculpture, it is a four-armed figure shown dancing on the shoulders of Garuḍa in the centre of a carved wheel.[3] It appears from the flat base of the Bodhgaya sculpture that it was probably a crowning piece of a column once installed in front of a temple of Vishṇu, in the Gaya area which is famous as a Vaishṇava tīrtha.

The Pāla rulers of Bihar and Bengal were devout worshippers of Buddha (*Parama-Saugata*). They not only made grants to the Mahabodhi temple, but also established several Buddhist vihāras and educational institutions for the propogation of Buddhist faith, art, and philosophy. A number of studios dotted all over their vast empire produced innumerable works of art of great charm and beauty. And Bodhgaya, being an important Buddhist tīrtha, was also a great centre of art. Sir Alexander Cunningham had taken several Buddhist antiquities from Bodhgaya, which he later presented to the British Museum, London.

A more than life-size sculpture, fixed in a wall in the Mahanta's residence, shows various scenes from the Buddha's life (Fig. 7). The central figure of the Buddha has his right hand in the abhaya-mudrā, while the left holds the hem of his diaphanous garment — the kind one sees in the early sculptures of the deity from Mathura and Sarnath. The stele shows in separate panels only five important scenes from the Buddha's life, viz., birth, penance, calling the earth as witness, taming the mad elephant, Nālāgiri, and decease, the last at the top of the sculpture. The image can be regarded as a great masterpiece of Pāla workmanship, tenth-eleventh century A.D.

A finely executed image of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara shows the god standing on a double-lotus with his right hand in varada-mudra, and the left holding a stalk of lotus flower (Fig. 8). His hair is arranged high in the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* fashion, and he wears the usual ornaments and the lower garment. At the proper left stands one of his four attendants, Hayagrīva, a dwarfish potbellied figure with protruding eyes. The figure of the Buddhist god has a stūpa (symbolically representing the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha). The image is slightly later than the elegant sculpture of the deity from Nalanda, displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi (No. 59.528),[4] and can safely be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

There is a small shrine in front of the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya. An image of Arapachana is installed in the sanctum sanctorum as the presiding deity of this shrine (Fig. 9). He is seated in sukhāsana with his right leg doubled and the left pendant and resting on a lotus, issuing from

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the base of the *triratha* pedestal. According to the *Sādhanamālā*, the deity should hold a sword and a book of knowledge in his hands. In the present image, he carries a double-edged sword in his right hand, while his left, instead of holding the book near the chest, as shown in the sculpture preserved in the Dacca Museum,[5] holds the stem of a lotus bearing the book, as is generally depicted in the late mediaeval bronzes from Nepal.[6] A stūpa is shown on either side of his head. The image is a sublime product of the Pāla art of the tenth century A.D.

A colossal circular sculpture depicting the foot prints of Lord Buddha is also kept in this shrine (Fig. 10). In the early art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, there are panels showing worshippers adoring the footprints of the Buddha. Thus, the sculpture which belongs to the tenth century A.D., is reminiscent of the ancient Hīnayāna tradition, when the life of the Master was shown through certain symbols, which were worshipped by the devout. This type of worship exists even now among the Hindus and the Jainas. The famous Vishṇupada temple at Gaya has, according to popular belief, the footprints of Lord Vishṇu which are duly worshipped by the Hindus. Similarly, the footprints of Mahavīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, are worshipped in the marble temple at Pawapuri.

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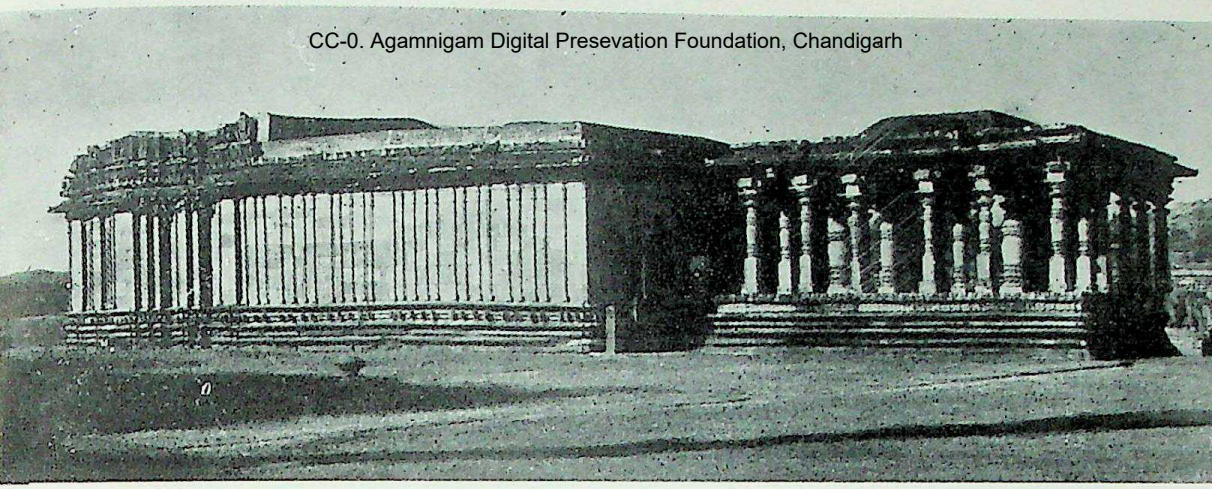
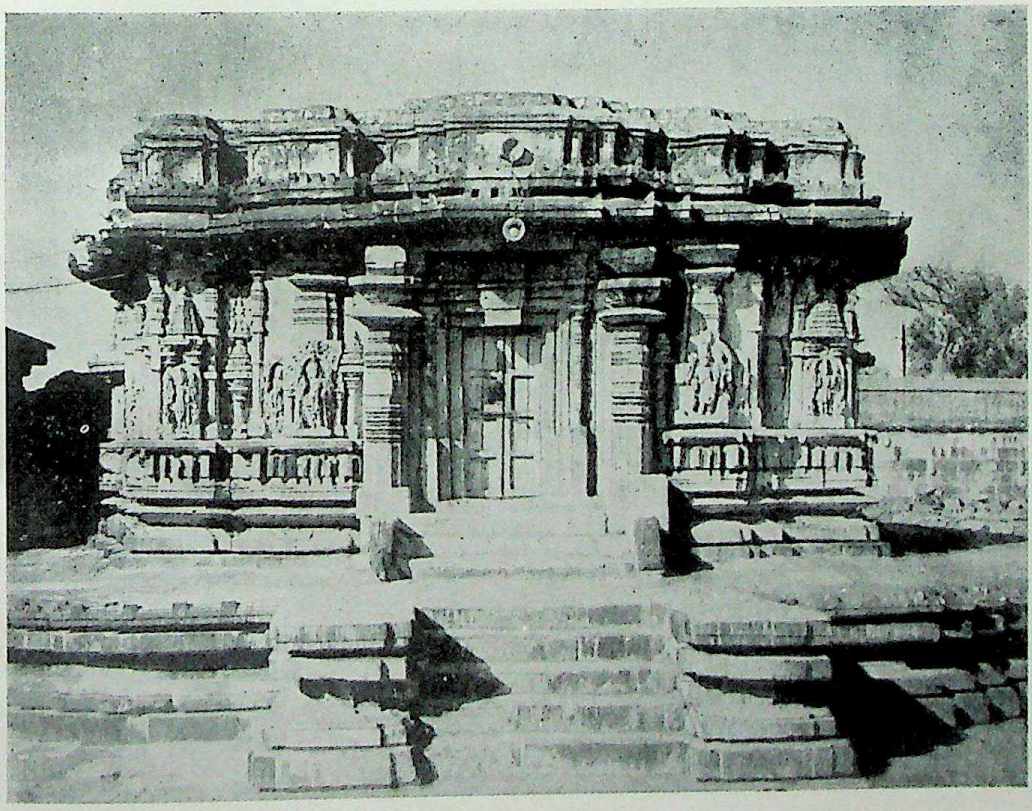


1. Halebid (Hassan District, Mysore) Parsvanatha Basti, general view from north-east, A.D. 1133 South Karnata style, soapstone. (*Courtesy :* American Institute of Historical Studies, Varanasi)



2. Belur : Vira-Narayana temple, general view from east, *c.* A.D. 117 South Karnata style, soapstone. (*Courtesy :* American Institute of Indian Studies, Banaras)

Plate XII

Text : Role of Artists & Technicians in building Monuments

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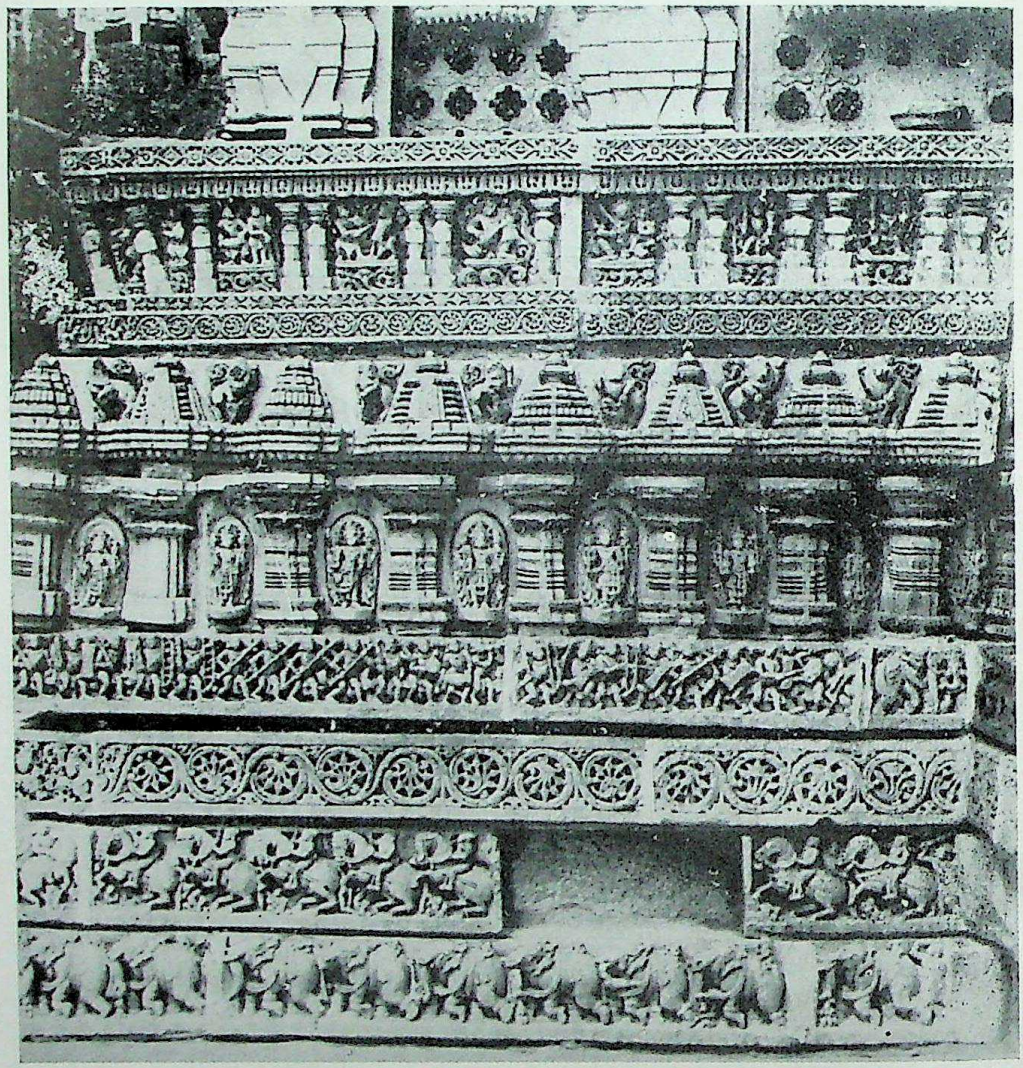

3. Somnathpur Keshava temple, freize of the south-east wall.
(*Courtesy :* Amersh Sen Gupta, Jadavpur University Library)

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Role of Artists & Technicians in Building Monuments

Dr. S.K. Maity
Jadavpur University

As a social protest and challenge against Buddhism and Jainism, priestly power was revived in the form of Neo-Hinduism by Kumarila Bhatta (*c.* A.D. 700), Saṅkarācharya (*c.* A.D. 788-820), Rāmānuja and others. They defeated their Jain and Buddhist adversaries and rebuild religion systematically, laying stress on faith (*Śraddhā*), knowledge of Reality (*Jñāna*) and devotion (*Bhakti*) as the principal elements of religion. Elaborate ritual practices were dropped and simple structures adopted for propitiating gods and gaining favours of them. This led to the cult of personal worship and to the feverish activity of constructing temples — hundreds and thousands of them, dedicated to the Supreme deity Vishṇu or Siva—which, in grandeur and maginficence surpassed the sacred structures associated with Jainism and Buddhism.

The most significant change in the new Brahmanical religion was the growth and development of innumerable Śaiva and Vaishṇava sects. Among the important saiva sects were the Paśupatas in Northern India, and Nāyanāras Liṅgayats (or Viraśaivas) in the Deccan; the Viraśaivas inclined more towards the Liṅga (Phallus) and the Nandin (Bull). Śaivisim became very popular in the Deccan Plateau under the steady patronage of the Rashtrakutas, Hoysalas and the Cholas. Vaishṇavism, also, made rapid progress during this period. To be socially acceptable it underwent a great change. And the theory of Avatāras (divine incarnation), which was the outcome of this neo-Hindu movement assumed great prominence. The Guptas, Chalukyas, Hoysalas, Cholas and many others, built magnificent temples for the worship of Vishṇu.

The socio-religious movements, which started earlier in the Deccan Plateau, were given a fresh impetus by the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra. Sixtythree temples were constructed for the worship of Lord Śiva and Vishṇu as against nine Jain-Bastits. The most well known among those are the temples of Belur, Helabid, and Somenathpur.

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It may well be presumed that at the time of construction, each temple was left under the supervision of one master artist cum technician, who dictated and guided each phase and every part of the construction and decoration (he was, of course, assisted by a number of able artists). Different sections of the temple were delegated to different artists and this enabled them to complete the work on schedule. This view was confirmed when I visited the temples of Belur, Helabid, Kadāresvar, Somenathpur and a few others. Here I would like to refer to a legend current in Mysore: it is about the great Jakanāchāri and his son, Dakanāchāri.

Jakanāchāri, suspicious about his wife's fidelity, secretly left his home and entered the service of the Hoysala King, Vishnuvardhana. He was engaged to construct the Channa-Keshava temple at Belur. It was duly completed, and the king was to begin the ceremony required to instal the main deity (*Mula-Vigraha*) in the Garbhagṛiha, when he was publicly challenged by a boy of eighteen. The boy was Jakanāchāri's son, Dakanāchāri who argued that as the main deity was made of Garbhasila it would not, according to to the tenets of *Śilpa-Śāstra*, be installed in the sanctuary. Then, with a chisel and a hammer the boy carved out a frog, some drops of water and sand. Jakanāchāri was pleased to see his son, so well-versed in *Śilpa-śāstra* and other religious texts, and the two of them together constructed many temples in Mysore, assisted, of course, by other well-trained sculptors.

The names of the scluptors have been inscribed on the pedestals of the eighteen Madanikās on the outer walls of the temple, and on three that are inside the Navaraṅga and on a Vishṇu on the west wall. Among the sculptors of the Keshava temple at Belur mention may be made of Dasoja, his son Chāvaṇa, Chikka Hampa, Malliyana, Padari Malloja, Kencha Malliyanna, Masada and Nagoja. Some of the labels give personal details of their native place, parentage and qualifications.

Baḷḷigrame (Beḷgāme) in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga district was the native place of Dāsōja and his son Chāvaṇa. Dasoja was given the title of 'smiter of the crowd of titled sculptors,' and his son was 'a Śiva to the cupid titled sculptors.' Again, Chāvana is said to have 'done his work at the instance of Keśavadeva.' Chikka Hampa was the court artist of Tribhuvanamalla Deva and had 'prepared some images in the Maṇḍapa (hall) of Vijaya Nārāyana, built by Vishnuvardhana.' He was the son of Inēja and was honoured as the 'Champion over rival sculptors.' Malligaṇa was the artist of Mahā-Maṇḍalēsvara Tribhuvanamalla and had received the epithet of 'a tiger among sculptors.' Again, Padari Mallôja had been described as 'a pair of large scissors to the necks of titled sculptors.' Moreover, Nāgōja is claimed to have been the artist of the god Svayabhu-

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Trikuṭeśvara of Gadugu (Gadag); one of them had claimed to be the Viśvakarmā of the Kali age.' The names of the sculptors on their art products is a significant departure towards the medieval and early modern tradition of India.

It would be pertinent to conclude this article with James Fergusson's words on the structural beauty of the temple :

> "The arrangement of the pillars has much of that pleasing subordination and variety of spacing which is found in those of the Jains, but we miss here the octagonal dome, which gives such poetry and meaning to the arrangements they adopted. It is not, however, either to its dimensions, or the disposition of its plan, that this temple owes its pre-eminence among others of its class—but to the marvellous elaboration and beauty of its details.[1]" And "the amount of labour, indeed, which each facet of this porch displays is such as, I believe, never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world; and though the design is not of the highest order, it is elegant and appropriate and never offends against good taste."[2]

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Ivory Carvings as a Source of Ancient Art History

Dr. V.P. Dwivedi
National Museum, Delhi

Ivory has always had a special fascination for artists and craftsmen because of its light weight and mellow gleam. Most of the great cultures of the world have had a rich tradition in ivory carving.[1] The antiquity of Indian ivory carvings goes back to Harappan times. Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Lothal have yielded many ivory carvings. In fact these Harappan sites have yielded more items of ivory than of stone. But little attention has been paid to these articles because of their small size and easy perishability. Even when mentioned in excavation reports, they are often without details and illustrations. These factors make their systematic study a difficult task. However, we will try to put together, in this paper, whatever little evidence can be gleaned from excavation reports and will examine the role of ivory carvings in Indian art history. We will also take into account the epigraphical and literary references to ivory carvings.

Epigraphical and Literary Data

The fact that there was hardly any distinction between the fine and the decorative arts in ancient India is evident from the famous ivory carvers' inscription on the Southern Gateway of the great stupa at Sanchi.[2] It mentions that the ivory carvers (*dantakārāh*) of Vidisha carved the figures (*rūpa-kammam-katam*) thereon. How well they fared working in a new medium is evident from the attention given to the minute details in the stone reliefs. The small inscription on the right hand of the Pitalkhora Yaksha further corroborates this by stating that a goldsmith carved the stone statue.[3] There are other instances too,[4] which point out that in ancient India one artist could easily work in more than one medium without any inhibition. These rigid barriers between the fine arts and the decorative arts are the product of modern industrialized society.

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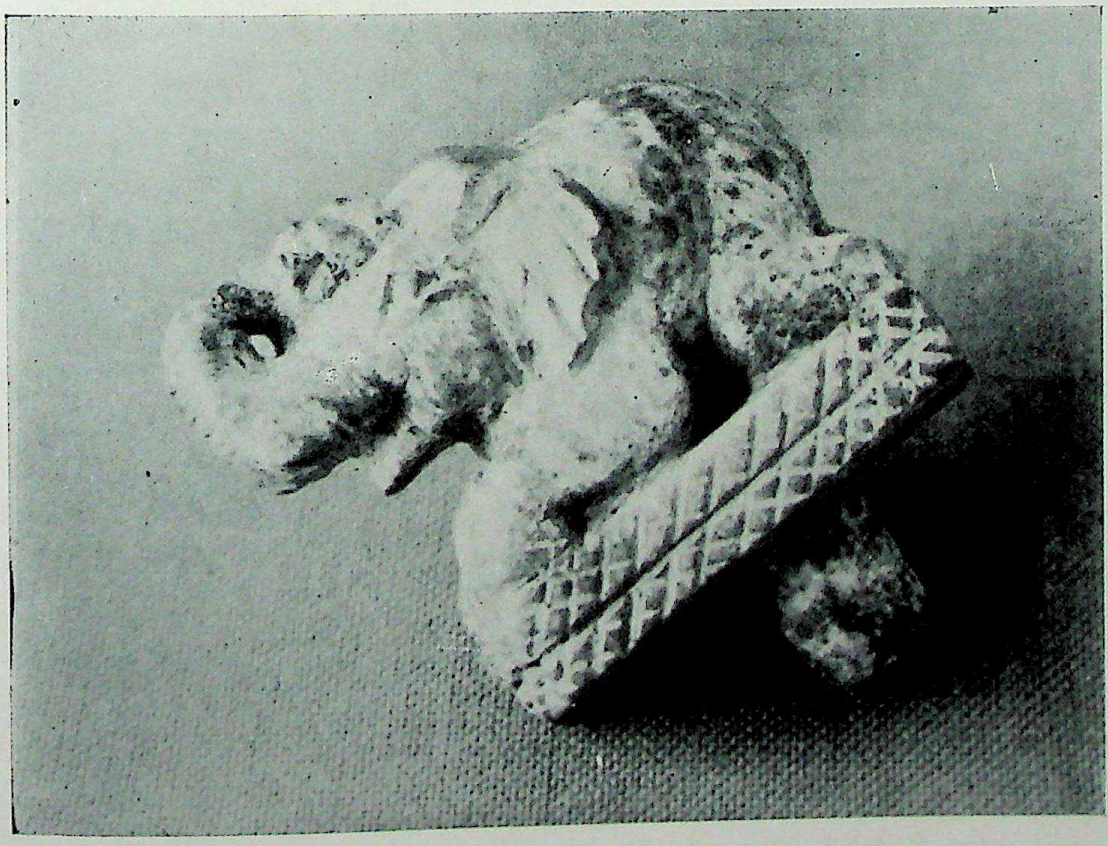
1. Ivory fragment having incised circles design Mohenjodaro, *c.* 2350 - 1750 B.C. (*Courtesy :* National Museum, New Delhi)

3. Ivory headless soldier, Patna, *c.* 2nd century B. C. (*Courtesy :* Patna Museum, Patna)



2. Ivory elephant, Patna, *c.* 3rd century B.C. (*Courtesy :* Sri G. K. Kanoria Collection, Patna. Photo by J. Huntington)

Plate XIV

Text : **Ivory carving as a source of ancient art history**

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Literary references throw a flood of light on the extensive use of ivory in architectural embellishments. We learn that by the time of the Epics the profession of ivory carvers was well organized and developed. Among a large number of guilds mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* are the ivory carvers (*dantakārāh*) and ivory deaiers (*dantopajīvinah*).[6] This shows that the professional skill of those carvers was in great demand in the society, hence the need for specialization. The Epic also tells us that ivory was extensively used for decorations in the royal buildings. Ravana's palace in Lanka had floors[7] and pillars with ivory.[8] The windows, too, were embellished with ivory.[9] We can infer that pillars and windows must have been made of wood inlaid with ivory, but how it was used for floors is something beyond comprehension unless the floors were also wooden. But the reference certainly shows that ivory must have been available in abundance to be so extensively used.

In Sudraka's *Mṛcchakatika*, Maitreya, the Brāhmaṇa friend of Charudatta, when visiting Vasantasenā, thus describes the beauty of her inner courtyard's doorways: "Down the walls hang long garlands of Jasmine that sway like the restless trunk of Indra's elephant Airavata. The high resplendent archway is encrusted with ivory."[10] Bana's *Harṣacharita* tells us about an interesting and uncommon use of ivory — crocodile-mouthed conduits used in the pleasure ponds.[11] The *Śringāramanjarī Kathā* of Sri Bhojadeva mentions an ivory balcony (*danta valabhi*,) which probably means a wooden balcony with profuse ivory inlay.[12] The *Mānasollāsa* of King Someśvara also prescribes a balcony made of ivory for the royal palace.[13] All these references make it abundantly clear that ivory was extensively used in royal architecture in ancient times.

Archaeological Data

It is is surprising to note that whereas the Harappan remains have yielded a number of ivory items, the Neolithic excavations at Burzhom, Chirand and other places have, in the main, brought forward bone carvings.[14] This fact not only attests to the urbanity of the Harappan remains but also points to the limited knowledge and resources of the Neolithic people of these sites. If the number of objects has anything to do with popularity, ivory was much more popular in Harappan cities than stone. "Yet curiously enough, no human or animal figure has yet been found carved in ivory in the round."[15] The only human figure found at Mohenjodaro is on a flat plaque and shows a standing man wearing a peculiar head-dress and holding a lance.[16] Mackay has tried to explain this paucity by giving instances of an unfinished ivory plaque, saying that the Harappan workers had difficulty in cutting ivory.[17] But had this been the case,

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how were all other ivory objects carved? If the Harappan artist could carve a vase and could embellish it with beautiful designs, he certainly could have carved the human figure too. We find animal figures carved on hair-pin tops. A small fragment from Mohenjodaro in the National Museum[18] shows that Harappans were using dividers to incise circles on ivory (Fig. 1). The circles are not only nicely drawn but were once filled with vermilion to contrast with the white of ivory. This piece and other examples show the artistic and technological advancement of the Harappans.

The long gap between the end of Harappan culture (*c.* B.C. 1750) and the early historical period (*c.* fifth century B.C.) is reflected in the ivory finds also. Ivory articles which could be assigned to this period, are almost negligible. However, finds of small stylized ivory figurines, evcavated from Taxila, Rupar, Nagda, Ujjain, Prabhaspatan and Avra, datable to circa sixth-fourth century B.C., are most interesting.[19] Highly conventionalized, these ivory figures show simple incised strokes regularly marked in a horizontal oblique series, and a number of punches or 'dot-in-circle' motifs. When studied carefully they lead us to identify them as being the anthropomorphic representations of some deity, who in all probability is a mother-goddess. These widely distributed ivory finds not only show the continuation of the Harappan mother-goddess cult, otherwise known only from the terracotta figurines, but provide interesting parallels to similar finds in Iran and Egypt. Some of these (from Taxila and Rupar) with holes may have been used as pendant charms.[20] The others were either worn tied in a cloth or were meant to be votive offerings. In any case, the aim of all such figurines seems to have been to propitiate the mother-goddess as the bestower of children, prosperity and plenty.[21] In this connection mention may also be made of a recently excavated ivory female figure found at Champanagar, near Bhagalpur, Bihar.[22] The figure has been blackened because of accidental firing. She has full breasts, a slender waist and long arms and fingers. The eyebrows and eyes have been well delineated, the nose prominent and aquiline, the forehead broad, and the face oval. What lends special significance to the figurine is that it is hinged at the neck, shoulder, elbow, wrist and knee. The different parts of the limbs were fashioned out of ivory pieces separately and later screwed together. This is the only find of its type in India, although similiar wooden figures have been found in Egypt and West Asia. It is difficult to say at this stage whether this figure is an imported object, or fashioned after some (foreign) prototype. One thing, however, is quite obvious that it represents a mother-goddess figure and shows the extension of this cult up to Bihar in *c.* sixth-fifth century B.C.

It is surprising that not many Mauryan ivories have been found in ex-

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4. Plaque showing two famale figures, Begram, *c.* 2nd century A.D (*Courtesy :* Marg, Bombay)

5. The Buddha, Kashmir, *c.* 8th century A.D. (*Courtesy :* Cleveland Museum of Art, USA)

Plate XV

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cavations despite the prosperity of the period. However, literary evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* shows that ivory was a prized item during this period and there were strict regulations about its pruning. If anybody was caught killing an elephant in the reserve forest area, the penalty was death.[23]

A surface find of an elephant figurine from Patna, now in the Kanoria collection, is claimed to be of the Mauryan period (Fig.2). Though quite small in size, it is a well rendered figure and shows the familiarity of the Indian artist with the subject. The base has a incised cross pattern and a tenon below shows that this was probably meant to be inserted to fit some other object.

The find of an Indian ivory at Pompeii, Italy, is a well known and published fact.[24] It shows an ivory handle carved with a charming woman standing with legs crossed. She has a broad, full face with wide open eyes, and a fleshy mouth with soft, full lips. Her almost spherical breasts lend an effect of a triumphant physical beauty. The heavy hips glide down to the massive and heavy legs, incised with fat folds at the knees. Similarly, the arms are covered with heavy bracelets almost to the elbow. The right hand is touching the garland falling at the back, while the left touches the earring on the same side. She is escorted by female attendants on either side, carved in the same piece of ivory. Besides establishing the fact that the Indian ivory carvings were being exported to other countries in the first century B.C., the circumstances of its discovery show that it was a prized item. It was kept in a wooden box inside a wooden almirah. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*,[25] believed to have been written in the first century A.D., further lends weight to the above theory of ivory being a favourite export item to the west.

There has been a long-drawn controversy about the identification of the female figure and its place of origin. Some scholars take her to be a Śrī Lakshmī[26] figure, while others think that she is a plebian, perhaps a courtesan, or at best a yakshi. The main difficulty in accepting the figure as Śrī Lakshmī is that the piece is a mirror-handle. The figures of deities are rarely drawn on such patently utilitarian objects. Being an object of toiletry the handle is much more likely to have a charming female figure portrayed on it.[27] As regards the place of its origin, scholars generally agree to assign it to the Malwa region due to the similarity of its treatment with the Sanchi bracket figures.[28] In this connection a recent discovery of a fragmentary lower portion of a similar ivory statue, excavated by the Ancient Indian History and Archaeology Department of Nagpur University, at a place called Bhokordan, situated between Auragabad and Ajanta, needs special mention. It shows a standing female figure's lower portion flanked by two maids. Not only do these maids have a marked resemblance

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with the maids of the Pompeii ivory, the treatment of the legs, full of anklets up to the knees, is also the same. We look forward to a publication of this statue by Prof. Deo, who excavated it. It may throw fresh light on the question of the origin of the Pompeii figure. We should also take into account the finds of three ivory and bone female figures from Ter, the ancient Tagara. The place is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and can stake its claim to be an ivory manufacturing town of ancient India. The chance discovery of another fragmentary figure, a standing soldier holding a sword and shield, at Patna (Fig. 3) shows that perhaps this city too, like any other ancient city, had ivory carvers. Although Jayaswal[29] assigned it an earlier date, Motichandra[30], after a stylistic comparison with a Sanchi figure, ascribed it to the second century B.C. which seems more plausible. A systematic excavation of the city is likely to yield many more ivory objects.

The discovery of a large hoard of ivories at Begram (ancient Kapisa) in Afghanistan confirms the importance of trade and cultural contacts between the Indo-Afghanistan and Greco-Roman world[31]. The excavations yielded ivory plaques, moulds from the Near East, and fragments of Chinese lacquer of the Han period. It is believed that the ivory plaques once embellished wooden caskets, which crumbled with time. The plaques show scenes of leisured life. Subtle attitudes and rounded forms, skilled workmanship, lineaments and a detailed treatment of head dress and ornaments, relate these pieces to the Mathura school of art. Stern has, therefore, dated them approximately from the end of the first to the first half of the second century A.D.[32]

The plaques show a variety of techniques—carvings in the round, perforations and engravings. It some scenes the contours of the figures are shown with double outlines. In this connection it is interesting to note a small strip of ivory from Ujjain, showing an engraved cock-fighting scene. In technique, it compares quite favourably with the Begram finds of similar strips with engraved scenes. Some of the physical peculiarities seen on these plaques are also noteworthy — the nose is short and arched and the eyes are not as elongated and the hair tied in an uncommon bun, not to be seen elsewhere.[33] Could it mean that these plaques were created by the Mathura artists working at Begram and drawing inspiration from the local women? Some plaques have a striking similarity with the Mathura examples (Fig. 4).

It can further be inferred from this big ivory hoard that the Kushan rulers, who come from Central Asia, must have found ivory an uncommon and interesting medium for carvings and lavished their patronage on a large scale on this art. That is why we find that besides Begram many other

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sites of the Kushan period have also yielded ivories of remarkable refinement.

Ivory has always been an expensive material and could only be afforded by the rich and normally one would think that the Gupta period, which is known as the golden period of ancient India, must have used ivory extensively. But it is surprising to find very few ivory carvings in the Gupta period. Is it the devout Vaishnavism of the Gupta monarchs that stood in the way of their patronage? Or is it because not many Gupta sites have been excavated so far and further evidence is yet awaited? However, what is lacking by way of archaeological evidence is compensated for by literary references, that abound in the Gupta period works.

As against this, the later Gupta period which was less prosperous and politically disturbed, has left behind a number of ivories of exquisite workmanship (Fig. 5). These carvings have put Kashmir art[34] on a firm footing and help us draw the following conclusions: that the Kashmir region was quite a productive centre of ivory carvings during the eighth century—the Lalitaditya Muktapida period. But surprisingly the patronage seems to have been extended by the Buddhists only, as so far only Buddha and Bodhisattva figures have been found and none of any Hindu deity. Moreover, most of the ivory figures of Kashmir were in the shape of portable shrines which found their way out of that region to Tibet, Nepal and other adjoining areas, through students of Buddhist philosophy and pilgrims who were frequent visitors to Kashmir. Later rubbing and colouring show that they were constantly under worship and came back to India after the Tibetan debacle. This shows how political upheavals affect the art history of a region.

The foregoing discussion proves beyond doubt that howsoever small they may be in size, the ivory carvings played an important role in Indian art history, and help us fill many lacunae and strengthen theories established by the other arts.

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"मणि सोपान विकृतां हेमजालविराजिताम ।
स्फटिकैरावृत तलां दन्तान्तरित रूपिकाम ।।"

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"दान्त कैस्तापनीयैश्च स्फाटिकै राजतेस्तथा ।
वज्र वैदूर्यचित्रैश्च स्तम्भैर्दृष्टि मनोरमै: ।"

9. *Ramayana*, Aranyakanda, 55, 10

"दान्त काराजताश्चैव गावाक्षा: प्रिय दर्शना: ।
हेमजाला वृताश्चासंस्तत्र प्रासाद पङक्तय: ।"

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The Art of Painting in Bihar

Dr. R. Das Gupta
Department of History of Art, Banaras Hindu University

Bihar shares with Bengal the glory of the Pāla school of painting—the two regions were integral parts of the Pāla dominion till its last days. Moreover, we have reasons to believe that this style developed first in Bihar at the Buddhist monasteries and universities, such as Vikramaśīlā and Nālandā. Painting and iconography formed an important branch of Buddhist studies, and were necessitated by the growth of a Buddhist pantheon brought about by the development of Mahayanism. Though most of the extant examples of the Pāla illustrated manuscripts are to be found in Nepal and some in Bengal, those produced in Bihar are fewer in number among the present (known) collection of such manuscripts.[1] The most important Pāla manuscript from Bihar is the one prepared by the monk Kiraṇa Sinha in A.D. 1070-71, at the convent of Kisa, during the reign of Śankara Déva.[2] At present it is in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. A.12) and is a copy of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpārmitā* with thirty-seven illustrations. Other important manuscripts produced at the Buddhist universities of Bihar are the following:

1. An MS of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Ajit Ghosh Collection) has twenty illustrations and was produced at Vikramśīlā.

2. An MS of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. Or. 6902), produced at Vikramś.lā during the reign of Gopāla II.

3. An MS of *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of the Cambridge University (Add. 1469) Collection. It shows mainly the Buddha images in fifteen of its illustrations and was produced at Nālandā. It is in an excellent state of preservation.

4. An MS of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (No. 4713) in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was produced during the reign of Mahipāla at Nālandā and has six illustrations.

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The Jalan Collection of Patna City too, has some Pāla manuscripts from Bihar. There is a strong tradition among the Buddhists of Assam that after the fall of the universities of Bihar, the monks fled with icons, paintings and scriptures to the inaccessible regions of the area now known as Arunachal Pradesh, and laid the foundation of the Tawang monastery. The claims of Bihar to the Pāla paintings have been emphatically upheld by Helen Rubissow, and she refers to them as those of the "Bihar school."[3] But this nomenclature is rather too narrow. A better way would be not to name the products according to the region of the Pāla empire, where a particular MS was produced, but to give the work the general name of Pāla art. The products of the Pāla period are stylistically as well as in character very similar. [Plate I]

The end of the Pāla style of painting was usually believed to coincide with the establishment of Islamic rule over the erstwhile Pāla dominion, comprising of Bihar and Bengal. But the recent discovery of a pair of painted book-covers of the *Kālachakra Tantra* manuscript, dated Vikrama era 1503 (A.D. 1446) has extended the period of the Pāla style by about three hundred years.[4]

The manuscript the *Kālachakra Tantra* is deposited at the Cambridge University Library (Add. 1364). The colophone says that the said manuscript was caused to be written by the Buddhist monk Jñānaśrī and the illustrations were made by Jayarāmadatta, the scribe. This Jayarāmadatta is described as a resident of the village Kéraka, and the headman or Śāsika of the village Ārā in Magadhabhukti. This information is quite pertinent to Bihar as Ārā, in Magadhabhukti, could be the modern Arrah region in Western Bihar. The discovery of this manuscript makes it clear that in spite of about three hundred years of Islamic rule Tantrik-Buddhism flourished in certain pockets, and that a form of Pāla painting, however degenerate, was being patronized by persons of the faith.

A similar manuscript also from Bihar, is a copy of the *Karandavyuha* and was produced in Vikrami Era 1512, corresponding to A.D. 1455 of the Christiain era. This was located by P. Pal in the collection of Sri Haridas Swali of Bombay.

The curtain rises in the next period, i.e., the fourteenth century. We hear of an illustratrated MS of *Chandāban*,[5] a romantic tale composed by Maulana Daud. It throws welcome light on the state of society of those times and the types of costumes worn, as seen in the miniatures. The eighteenth and nineteenth century illustrated MSS, of Bihar show that the practice of MS painting was popular in Bihar throughtout the Sultanate period, and continued in the days of the great Mughals. The *Chandāban* is a stray, extant example of many such works. A change in the material of

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writing, which usually carried miniatures, was equally favourable for the development of the (earlier) art of book-illustration. Paper was introduced in Bihar from the very early days of Muslim rule, though Magadha and Mithila still used Bhojapatra,[6] or birch bark, for sacred manuscripts. "The Muslims had already given up leather and parchment and we have paper manuscripts in Bihar as old as twelth century A.D."[7]

References to manuscript painting are meagre till we come to the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Apart from a number of important Shah Namah paintings from the Khoda Bux Oriental Public Library, Patna, we also know of a Tulsidās *Rāmāyaṇa* from Saran (now in the U.P. Government Archives, Allahabad) and a Chahar Darvesh MS from Azimabad, or Patna. The Bhāgavata, also a popular subject for painting, was either in Dévanāgarī or the Persian script, but the language used was Hindi.

The following typical examples of manuscript paintings from Bihar, in the last two centuries, are from the Khoda Bux Oriental Public Library, Patna.

1. The Sikandar Nāmah (No. 2523) from Rasulpur in District Muzaffarpur.
2. The Baāgavata MS (No. 196) dated 1805 Vikrami or A. D. 1748.
3. The Sherul Bayān MS dated 1222 A. H. or A. D. 1802.
4. The Shāh Nāmah MS (No.3673) dated *c.* A. D. 1837.
5. The Shāh Nāmah MS (No. 3786) dated *c.* A. D. 1837. } One set
6. The Shāh Nāmah MS (No. 2770, Vols. 'A' and 'B') from Barari village. (PLs II and III)
7. Bhāgavata Daśam Skandha MS written and illustrated by Bhopat.
8. The Bhāgavata Gita MS (No. 31367).
9. The Rāmāyana MS (P. No. 31184).

The manuscripts mentioned above however, lack a distinct local style. And except for the *Rāmāyaṇa* MS (P.No. 31184), all others are local versions of the various periods. Some of them, however, show an incongruous mixture of styles. Most of them are in a very good state of preservation, revealing not only their comparatively recent origin but also a curious blending of different styles, including also the 'Company School' of painting. But by far the most common is the late Mughal style, when portrait profiles begin to be framed in a green halo, with gold borders and radiating rays. The European architectural and tree types, also appear in

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the Shāh Nāmah MSS. But the general layout of the MSS are typically Persian, especially like the *Jāmi-al-Tavārikh* of A. D. 1596, from the Gulistan Imperial Library, Teheran. The Bihar MSS show the immense influence of Persian painting, through Mughal, and sometimes, through original Persian MS, illustrations. Bihar, and specially Patna and its neighbourhood, being a stronghold of Islamic culture from thirteenth century onwards, naturally continued the art of manuscript painting and calligraphy up to the early nineteenth century.

The Sikāndar Nāmah MS from Rasulpur is an interesting example of book-illustration. The paintings are done on vertical paper folios of the MS, a common feature in all Islamic manuscripts. The Sikandar Nāmah has enabled the artist to combine romanticism with realism, as the uncommon and un-Indian costumes and facial expressions suggest.[8] The workmanship is very fine and, in spite of the poor state of preservation of the manuscript the miniatures have remained comparatively fresh and their colours still have a jewel-like glitter. The folios seem to have been primed with some material which has given them a thick enamel-like quality and this has sometimes led to their chipping off from the surface.

Like most Bihar MSS, this is also an attempt at a synthesis of all that is good and appreciable in each of the successive periods of Persian and Mughal painting. Firstly, the long sleeves of the cloaks worn by people extend and dangle below the palms. Apropos portraiture, the painter seems to have mastered the art. The faces are both in three-quarter and full profile. A deft shading on the cheeks and under the jaw-lines adds a third dimension to the portraits of men and women. The green halo framed with golden rays, which begin to appear from the Jahangir period, are also present here, especially in the portraits of Sikandar.

The influence of the late Mughal, especially of the Murshidabad school, is quite apparent in the genre of landscape painting, especially in the treatment of the sky—deep blue with smudged horizontal areas of white, vermilion, red and gold, which reflect the beauty of a glorious sunset. The architecture and interior decoration remind us of the Hamzā Nāmah[9] painting of the Akbar period. But the later mode of showing mango and banana trees rising from behind the courtyard walls is also found here. Highly patterned carpets cover the floor area. But the details of the inlay work in architecture are rather clumsy. Depth in composition has been achieved by spacing one plane above another and also by the introduction of mounds in the middle of the composition while the foreground is full of many flowering plants. The brush work is very fine, especially in the case of the hair and eyebrows. At times, the lines of the body, other than the facial area, are crude and shaky suggesting the

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work of apprentices, while the master completed the faces. This was a common practice of the Mughal artists.

The treatment of rocks is conventional and Persian. They are, as a rule, painted purple and shaded, but are grouped horizontally and not vertically as was the common practice of the Persian and Mughal painters. The large-leafed trees are also crude in comparison to the general treatment of the landscape and this appears to be due to carelessness.

The Bhāgavata MS (No, 196), is dated 1805 Vikrami, i.e., A.D. 1748, and the name Mūlraj, perhaps, belongs to either the scribe or the painter, or both as was sometimes the case. But another name, 'Bhopatkrita,' is also found at the beginning of the MS Translated, it would mean 'done by Bhopat.' Who is this Bhopat? It could mean only the writer or the scribe, for we have many such instances where the entire body of work is named after the writer, as is the Tulsī-krita *Rāmayāṇa* or the *Rāmayaṇa* of Tulsīdās. Thus Bhopat appears to have been the author or scribe, while Mūlrāj was possibly the painter. Though in the Vrajbhāsā language, the MS, is like all Islamic paper MSS—vertical paper folios with separate script areas and painted spaces, the latter separated and framed by a narrow hāshiyā or border. The colours used are opaque and were mixed with some binding medium which was quite thick. The illustrations, which are fairly good examples of the provincial Mughal school, appear to have been touched up by unskilled hands, in later times, for restoration and repair. Whenever green has been used, the paper of the folio has decomposed and crumbled. Gold paint has been applied in many places. The general tonality of colours is soothing as in the Pahari miniatures.

The draughtsmanship in the MS differs from folio to folio. While some of the figures are finely drawn, others are treated in an amateurish way. All the figures were originally outlined in red, which age has reduced to a sombre chocolate colour. The three-quarter profile is more common, though the full profile is sometimes attempted. Figures are arranged and composed in the manner of typical Persian miniatures, showing court scenes (cf. 'Court of Kamsa').

In this MS, too, the costume types belonging to two widely different periods, beginning from the Chākdār Jāma and Atpaṭī Pagrī of the Akbar period, have been used freely. The landscapes are usually in bird's-eye view, and the tree types are reminiscent of the Bundi school and are full of birds and peacocks of a very diminutive scale. Three different kinds of Hāshiyās have been used, namely, gold flowers on a meander against a deep blue ground, meanders with leaves, and the stylized vines. In the same folio, the deities have a close resemblance to the folk wall paintings of Benaras and Bihar. They are icon-like and have stiffly posed, formalized

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1. A Pala MS Folio
(*Courtesy :* Bharat Kala Bhawan, B.H.U. Varanasi)

2. *Shahnama :* King hunting wild ass.
(*Courtesy :* Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna)

Plate XVI

Text : The Art of Painting in Bihar, p. 204

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looks. Night is suggested by a deep blue background and by a dozing guard outside the prison walls. The treatment of the eyes is also 'Persianized' with the squint and sidelong glances and the pupils always towards the corner of the eyes. A far greater Persian influence is discernible in the scene of a "Picnic of the cowherds," which is very similar to the one in the Razm Nāmah. It is entirely in a bird's-eye view, but the circle of trees, painted to suggest a forest is typically Rajasthani. The Apsarās are long-robed and winged and fly in the firmament, while gods peep from behind clumps of clouds. A single tree in the middle of the foreground gives an idea of a vast flat space extending to a very narrow horizon. The treatment of the sky, as in the Kālidamana scene, is typical of the period in e stern India. The pale blue sky, with stretches of white and pink, unmistakably speaks of the influence of Murshidabad. The willow tree is suggestive of the subjugation of Kāliya by Kriṣṇa. The treatment of the hills is also Persian, but here they look more like heaps of boulders. This scene is full of dramatic action as all the figures converge towards the central figure of Kriṣṇa holding the Govardhana hill on his finger. This fills the composition with movement and vitality. The scene of the 'Fainting Rādhā' is in a very good state of preservation and gives a good idea of the original excellence of the painting. It has the same tenderness of feeling as a Pahari miniature on the same subject. The distant landscape, with tree-topped mounds, tends to converge towards the centre. The pose of Kriṣṇa, the side-long glances of the Gopī at the right, etc., all tend to point to Rādhā's fainting figure. In the miniatures generally the Rāsa-mandala is a bird's-eye view of a ring of dancers; here it has been shown differently as three parallel rows of dancers; holding the hands of those that flank them. But in attempting an illusion of depth the planes have been shown differently. A common feature of all the Vaisnava miniatures is the contrast afforded by delineating bright, puppet-like figures, in dramatic poses against a flat monochromatic ground. The scene of 'Kriṣṇa vanquishing Ariṣṭa' is exactly similar to the Bhagāvata illustration from Majuli, in Assam, which is contemporaneous with the one from Patna. The Persian motifs and style are seen again in Kriṣṇa's soldiers in his wrestling bout with the men of Kamsa. But for the insertion of the Krisna figure, the scene could well have been from a Persian Shāh Nāmah painting. Space in these illustrations is always divided into three parallel and horizontal rectangles dividing the entire surface into foreground, background and sky (area). The differences in the colours of these areas are sharp, and one plane meets the other abruptly. They do not overlap or tend to blend into one another. The absence of landscape and architectural details bring the figures into clear focus. One such is the battle scene reminiscent of the

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Bābur Nāmah. Some aspects of contemporary life and customs are also reflected, as in the marriage scene, in which the painters have projected a contemporary custom in an illustration of a bygone age. The conception of a syncretistic image for Garuda is also interesting. He as also the winged Apsara are typically Persian where superhumans are generally treated with limbs belonging to a different order of living beings. Garuda here is perfectly human but for his head which is that of a kingfisher, while the Apsara has the wings of a bird. Scenes of the interior have the cosiness and tranquility of the Pahari School miniatures. But the grimness of the impregnable Agnigadh where Uṣā was held by her father, is brought out by a palette of dull and sombre colours. The dull sky and total absence of birds (on the trees) also convey the same feelings of despondency and despair of the lovers. The MS seems to have been the work of more than one artist. The best preserved illustrations are mosly in the style of the Razm Nāmah, while others are in one or the other versions of the Pahari and Rajasthani styles.

The Sherul Bayān MS, dated 1222 A.H. or A.D. 1802, is a typical Islamic manuscript from Bihar. Here, too, the folios are made of vertical sheets of paper with the painting executed directly upon them. Apart from being dated, many of its characteristics are of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Laṭṭudār Pagrī, which became fashionable during the period, is also shown. It is, however, a provincialized copy of the late Mughal style, and emphasis is on the portraits of royal and important figures, while those of others have been handled carelessly. Another typically Bihar feature of this period is the intrusion of parts of the illustrations into the writing space which was perhaps, done intentionally to suggest a third dimension. The peacock-feather in Kriṣṇa's crown and some slender trees from the many ornamental gardens always serve this purpose. The treatment of the clouds becomes free of convention and they are executed with swift and deft swirls of a broad brush dipped in white. The influence of Murshidabad is still seen, especially in the addition of microscopic landscapes on the other bank of the river with boats plying on the water. A miniature portrait on ivory of Meherunnisa from Monghyr (Khoda Bux Oriental Public Library, Patna), also suggests that such landscapes were a pictorial cliche with the Bihari painters of the day. The background, and the distant landscape which was usually shown through some archway or window, open terraces with low, marble jālī-work parapets, formal gardens and poppies blooming beyond the terraces, are some of the common motifs. Compositions, though usually rectangular, are sometimes irregular. A vertical composition has been achieved in the scene of a marriage party, not only by overlapping planes, but also by vertical rows

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of spears and banners, a mound rising in a corner and the clouds sweeping to the right. Aerial perspective is attained with some success in the garden scene, where the linear perspective also persists. Thick and luxuriant vegetation, with plantain and other large-leaved trees, are a common feature, as in the Bundi miniatures. Night has not only a dark sky and a pale moon, but also white, night flowers in bloom.

The importance of the Shāh Nāmah set (Nos.3673 and 3786) is mainly due to the fact that though produced as late as A.D. 1837, at Patna, they not only preserve much of early Mughal and Persian elements but also show the European influence of the "Company school." Some of the volumes appear copies from the Jāmi-al-Tavārikh (A.D. 1596) MS, from the Gulistan Imperial Library, Teheran. The only difference is that the Shāh Nāmah set is not as masterly a work as the Jāmi-al-Tavārikh which is one of the best specimens of the Akbar school of minitures. But in most of the folios we find a great deal of the Bihar artist's freedom of fancy resulting in a blend of early Mughal and European styles. The European influence is noticeable mostly in the treatment of the distant landscape—the clear, pale blue for the sky and tall trees some of them eucalyptus-like, as in the typical products of the Patna School. The greatest degree of individuality lies in the treatment of the human, and especially the female, figures. Being large, the costumes and jewellery are painted with an eye for considerable detail and resemble, to a great extent, the ivory paintings of Delhi. Typically, they are all in three-quarter profile and are well modelled by means of very fine lines of Khat Pardāz.[10] The general treatment of the landscape is entirely Persian. The rock formation is vertical and crooked, the layers and prisms of stone are well shaded. Depth is attained by spacing and overlapping of mountain ranges and by inserting figures of cavaliers, etc., in the valleys thus formed. The ground is monochrome green, often shown overgrown with tufts of grass and wild flowers. The landscapes are however invariably in a bird's-eye view. Watery surfaces are frequently shown as flat sheets of blue, often with a few undulating white lines painted on. The script area trespasses into the painted area but is always bordered in crimson and gold. The various paragraphs are separated by vertical bands of green.

The following remarks of André Godard on the Jāmi-al-Tavārikh are equally applicable in general to our Shāh Nāmah set from Patna. In both cases, in spite of the apparent similarity to Persian painting, the MSS, have a definitely Indian atmosphere about them.

> Examination of the miniatures which adorn this work, or rather what remains of it, would reveal, if we did not know already, that we have left

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Iran, its pure, clear and soft light and its elegant grace. We are in the land of crowds and agitation. People are hurrying, galloping, colliding, rushing against one another. This is a violent art, in which grace is rarely found...The Composition (of battle scenes), as will be readily seen, has but the disorderly action and the violence of the movements and of the pictorial expression are no longer Persian. This violence, it may be remarked, is combined in a curious way with the most sensitive love of nature.[11]

The posture of these men and their gesture reveal a very Indian and a very remarkable fondness for truthful expression.[12]

In architecture we have the encampments and Kanāts of the early Mughal period, some in fanciful Islamic style with flat domes, towers and battlements. But the contemporary Georgian British architecture with masonry bridges and church-like structures also exist (cf. MS No. 3673). Even the British men-of-war and ships flying the Union Jack have been incorporated from some Murshidabad original. The love of nature is apparent from the sympathetic treatment of dwellers of the forests and also the bird life. The ducks diving for food in the pools are interesting but are toy-like in character. The love of a lavish and sensual life is reflected in the lovers drinking and enjoying a dance party, (cf. MS No. 3786). This particular scene, too, is inspired by some set scheme, typical of, and coming from the Jāmi-al-Tavārikh MS.[13]

Another Shāh Nāmah MS (No. 2770, Vols. I & II) comes from the village of Barari, about fifty miles from Patna. The painting is done directly on large paper folios in water colour. They are very good, glossy and shiny like oils. A coating of gum solution may have produced this varnish-like gloss. (Plates II and III.)

The most striking point about these illustrations is their similarity to a Sikh painting which in its turn, belonged to the decadent Pahari School.[14] It is not improbable that some artists trained in the Sikh style might have executed them. Patna city, being the birthplace of Guru Govind Singh, has ever since been a place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. Around the Gurudwara a nucleus of Sikh learning and art had possibly grown and an itinerant Sikh artist may have been employed for the production of the Barari Shāh Nāmah. The paintings are in every way akin to the Sikh paintings of the Punjab. In brief they have a flatness and are heavily outlined. The typically Punjabi costume is used for the female figures. They also stand almost stiffly as do the figures in Sikh miniatures. The spirit of a warring community is reflected in the violent battle scenes. The style of this MS, is very expressive, though simple, and conspicuously late. Not

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much care has been taken for perspective which, if it exists at all, is linear. Hieratic scaling has been followed in the case of human figures. Here too, as in other Bihari MSS, the necks of horses, parts of weapons, stands and spears intrude on the script area. The hāshiyās are very simple — only a cluster of multi-coloured lines.

The landscape is always hilly and is represented by mounds in different colours, but each in monochrome. The various stages and peaks are denoted by small, low, arched curves topped by a line of flowers and leaves. The composition is vertical. The foreground is generally a pale green and also has curves topped by lines of flowers. Sometimes wedges of a different colour, usually vermilion, indicate soil and help to break the monotony of the stereotyped foreground. The latter always occupies one-third of the entire area, as do the hills, while the horizon occupies the rest. While white ribbon-like clouds meander across the dark blue sky, water is indicated by flat washes of gray or silver paint. An occasional sinuous line is also added. In the otherwise flat painting, a little shading is added, usually around the eyes, to model the face. The animal painting is also fine (p. 431, Vol. B). The trees are both of the willowy as well as the large-leafed types. In the case of the latter their wide crowns of green are filled in with leaves in yellow. Shading is done around the trunks and also at the hollows of the tree and this imparts a solidity to them (p.354 rev., Vol. B). Fire is a halo-like blaze of deep vermilion with a number of irregular radiating lines in red. Perspective, in the case of interior scenes, is faulty and the sleeping woman seems suspended in midair (p. 56 obv., Vol. A). An important person is usually depicted against a black background, (pls. 13 & 27, Vol. A). Animals are like painted toys and are arranged on the hills (p. 27 rev., Vol. A). The figures of Firdausi and Sultan Mahmood (p. 1 rev., Vol. A), who were responsible for the writing of the Ṣhāh Nāmah, are shown in great detail. Modelling has been attained with patches of colour on the faces as in the Kalighat paintings of the nineteenth century.

The Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Library, of the Banaras Hindu University, has in its collection two illustrated Shāh Nāmah manuscripts of the above period (Nos. 0164, IJ691 and 0164, ID940). They measure twelve inches × seven inches. These manuscripts are interesting for the candid depiction of sexual activities which is usually absent in such a MS.

Another fragmentary manuscript of the Shāh Nāmah and a few pages of the Sikandar Nāmah were noticed by the author in a curio-dealer's shop at Varanasi. The dealer allowed the author to photograph the illustrated folios.* (Plate IV)

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Two portraits of Nur Jahan

The Khuda Bhaksh Oriental Public Library has among its collections two portraits of Nur Jahān at different stages of her life. The paintings are not dated but are assignable to the beginning of the nineteenth century and were produced by Saiyad Moinuddin of Monghyr. So these represent Bihari miniatures of the period under review. The miniatures clearly reveal that the Bihari miniatures were alive to contemporary art movements in the country and were assimilating trends from various sources — eclecticism was the keynote of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Bihar painters. In the paintings as we notice the influence of late Mughal portrait miniatures done on ivory discs at Delhi and other places. Traces of the influence of the Murshidabad School are equally strong. The impact of Delhi is to be seen in the formal pose and almost conventional treatment of the subject, which is supposed to be a posed picture, while that of Murshidabad is to be seen in the treatment of the background, specially the distant landscape and river scene serving as the backdrop of a portrait. Here the river scene, as is usual with the Murshidabad School, is treated in a microscopic manner.

Of the two portraits of Nur Jahān one shows her as an empress, dressed in the conventional, formal attire, like a mature woman, who has experienced the hard realities of the world. She is dignified but sombre. But in the other painting she is shown much younger—a happy bride, the wife of Sher Afghan, the governor of Bengal. In this portrait she not only possesses a maidenly figure and a girlish face, but is shown as carefree and joyous, without yet having encountered the greatest shock of her life (the tragic murder of her first husband by imperial orders). Having experienced the shock she changed, and was in mourning for several years. She spurned the imperial overtures, though she was living within the imperial seraglio. After a long period of mourning and consideration for the fate of her only child Ladli Begum (by Sher Afghan), Meherunnisā consented to wed the Emperor, Jahangir, and came to be known as Nur Jahān, Empress of India.

Meherunnisā— The bust of Meherunnisā is in an oval frame. At the back is an ornate pilaster of the late Mughal period. As it is a late production, many later motifs have crept into this portrait of Meherunnisā. The face of the lady may have been preserved due to the use of Charba, or vellum pounces used by Mughal artists. Portraits of even earlier personalities like Timur and Babar have also been preserved in the collection of Mughal artists because of the use of Charbas. But artists usually changed the setting or background for portraits according to the prevailing style.

Meherunnisā has a diaphanous *odhnī* with ornamental borders wrapped around her chest, and a heavy brocade stole is thrown above the *odhnī*

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Plate XVII

nahnama : The queen shows the ortrait to Sikandar. (*Courtesy* : Khuda akhsh Oriental Library, Patna)

5. Portrait of Meherunnisa by Sayid Moinuddin of Monghyr. (*Courtesy:* Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna)

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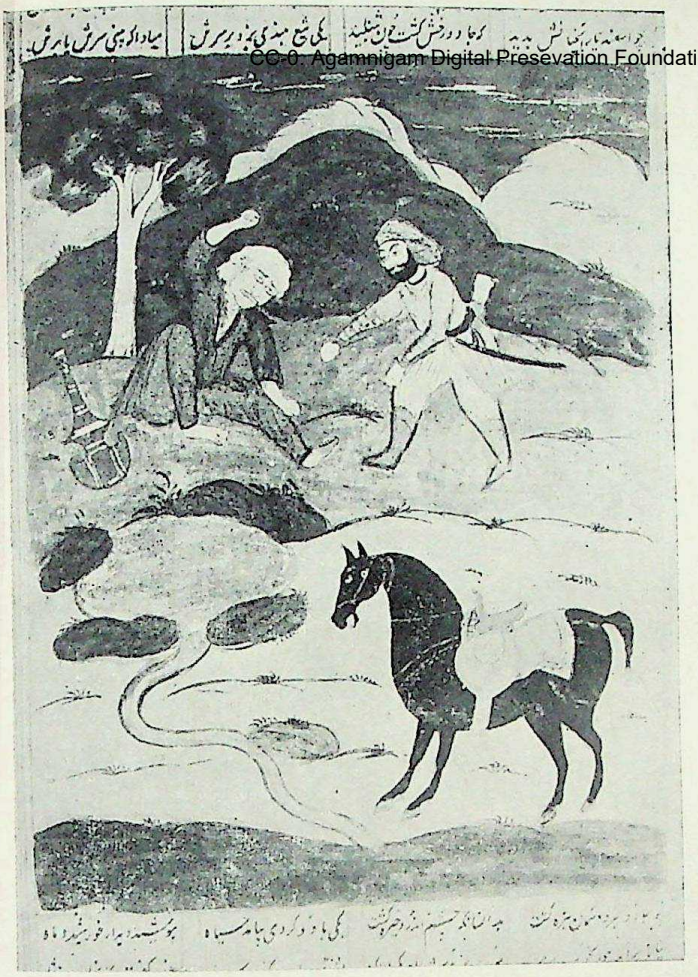

4. Isfandiyar killing a witch with an Indian sword.
Shahnama MS from Western Bihar early 19th century.
(*Courtesy :* Sri N.K. Dwivedi, Banaras)

6. Portrait of Nur Jahan
by Sayid Moinuddin of Monghyr
(*Courtesy* : Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna)

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across her chest which leaves her right shoulder bare. The ornaments are many and are varied according to the late Mughal taste persisting till the early nineteenth century in Moslem society. We also observe a predelection for pearls. The face is heavily shaded around the eyes, along the ridge of the nose, and at the throat. This facial modelling is adequately and successfully done. There is something definitely European in this kind of modelling. By the time this picture was painted, Indian, specially Bihari artists, (working from Patna), had become quite familiar with European portrait medallions which had flooded the establishments of the Europeans settled in India.

The background shows, a distant view of the Gangā, (Bhāgirathī), the life-line of western Bengal, which is dotted with minute figures of boats of a myriad kind. This distant view of the river is one of the characteristics derived from the Murshidabad school. Two things, viz., the diaphanous *odhnī*, evidently of Dacca Muslin, and the river scene clearly betray the setting that was Bengal.

As regards the use of colour, we find that it is more in the manner of Patna paintings where translucence of colours is a distinguishing feature—this is opposed to the more opaque colouring of the Mughal painters. (Plate V).

Nur Jahān — This portrait is also conventional and has an oval frame. Here we find the same lady on whom the years have put their impress: her face and personality have matured only she is grave in appearance. We find a certain tranquillity and sadness in her calm face—the glint in the eyes of the youthful Meherunnisā is missing in this portrait of Nur Jahān.

Here the lady is in a formal pose and is formally attired, and is wearing her special semi-circular, fan-shaped cap, with which we are more familiar. It is evident that some earlier Mughal portrait of the Empress had served as a model for the later painter (her costume is different from her casual wear in the former portrait). Here she wears a brocade coat and a number of necklaces and ear-ornaments of pearls. Her cap too is worked with jewels and jewelled tassels hang from its two corners. As it has been modelled after a Mughal original, there is no heavy shading, as in the portrait of Meherunnisā which is the product of a different age and belongs to a different school. Hence we find that the portrait of Meherunnisā has an originality, which the Nur Jahān portrait lacks being modelled after the product of an earlier school. Nur Jahān was associated with Jahangir in the coins from about 1033 A.H., (A.D. 1636) and hence this portrait (rather its original) depicts her at about the same period. (Plate VI)

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10. Shading for modelling is done by means of clusters of very fine lines usually in green colour. Together they model different sections of the face as desired by the artist.
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* I am thankful to Sri N.K. Dwivedi for permitting me to obtain the above photographs.

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Balarama in North Indian Art

Dr. Bhagwant Sahai

Balarāma, intimately associated with Kṛṣṇa both as his elder brother and associate in several of his exploits, is regarded as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu. (Kṛṣṇa is not looked upon as an incarnation, but as god.[1] He is also regarded as an incarnation of the cosmic serpent Ananta or Śeṣanāga.[2] Balarāma's association with the serpent, Śeṣa, has been amply emphasized in the sculptural representations of the deity. It had been forecast that Kaṁśa would be killed by the eighth child of Devakī, his sister, and wife of Vasudeva. Balarāma, her seventh child, was, miraculously transferred in a pre-natal stage from her womb, by Yogamāyā (to save him from the cruel hands of his maternal uncle who had already murdered Devaki's six children), to the embryo of Rohinī, another wife of Vasudeva—and was known as Rauhiṇeya and Saṁkarṣaṇa. He is Saṁkarṣaṇa also because he is a rustic god, Lāṅgalin, the 'ploughman.' His weapon is a ploughshare, which accounts for his other names: Halāyudha, Halabhṛt and Haladhara, 'the plough bearer.'[3] Balarāma's upbringing, under the foster care of Nanda and his wife Yaśodā, in a pastoral background seems to have been the main reason for his deification as a rustic or agricultural deity. Balarāma's drunkenness is an essential part of his character. According to Barth, 'his distinctive characteristic is an ungovernable passion for bacchanalian revels, inebriation and sensual love.'[4]

Incidents connected with the life of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa have been narrated not only in the *Mahābharata* and the *Harivaṁśa*, but also in certain of the Pauranic works. In most of his heroic feats, Balarāma is associated with his more famous brother Kṛṣṇa; but he also appears to have performed certain heroic deeds himself. According to Hopkins, 'though usually a mere appendage of his younger brother, he appears to have had some battles of his own.'[5] He fought in the eighteen-day battle with king Kaṁśa, killed demons like Pralamba and Dvivida, destroyed the haughtiness of the Kauravas, and had Yamunā drawn to a nearer channel.

Balarāma is briefly mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa* summary of the *Harivaṁśa*. He, however, seems to have been an important object of worship

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amongst the early Bhāgavatas. Kauṭilya speaks of a class of ascetics 'with shaven-heads or braided-hair' who adored Saṁkarṣaṇa as their special deity.[6] Pātañjalı's *Mahābhāṣya*[7] refers not only to the sounding of certain instruments in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma (Balarāma) and Keśava, but also mentions in the same section, 'may the power of Kṛṣṇa second to Saṁkarṣaṇa increase,'[8] indicating, thereby, the superior position that Balarāma enjoyed. The same order has been maintained not only in the Hāthībada inscription,[9] but also in the Nānāghat Cave inscription of queen Nāyanikā of the first century B.C.[10] Commenting on the Hāthībada inscription, N.P. Chakravarty has aptly remarked that 'the record is highly interesting from religious point of view, besides literary and historical. It seems that in the 1st century B.C. both the brothers, Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, were still worshipped as popular deities though we know that at a later period the worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa was discontinued and Vāsudeva alone remained the object of worship,'[11] Balarāma's image from Mathura, in the Lucknow Museum, suggests that his worship was prevalent in the second century B.C.[12] He appears to have been worshipped even later, at the time of Devapāla; this is evident from an engraved inscription on the pedestal of a bronze image of Balarāma, discovered at Nālanda.[13]

Balarāma, as already noticed, is conceived as an incarnation of the serpent Śeṣa. In the *Mahābhārata*,[14] he is described as a rustic god whose weapon was a ploughshare (*halāyudha*). He is also said to have carried a mūsala. His drunkenness is an essential part of his character. He is said to have been as devoted to wine, as his brother (Kṛṣna) was to women.[15] His head is wreathed with snakes and crowned with flowers.[16] His standard is a palm with three heads (*tṛṇendra*)—his palm sign is indicative of his love for wine.[17] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*,[18] one of the earliest iconographic texts, lays down that Balarāma should be shown with a ploughshare in his hand, and rolling eyes, which would indicate his inebriety. He should be shown wearing an ear-ring and his body white like a conch-shell, moon or water-lily. The number of his arms is not specified, but evidently only two are meant. According to the *Agni Purāṇa*, Balarāma should be either two or four-armed. If two-armed, he should hold a mace and a ploughshare in his hands;[19] but if four-armed, he should have a ploughshare in his upper left hand, a conchshell in the lower left, a pestle in the upper right and a wheel in the lower right hand.[20] The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcharātra*[21] gives an identical description of Balarāma. Although the *Agni Purāṇa* seems to have drawn much of the iconographical material, of this deity, from the *Hayśīrṣa Pancharātra*,[22] it refers to another variant form of Balarāma when it says that a mace and a sword should be placed in lieu of a conchshell and a wheel.[23] It mentions two more variants of Saṁkarṣaṇa-Baladeva, in the

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injunction that he should be depicted with four arms and decorated with one ear-ring; in the first variant he is to hold a ploughshare, a pestle and a lotus in his four hands; whereas in the other, a conchshell, a mace and a wheel are to be placed in three of his hands, while the fourth, is held in the *varada* pose. The last two varieties, however, describe the god in his *vyūha* aspect for this description of him is incorporated with the account of the images of Vāsudeva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.[24] The *Viṣṇudharmottara*[25] describes Baladeva as holding a ploughshare and a pestle in his hands and having ear-rings (or one ear-ring, according to Banerjea,[26] who feels that *chaiva-kuṇḍalī* should be amended to *chaika kuṇḍalī*). He should be white in colour and should wear a blue garment and his eyes should be shown in a state of inebriatnon. Early in the same chapter, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*[27] refers to this form of the *vyūha* Saṁkarṣaṇa. The *Samaraṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*,[28] which represents the god with four arms and a palm-banner (*tālaketu*), wearing a long garland of wood land flowers mentions the ploughshare and the pestle among the attributes in his hands as also his blue garments. He is also to be shown in a high state of intoxication, yet of mild disposition. Adorned with a high diadem and glowing in a halo of lustre and prowes she is required to be accompanied by his consort Revatī. These are the texts which emphasize the intemperance of this incarnation of Viṣṇu. This is corroborated by the presence of the wine-cup in the hands of some of the extant images of Balarāma and by the wide, staring eyes depicted in others. The *Mahābhārata*[29] refers to the bacchanalian orgies of Balarāma and this fits in with the character of the god rather aptly. *Vaikhānasāgama*[30] describes the god as two-armed, holding a pestle in his right hand and a ploughshare in the left, white in complexion and wearing red garments; with the goddess Revatī on his right. A *kautuka-bera* of this god should be either this or in the form of the armed Viṣṇu.[31] Curiously enough, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* quoted by Rao[32] describes figure of Ādi-Śeṣa in a manner that tallies with the figure of Balarāma. According to this work, Ādi-Śeṣa should have four arms, two of which are to be held in the añjali pose, while the remaining two are to carry a ploughshare and a mace. It may be noted that in the sculptures, Śeṣa is always shown with two hands, whereas the ploughshare is the typical emblem of Baladeva, who is also called *mūsalin* or the mace-bearer, according to the *Amarakośa*.[33] None of these texts, however, refer to the snake-hoods of Balarāma, although the deity as a Nāga lord is undoubtedly from mythology, and from actual visual representations. Vogel suggested that 'the mythological Baladeva developed from a Nāga lord, and his worship might have been absorbed into Kṛṣṇaism, when this cult rose into promi-

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nence; Baladeva was an agricultural deity and so were the Nāgas who were intimately associated with water'.[34]

The extant sculpture of Saṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma can be divided, as in the case of other incarnatory forms, into two groups—one in which they occur in a row of the Daśāvatāra images (in slabs representing the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu) and the other, in which they occur independently of the incarnations. In the latter case, especially in their early specimens, the possibility of recognizing them as Vyūha-Saṁkarṣaṇa cannot be set a side. The earliest extant image of Balarāma found near Mathura and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, represents the god standing under a canopy of six serpent hoods, holding a pestle (*mūsala*) and a ploughshare (*hala*) in his right and left hands, the weapons held against his shoulders.[35] He is also wearing a massive turban on his head, ear-rings, torque, armlets, bracelets, a waist-girdle and a short dhoti; the right leg is slightly bent at the knee as in some of the early Yakṣa statues, but the left leg is straight. According to Agrawala,[36] 'the image cannot be later than the second century B.C. and must be regarded as the earliest representation of any Brahmanical deity in the whole field of Hindu iconography.' The above sculpture is of special interest in connection with the study of Hindu mythology and iconography, as it shows that the association of the Nāga element with Balārama (cf. the Pauranic version of his having been an incarnation of Ananta or Śeṣanāga) was well established at such an early date.[37] Vogel has observed that 'modern idols of Baladeva manufactured in the Mathura region are exact copies of the ancient Nāga figures'[38] and remarked that in ancient and mediaeval times also the images of this god were based on the hybrid Nāga figures. The Lucknow Museum relief fully bears out this observation.[39]

The inscribed Nāga image of the time of Huviska, discovered at Chhargaon was worshipped by the local villagers as Dāuji i.e., Baladeva.[40] In the case of the Nāga figures, wherever they are well preserved, the right hand is generally raised above the head and the left holds a cup. It will be presently seen that some of the Balarāma figures also hold a wine-cup in their hands, and the iconographic texts also emphasize the inebriety of the god. That Balarāma or Saṁkarṣaṇa worship was well established in the early centuries of the Christian era is fully proved by the discovery (in different parts of northern India) of the images of this god, belong to this period of time. The Kushan images from Mathura, in the Mathura Archaeological Museum, show Balarāma as a two-armed figure with a canopy of serpent-hoods, holding his right hand above the shoulder, and a wine cup in his left.[41] He wears a *vaijayanti mālā* which marks out his Brahmanical character. The serpent-hood of seven snakes over his head is

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believed to refer to his being an incarnation of the cosmic serpent Śeṣanāga. On the right side is a *mūṣala* and on the left a staff surmounted by a tailed lion. The sculpture, belonging to the Kushan period, was obtained from the Dīrgha Viṣṇu temple near the Bharatpur gate, Mathura city.

A figure of Balarāma, dated second-third century A.D., was discovered at Tumain, in the Gwalior region, and is somewhat similar to the Kushan sculpture.[42]

A torso from Girdharpur, in the Mathura Museum, belonging to the Kushan period shows a two-armed standing Baladeva carved in the round.[43] His left hand is held in the varada pose, whereas his right is on the waist-girdle. Its distinguishing feature is the *mūsala* carved on the right side; on the left side is a long object which would be a mace.

Another two-armed figure with a canopy of snake-hoods over his head may be identified with Balarāma, though the god has no particular emblems, excepting that he has a *vaijayanti mālā* and a *śrī-vatsa* on his chest, both of which are features of Viṣṇu.[44] Belonging to the early mediaeval period, it was obtained from Mathura.

The Archaeological Museum at Mathura has a beautiful sculpture from Swamighat, Mathura, belonging to *c.* eleventh century A.D.[45] The sculpture represents a two-armed standing Balarāma, turned slightly to the left in the dvibhaṅga pose, his right hand on his thigh. Unfortunately, the left arm, which held the attribute, part of the face and portions of the snake-hood are damaged. The sculpture may also pass for the serpent god Nāga; but on account of the long *vana mālā* which the god is wearing, it is more than probable that the deity represented is Balarāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Besides the Vaiṣṇavite garland, the god is wearing a number of ornaments like the necklace, armlets, waist-girdle, etc., all finely chiṣelled and speaking highly of the consummate skill and devotion of the master artist who created this art piece.

Amongst the four-armed variety may be mentioned the Gupta figure obtained from Bajna and presently preserved in the Mathura Museum.[46] Balarāma, as usual, is represented with a canopy of Nāga hoods over his head and wearing a *vana mālā*. His two normal hands are like those in the Nāga figures, i.e., raised aloft and holding *vāruṇi-pātra*, whereas the additional right hand holds a *mūsala* and the left is missing.

An image of Balarāma, belonging to *c.* fifth century A.D. comes from Indhar. It is presently housed in the Gwalior Museum.[47] The god has been shown standing under a carapace of five Nāga hoods. He holds a plough-share and a wine cup in his upper and lower left hands while the upper right hand rests upon the snake-hood and the lower right hand on the waist.

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Another four-armed image of Balarāma (from the Yamuna river) of the early mediaeval period in the Mathura Museum, represents him with serpent hoods, considerably water-worn and indistinct, holding a *mūsala* and a ploughshare in his additional right and left hands.[48] The natural right hand holds a wine cup (madhu-pātra) in front of his stomach and the left hand is on his thigh. The deity is standing in the dvibhanga pose and wearing a *vana mālā*.

There is still another four-armed figure of the god in the Mathura Museum, belonging to the mediaeval period and it shows certain additional features.[49] Balarāma is flanked by two squatting Nāga attendants and two flying Gandarvas above. He has a snake canopy and holds a *mūsala* in the flanking right hand and a ploughshare in the left. The right hand in front is on the thigh and the left holds a *vāruṇi-pātra*. He wears a *vana mālā*. According to Vogel, it was preserved in the Allahabad Public Library and it is doubtful whether it belongs to Mathura.

The exhibit No. B. 974 in the collection of the Lucknow Museum shows a male figure standing in the samapādasthānaka pose with the seven-hooded snake canopy attached to his back; the hair is beautifully arranged with a top-knot on the centre of the cranium, like the protuberance on the head of the Buddha figures, and ornaments like a pearl string on his forehead, ear-rings, torque, armlets, the sacred thread and a scarf arranged vanamālā-like; on the left side is a Nāginī standing in a graceful pose, while on the right is a couple, probably the donors, with their hands held in the añjali pose.[50] This has been described in the Museum records as the 'sandstone image of a Nāga,' and as suggested by Banerjea, it is probably so. The similarity to the figures of Balarāma is, however, so great that one is tempted to identify it as that of Balarāma; but unfortunately its forearms are broken and there is nothing to determine the nature of the objects held by them. The pedestal of the image bears an inscription in the characters of the fifth century A.D.

If a comparison of this sculpture is made with that of Balarāma, found on the basement of the main shrine at Paharpur, a great deal of similarity is seen as regards their iconographic representations.[51] The arrangements of the hair in the shape of a top-knot, the pearl string on the forehead, the seven-hooded snake canopy, the torque, the armlets, the sacred thread, the waist-girdle, etc., are common to both of them. In the Paharpur relief, heavy snake coils are arranged behind the back of the deity in a manner similar to those followed in the Kushan Nāga statues at Mathura. There are two attendants, one on each side of the central figure at Paharpur; the one on his right holding a cup and a wine flask to a female, and the other, on his left, is a male. Here Balarāma has been endowed

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with four arms, the lower right, the upper right and the upper left, carrying a wine cup, a long staff (a variety of *mūsala*) and a ploughshare with a long handle; the front left hand is on his thigh. The pedestal is plain and the god's body is slightly bent. The carving of the main figure in this late Gupta relief is well-executed; but its meditative look is contrary to the iconographic description of the glazed look of the inebriate (*madavibhramalochana*).

An image of Balarāma, similar to the Paharpur relief, belonging to *c.* eleventh century A.D., is preserved in the collection of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi.[52]

Mention may also be made of the four-armed image of Balarāma discovered at Baghaura (Dacca), which can be dated to the late mediaeav period.[53] This well-executed relief is almost a replica of the usual four-armed *sthānaka* Viṣṇu; it holds a mace, a wheel and a conch-shell in its back right, back left and front left hands respectively, and stands on a double petalled lotus, below which sits Garuḍa with his hands held in the añjali pose, and it is flanked by Srī and Puṣṭī. There is an umbrella, in place of the usual snake-canopy, spread over its head. The only distinctive feature which gives a clue to its identity is a ploughshare held in its front right hand. One is, however, justified in comparing this image with the two images just described, one from Paharpur and the other in the Rajshahi Museum; but they differ in essential respects from the Baghaura image as each of them has a canopy of snake-hoods and holds a bowl, a club and a ploughshare in three of the four hands, (the fourth resting on the thigh).

The National Museum at New Delhi also possesses an excellent image of Balarām as belonging to the Pāla period, which, on stylistic ground, can be dated *c.* eleventh century A.D.[54] The four-armed god is standing under a canopy of a seven-hooded serpent. He is carrying a pestle and a ploughshare in his upper hands; his lower right hand holds a wine cup and the corresponding left hand is in the kaṭyāvalaṁbita pose. His eyes are round and rolling and indicate his inebriety, as mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[55]

Two four-armed bronze figures of the god, both belonging to the reign of the Pāla ruler Devapāla, come from Kurkihar, in Gaya district,[56] and Nalanda, in Nalanda district.[57] In each case, the two hands at the back hold the *hala* and *mūsala*; in the former, the one of the right is broken and the other probably shows a sweetmeat and a wine cup. The Kurkihar image is an elaborate piece of bronze casting; the ornaments in the body, the *vana mālā*, the seven snake-hoods, the leogryph, the Vidyādharas over the parabolic *śīrṣachakra*, the peacocks on top of the *toraṅa*, with their tails ending in a scroll foliage, the two standing female attendants, one

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holding a cup of wine and the other a wine jug in their left hands, their right held in jñāna-mudrā are all displayed in the composition, which is placed on an elaborate pedestal. Kramrisch remarks about this piece that 'the figure is heavy with power, which is communicated to the eye of the devotee as it accompanies in simultaneous concentration of the image of the god.' The power fits in with Saṁkarṣana-Balarāma, the possessor (*bala*), one of the six ideal gunas. The inscription on this sculpture shows that it was cast in the ninth year of the reign of Devapāla which would date it in *c.* A.D. 822.[58] The Nalanda bronze Balarāma is a much better work of art and is a leading example of the early mediaeval bronze casting in eastern India. Balarāma has four arms that carry a conch shell, a discus, a mace and a ploughshare, and has a *vana mālā* and a seven hooded canopy over the head.

A four-armed image of Balarāma has also come to light in Baroda.[59] The image is a fine specimen of ninth century A.D.

Khajuraho has a number of sculptures representing Balarāma in a variety of ways. Balarāma on the Lakṣmaṇa temple has been represented as four-armed and standing in the dvibhaṅga pose.[60] His three arms are damaged, while the fourth is on the waist. He is, however, to be identified by the canopy of five snake-hoods over his head and also because of the wine-cup (vāruni-pātra) held by one of the two female attendants standing on either side of him. The god is wearing a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* over his head and a number of ornaments on his body. The Balarāma from Abaneri, in Rajasthan, also has a female attendant holding a wine cup to him.[61] A similar representation has already been noticed at Paharpur belonging to the post-Gupta period.[62]

Although Balarāma has usually been represented as standing, the seated variety is not unknown. The god on the Kandarīya Mahādeo Temple of the eleventh century A.D. has been shown seated in lalitāsana with a canopy of five snake-hoods over his head.[63] The four-armed god carries a cup of wine, a mace, a lotus by its stalk and a ploughshare in his hands. On either side of the *prabhāvali*, there are four-armed divinities, each holding a flower by his front hands, while the back right and left hands display abhaya mudrā and a vessel. The sculpture is beautiful and in a good state of preservation.

The seventh temple of Osia, the most magnificent of the temple group there, has two projecting pilasters elegantly carved on both sides with sculptured figures, their lower halves containing dancing female figures in natural poses. Above are Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma,[64] the former on the proper right hand pilaster and the latter on the other side. Both are seated on Garuḍas, the former with his usual attributes, while

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the latter holds a *hala* and a *mūsala* in two of his back hands, one of his front hands holds a śaṅkha, the fourth hand is held in a jñana mudrā. Balarāma has also his canopy of snake-hoods. This sculpture is very interesting because Balarāma on the Garuḍa, with a śaṅkha in his hand, is an extremely rare mode of depicting him. But this may typify one way of showing *vyuha* Saṁkarṣaṇa, the other being the one where he is depicted like Vāsudeva in all respects except that he is holding a gadā, śaṅkha, padma and chakra in his front right, back right, back left and front left hands respectively.

Balarāma has been shown in the company of his consort Revatī on the mediaeval temples at Osia[65] and also at Khajuraho.[66] The image carved on the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho shows the divine couple standing in the tribhanga pose, embracing each other.[67] Balarāma, adorned with a number of ornaments, has Revatī to his right, her hair arranged in the *dhammilla* fashion. She is also putting on a number of ornaments. The right arm of Balarāma, which is embracing the goddess, is also feeling her bosom. His back hands carry a ploughshare and a wine cup, while the front left hand is placed on the waist. Revatī is holding a lotus by its stalk in her right hand and embracing her lord with the left. Balarāma has also a canopy of seven fully expanded snake-hoods. A much similar sculpture representing Balarāma in the company of his consort Revatī, is found on the Harihara temple at Osia in Rajasthan.[68] The goddess has, however, been shown standing not to the right but to the left of the god. The four-armed image of Balarāma found by D.R. Bhandarkar at Osia has a ploughshare and a club in his two back right and left hands respectively and has a canopy of five snake-hoods; his front righthand holds a wine cup and his front left clasps his consort Revatī to his breast.[69] There is yet another remarkable image of Balarāma and Revatī in the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer, but the divine couple is not shown embracing each other.[70]

Balarāma, as already referred to, has also certain heroic deeds to his credit. He killed the demons Pralamba and Dhenuka and slayed Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa. The demon Pralamba, in the guise of a cowherd, mixed with the comrades of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and managed to carry Balarāma, lifting him high up in the sky and assuming a gigantic form. Balarāma, however, increased his weight miraculously, crushing Pralambāsura to death.[71] The Allahabad Municipal Museum possesses a terracotta plaque, belonging to *c.* sixth century A.D., which represents the theme graphically.[72] The demon is trampled upon by the god who is seen sitting on his shoulders. Kṛṣṇa standing nearby is watching the feat performed by Balarāma. Both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma have their hair tied in a knot and look very much like small boys.[73] A stone relief at Paharpur represents a

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holding a cup of wine and the other a wine jug in their left hands, their right held in jñāna-mudrā are all displayed in the composition, which is placed on an elaborate pedestal. Kramrisch remarks about this piece that 'the figure is heavy with power, which is communicated to the eye of the devotee as it accompanies in simultaneous concentration of the image of the god.' The power fits in with Saṁkarṣana-Balarāma, the possessor (*bala*), one of the six ideal gunas. The inscription on this sculpture shows that it was cast in the ninth year of the reign of Devapāla which would date it in *c.* A.D. 822.[58] The Nalanda bronze Balarāma is a much better work of art and is a leading example of the early mediaeval bronze casting in eastern India. Balarāma has four arms that carry a conch shell, a discus, a mace and a ploughshare, and has a *vana mālā* and a seven hooded canopy over the head.

A four-armed image of Balarāma has also come to light in Baroda.[59] The image is a fine specimen of ninth century A.D.

Khajuraho has a number of sculptures representing Balarāma in a variety of ways. Balarāma on the Lakṣmaṇa temple has been represented as four-armed and standing in the dvibhaṅga pose.[60] His three arms are damaged, while the fourth is on the waist. He is, however, to be identified by the canopy of five snake-hoods over his head and also because of the wine-cup (vāruni-pātra) held by one of the two female attendants standing on either side of him. The god is wearing a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* over his head and a number of ornaments on his body. The Balarāma from Abaneri, in Rajasthan, also has a female attendant holding a wine cup to him.[61] A similar representation has already been noticed at Paharpur belonging to the post-Gupta period.[62]

Although Balarāma has usually been represented as standing, the seated variety is not unknown. The god on the Kandarīya Mahādeo Temple of the eleventh century A.D. has been shown seated in lalitāsana with a canopy of five snake-hoods over his head.[63] The four-armed god carries a cup of wine, a mace, a lotus by its stalk and a ploughshare in his hands. On either side of the *prabhāvali*, there are four-armed divinities, each holding a flower by his front hands, while the back right and left hands display abhaya mudrā and a vessel. The sculpture is beautiful and in a good state of preservation.

The seventh temple of Osia, the most magnificent of the temple group there, has two projecting pilasters elegantly carved on both sides with sculptured figures, their lower halves containing dancing female figures in natural poses. Above are Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma,[64] the former on the proper right hand pilaster and the latter on the other side. Both are seated on Garuḍas, the former with his usual attributes, while

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the latter holds a *hala* and a *mūsala* in two of his back hands, one of his front hands holds a śaṅkha, the fourth hand is held in a jñana mudrā. Balarāma has also his canopy of snake-hoods. This sculpture is very interesting because Balarāma on the Garuḍa, with a śaṅkha in his hand, is an extremely rare mode of depicting him. But this may typify one way of showing *vyuha* Saṁkarṣaṇa, the other being the one where he is depicted like Vāsudeva in all respects except that he is holding a gadā, śaṅkha, padma and chakra in his front right, back right, back left and front left hands respectively.

Balarāma has been shown in the company of his consort Revatī on the mediaeval temples at Osia[65] and also at Khajuraho.[66] The image carved on the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho shows the divine couple standing in the tribhanga pose, embracing each other.[67] Balarāma, adorned with a number of ornaments, has Revatī to his right, her hair arranged in the *dhammilla* fashion. She is also putting on a number of ornaments. The right arm of Balarāma, which is embracing the goddess, is also feeling her bosom. His back hands carry a ploughshare and a wine cup, while the front left hand is placed on the waist. Revatī is holding a lotus by its stalk in her right hand and embracing her lord with the left. Balarāma has also a canopy of seven fully expanded snake-hoods. A much similar sculpture representing Balarāma in the company of his consort Revatī, is found on the Harihara temple at Osia in Rajasthan.[68] The goddess has, however, been shown standing not to the right but to the left of the god. The four-armed image of Balarāma found by D.R. Bhandarkar at Osia has a ploughshare and a club in his two back right and left hands respectively and has a canopy of five snake-hoods; his front righthand holds a wine cup and his front left clasps his consort Revatī to his breast.[69] There is yet another remarkable image of Balarāma and Revatī in the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer, but the divine couple is not shown embracing each other.[70]

Balarāma, as already referred to, has also certain heroic deeds to his credit. He killed the demons Pralamba and Dhenuka and slayed Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa. The demon Pralamba, in the guise of a cowherd, mixed with the comrades of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and managed to carry Balarāma, lifting him high up in the sky and assuming a gigantic form. Balarāma, however, increased his weight miraculously, crushing Pralambāsura to death.[71] The Allahabad Municipal Museum possesses a terracotta plaque, belonging to *c.* sixth century A.D., which represents the theme graphically.[72] The demon is trampled upon by the god who is seen sitting on his shoulders. Kṛṣṇa standing nearby is watching the feat performed by Balarāma. Both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma have their hair tied in a knot and look very much like small boys.[73] A stone relief at Paharpur represents a

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standing male figure holding a small boy about his shoulders,[74] with his left hand. The standing figure has his head bent so as to be almost horizontal, owing to the pressure exerted by the figure of the boy it holds aloft. The small boy may be recognized as Balarāma, and, the scene, represents Balarāma gradually increasing his weight after being lifted shoulder high by the demon, Pralamba. To the right stands Kṛṣṇa with a flute in his hand.

Another demon to be killed by Balarama was Dhenuka, who, assuming the form of an ass, zealously guarded the Tāla (palm) forest. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, with the cowherds, went to the forest to pick the ripe fruit, but no sooner had Balarāma started shaking a palm tree, then the ass-demon rushed to kill him. Balarāma, however, grappled the demon by the hind legs and killed him by hurling him against the palm tree.[75] The top-most panel of the stone pillar at Mandor represents Balarāma, catching hold of a mutilated animal, recognizable as the ass-demon, Dhenuka.[76] The Gwalior Museum is in possession of a Fan Palm Capital (*tāladhvaja*) with a bunch of leaves realistically drawn. What renders the piece of special interest is the presence of the headless figure of a donkey which, as pointed out by J.N. Banerjea,[77] can be identified with the ass-demon, Dhenuka, who was killed by Balarāma. The Gwalior Museum piece is dated in *c.* first century A.D. There is another *Tāladhvaja* of approximately the same date, in the collection of the Lucknow Museum.[78] Besides being associated with the destruction of the ass-demon Dhenuka, the fan-palm is a special attribute of the god Balarāma, on account of his inordinate fondness for intoxicating liquor.

There is a highly interesting panel on the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho, in which Balarāma has been represented as slaying Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa by his special attribute, the ploughshare.[79] Sūta Lomaharaṣaṇa has been shown sitting on a cot with his knees tied with a *yogapaṭṭa.* He is pot-bellied and has a long beard. The god is attacking him by grasping his ploughshare in both his hands, his right leg stretched forward. The god has also a canopy of snake-hoods. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāna* Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa was punished by the god because he had not shown proper courtesy to him when he had visited the Naimiṣyāraṇya.[80] A much similar theme has been found represented on the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur[81] and in a sculpture from Dhaulpur, presently housed in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.[82] On the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, dated in *c.* sixth century A.D., Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa is seen seated on a small pedestal, while Balarāma has raised up the ploughshare with both his hands to deliver the deadly blow.[83] The Bharat Kala Bhavan panel of *c.* eighth century A.D. shows the Sūta sitting in lalitāsana on a small stool with one of his hands resting against his knee. Balarāma, with his feet wide apart, is seen attacking him

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on his neck with his ploughshare held in both his hands. A kneeling female to the right of the Sūta, is probably his wife, mourning his death. An attendant is standing below her.[84]

Balarāma, along with his comparatively more famous brother Kṛṣṇa, is found associated with the goddess Ekānaṁśā. The *Bṛhatsaṁhita*[85] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,[86] which contain iconographic prescriptions, give the goddess the central position with the two male divinities Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa flanking her on either side. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the goddess Ekānamśā is placed between Rāma (Balarāma) and Kṛṣna, with her left hand on her waist and her right hand holding a lotus.[87] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, which describes three varieties of the Ekānamśā images (viz. two, four and eight-armed ones), suggests that the two-armed type should show the goddess between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa, her left hand resting on her hip, the other hand holding a lotus.[88] If she is four-armed, she holds the book and the lotus in her left hands, and while one of her right hands holds the rosary, the other is shown in the varadamudrā.[89] If she is eight-armed, she holds the water vessel, the bow, the lotus and the book in her left hands and the arrow, the mirror and the rosary in three of the right hands, the fourth one is held in the varadamudrā.[90] A number of stone and bronze images of Ekānamśā have been found from different parts of northern India in which Balarāma is seen standing to the right of the goddess and Kṛṣṇa to her left. More often Balarāma has been shown four-armed; only in rare cases is he two-armed. In the sculptures of the Ekānamśā triad from Devangarh in the district of Nawadah, now added to the collection of the Patna Museum, Balarāma is only two-armed holding with his left a lion-faced ploughshare (*siṁha lāṅgala*), and his right is raised in the abhayamudra.[91] He has also the snake-hooded canopy over his head. The Ekānamśa sculptures from Mathura, belonging to the Kushan period, show the god as both two-armed[92] and four-armed.[93] The two sets of bronze images of Ekānamśā from Muzaffarpur district, one from Imadpur, now in the Collection of the King Edward VII Gallery of the British Museum,[94] and the other from Dhanurbasti, and presently housed in the Patna Museum,[95] belong to the Pāla period and represent the god as four-armed. So also does the stone slab relief of the Ekānamśā triad, belonging to the Pratihāra period (c. tenth eleventh century A.D.), and now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.[96] In all these four-armed figures, Balarāma has been represented with his usual attributes, ploughshare and pestle, and the canopy of snake-hoods over his head.[97]

When Balarāma is depicted along with the other nine incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu, he is almost invariably endowed with two hands, one of which holds his characteristic emblem, the ploughshare, while the other is held in

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the abhaya or the varadamudra. He is also provided with a canopy of snake-hoods over his head.

Thus, in the art of northern India, Balarāma is usually represented as standing with two of his most characteristic weapons, the *hala* and the *mūsala*. He is also shown in association with the Nāgas even in the earliest sculptures, though the texts are silent about the canopy of the Nāga hoods above his head. A figure of Balarāma is found represented with these features as early as the second century B.C. from Mathura which is presently housed in the Lucknow Museum. Like the Nāga figures, Balarāma is also shown in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Kushan art of Mathura, with one of his hands held aloft and the other carrying a *vāruni-pātra*, indicative of his intemperance which is also suggested in some of the texts. His two important attributes, the ploughshare and the pestle, are also shown as either carved on the back slab, in the case of two-armed figures, or held in the two back hands, in the case of the four-armed figures. In some of the sculptures, he is represented as wide-eyed on account of his state of drunkenness. These features of the god continued to be incorporated in his representations of the Gupta and the mediaeval periods. Although usually represented as standing, the god has also rarely been shown seated in the lalitāsana. An interesting sculpture from Osia shows Balarāma, like Viṣṇu, seated astride a Garuḍa and carrying a conch shell and exhibiting the jnānamudrā with his principal hands, while the back ones carry the special attributes. There are sculptural representations in which Balarāma has been shown killing the demons, Pralamba and Dhenuka and slaying Sūta Lomabarṣaṇa. The god also figures in association with the goddess Ekānamśā, usually standing to her right. In the company of the goddess, he is sometimes two-armed and occasionally four-armed, with his special attributes and a snake-hooded canopy over his head. Balarāma is invariably shown two-armed on the stone slabs representing the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu or on the stele of the Viṣṇu images. In such representations, the god is found carrying his typical attributes, the pestle and the ploughshare. He has also a canopy of snake-hoods over his head.

Gopinatha Rao has not illustrated any figure of Balarama in his work on Hindu iconography, but in view of Vaikhānasāgama's prescriptions that the two-armed god should be shown holding a pestle and a ploughshare and accompanied by his consort Revatī,[98] the conception of the god does not seem to have differed in South India from its north Indian counterparts.

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Ancient Maritime contacts of West Bengal—Literary and Archaeological Evidence

Dr. K.N. Dikshit and Dr. R.G. Pandeya

The Indian subcontinent is sea-girt on the east, west and south. Its geographical setting presented ideal opportunities for the development of Indian maritime activities. Literary and archaeological evidences bear ample testimony to this.[1] The contribution of ancient Bengal is not easy to assess, but it is now generally admitted that it exercised great influence on the development of the maritime trade of India.

Situated on the eastern coast, the state of West Bengal, probably the largest delta in the world, is aptly described as 'the land of new mud, and old marsh.'[2] It extends from Darjeeling in the north to the Bay of Bengal and Orissa in the south, and from the edge of the Chhotanagpur highlands of Bihar in the west to the border of Bangladesh and Assam in the east. Though a part of this deltaic portion now falls in Bangladesh, its historico-political development cannot be treated in isolation.

Modern Bengal is the Vanga of Vedic literature and a part of the Prachya region of the *Aitareya-Brahmana*.[3] Greek and Latin scholars identified it with the people of Gangadidai. The *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, historians of Alexander's Campaign, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, the Ceylonese chronicles, Buddhist and Jain texts, the Jataka stories and the well known commentator Patanjali, have all referred to this region. The area was Aryanized in the post-Vedic period. Traditionally, the land is connected with the visit of Bhima,[4] the legendary *Mahabharata* celebrity. The prominent dynasties[5] which ruled over or established some sort of suzerainty over this region were the Saisunagas, the Mauryas, the Palas, the Senas etc. The region was economically so important that all the powerful rulers of Delhi or Magadha kept it under their control—it regulated the import and export of mercantile commodities with the outside world. Even as far back as the sixth century B.C., Bimbasara, the ruler of Magadha and a contemporary of Lord Buddha, realized the importance of Anga (or Vanga)

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and annexed it after politically neutralizing the other neighbouring states mentioned in the list of *Sixteen Mahajanapadas*. It opened a new vista for land-locked Magadha State. In historical times many caravan routes,[6] originating from the different cities of India like Uttarapatha which connected India with Central Asian countries terminated in this region. (P.I.I).

The ancient sea-ports of Vanga, Tamralipti, Satgaon and Sonargaon developed international maritime connections with Java, Sumatra and Ceylon. They also traded with ports located in the western coast and Persian Gulf. These sea-ports lost their importance due to changes in the river course and also, to a great extent, due to the deposit of silt—a process which still continues. Tamluk lost its importance sometime in the eighth century A.D., and its place was taken by Saptagram or Satgaon. In the sixteenth century, however, the main waters of the Bhagirathi changed direction again, and began to flow through the Hooghly channel, and Satgaon was replaced as a port-of-call first by Hooghly then by Calcutta.

The rivers Ganga and Bramhaputra with their numerous navigable tributaries have played a large part in shaping the distiny of the region.[7] They provided inland links to Champa, Pataliputra, Varanasi, Kausambi, Sahajati and even to Taxila. Communication through the net-work of waterways was prefered to the relatively inaccessible, and heavily wooded land routes.

Literary Data

The *Mahavamsa* and *Rajavalliya*[8] aver that as early as about B.C. 500 Prince Vijaya of Bengal with 700 followers achieved the conquest and colonization of Ceylon and christened the island Simhala. It is also said that the people of Champa founded a settlement in Vietnam and named it after their famous native town.

The Dathadhatuvamsa,[9] a Pali text has given a vivid description of ships sailing from Bengal to other far-off places. While describing the carriage of the Tooth-relic of Lord Buddha from Dantapura, probably a sea-port on the Orissa coast, to Ceylon, the royal pair Danta Kumar and his wife reached the port of Tamralipti, probably in a small boat, and found there 'a vessel bound for Ceylon, firmly constructed with planks sewed together with ropes, having a well-rigged, lofty mast, a spacious sail, and commanded by a skilful navigator, on the point of departure.' The same Ceylonese source also informs us that there was a regular traffic between Tamralipti and Ceylon.

According to the *Dipavamsa*,[10] King Devanampiya Tissa of Ceylon sent a mission to Emperor Asoka, and it took them one week to reach the port of Tamralipti. The second mission from Ceylon to Pataliputra also came

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through Tamralipti. On its way back, Asoka with his army escorted the Bodhi tree sapling and the members of the mission to Tamralipti. They sailed for Ceylon from there.

Foreign travellers[11] mentioned Tamralipti in their accounts. In the early fifth century A.D., Fa-Hien sailed from Tamralipti for Ceylon in a great merchant vessel. Here he noticed several Buddhist monastries. I-Tsing recounting his itinerary says that from Canton he arrived at Palembang. His route onwards lay via Malaya on river Jambi, through Keddah on the west coast of the Malaya Peninsula, to Nicobar Islands, finally terminating at Tamralipti.

A Buddhist manuscript, in the Bengali script, of eleventh century A.D. discovered in the Horiuzi temple of Japan indicates that there was also maritime contact with Japan.[12] The people of Bengal also reproduced their ships in bas-relief on the large temple of Borobudur, Java.[13] They were probably invited to assist other Indian artists for proper reproductions of such scenes. The influence of the Devanagri character on the inscription of Borobudur is eloquent about a close cultural and commercial contact with Java which could not have been possible without frequent maritime contacts.

In the poems of devotion to goddess Chandi and Manasa composed by the poet Narayandeva,[14] who flourished sometime in the sixteenth-sevententh century, there are accounts of the maritime adventures of some merchants like Dhanapati, Srimanta, Chanda Sadagara and of the ordeals they faced in their voyage. These merchants engaged in maritime trade and were well spoken of both socially and economically.

In early Bengali literature[15] like the *Mansamangal* and *Chandikavya* one comes across descriptions of the construction of ships. The parts of a vessel mentioned are dara (helm) or patwal, malumkastha (mast), tala (hold), mathakastha (pow), chhaighar (shed), patatan (deck), dandakarwal (oar), bansakarwal or dhvaji (bamboo-pole), fas (chord), nangar (anchor) pal (sail) and dava (keel).

According to the *Chandiravya* of *Kavikankana*,[16] a work of late mediaeval period, *Madhukar*, a flagship, was the first to be launched on water. Its deck was filled with earth to give it an appearance of land. He further adds the names of other ships like *Ranajaya*, *Ranabhima*, *Mahakaya*, etc., which give us an idea of their uses and sizes. The vessel carried, besides sailors a carpenter, a blacksmith, foot-soldiers, a driver, an admiral, a craftsman and a captain. Thus we find that each vessel was well-equipped for any eventuality on the way. According to the *Manasamangal*[17] a large number of items were brought by foreign ships. Grains, earthern and wooden wares, and cloths of very fine texture were exported in exchange

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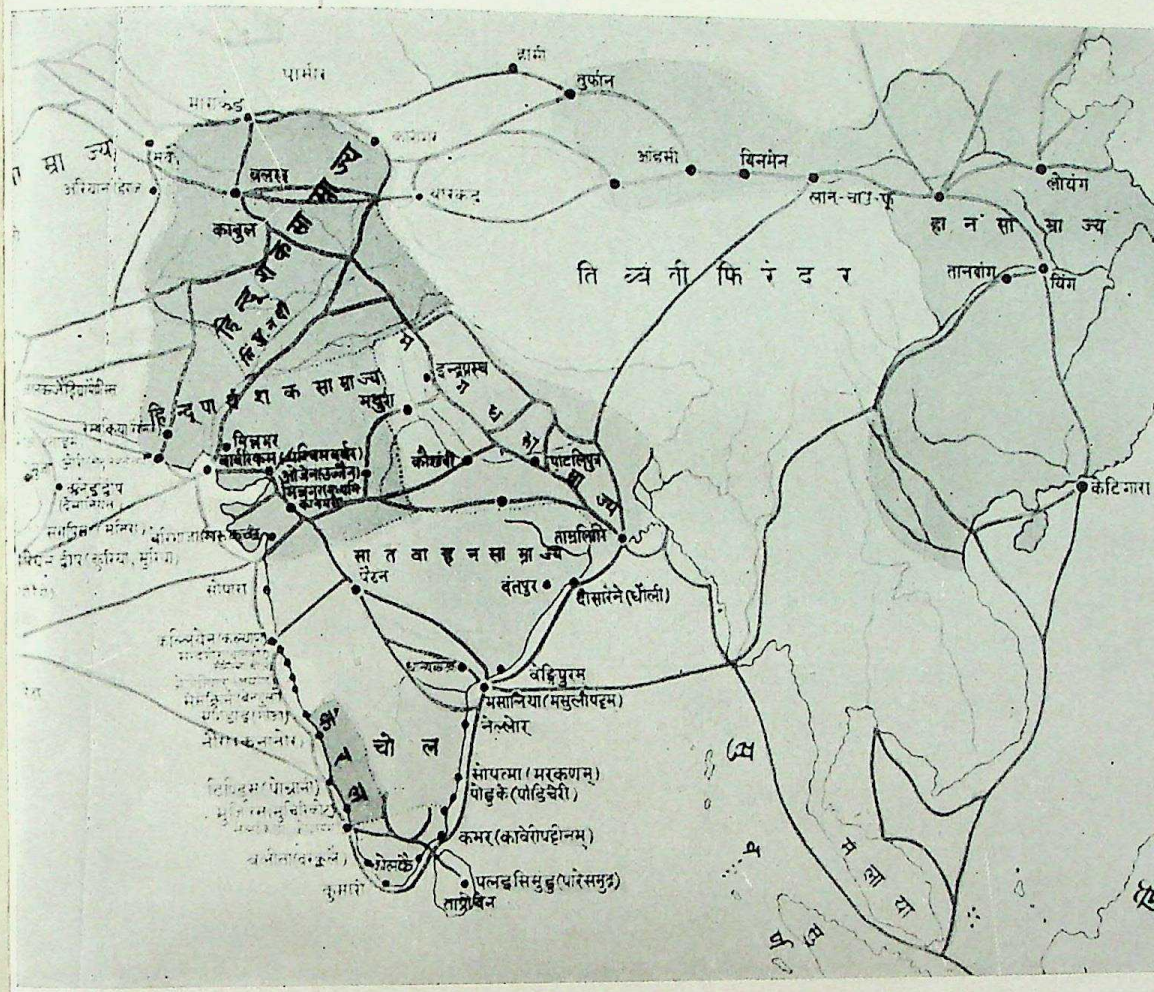

1. Contacts of West Bengal with the outside world (after *Sarthavaha*)
(*Courtesy :* Archaeological Survey of India)

Plate XIX

Text : **Maritime Contacts of West Bengal**

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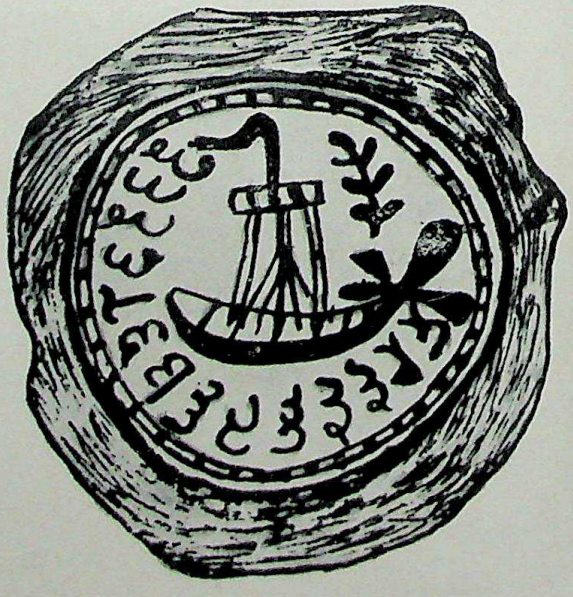
Plate XX

A black steatite seal, Pandu-rajar-Dhibi, Burdwan District, West Bengal (*Courtesy :* Shri P. C. Das Gupta)

3. A terracotta plaque from Chandraketugarh, West Bengal (*Courtesy :* Shri P. C. Das Gupta)



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for horses, spices, and other articles. Among other items of export, glass deserves special mention.

The Indian ships were divided into three catagories according to the size and position of three cabins—the Sarvamandira, Madhyamandira and Agramandira vessels. The Sarvamandira had a cabin that ran the length of the vessel and was used for the carriage of royal treaaures, horses and women. The Madhyamandira with a cabin in the middle of the ship, was used for pleasure trips. And the Agramandira, with her cabin towards the prow, was used in dry weather and was excellent for long voyages. It was also used in naval warfare.

Folklore

The folklore of Bengal and the *Jataka*, a collection of Buddhist stories, are full of the glory of mercantile communities. These stories reveal valuable information on Indian maritime contacts. Acharya Haribhadra Suri (*c.* 678-728) has left a collection of such stories in *Samaraichchakaha*[18] which allude to the connection between Tamralipti and Vaijayanti with Simhala, Mahakataha (Malaya) and China.

In one of the stories a poor merchant, Dhana with his wife and servant, Nanda, goes on a sea voyage. But due to the treachery of his wife, he is poisoned and thrown in the sea. Luckily he is saved and in due course earns a lot of money. In another story Kumara and Vasubhuti went from Tamralipti to Suvarnabhumi. From Sirpur (port) they go to Simhaladvipa but after sailing for thirteen days the ship meets with an accident. However, they survive and after many difficulties manage to reach Simhala. There is another interesting story about Dharan, a multi-millionaire merchant, who brought gold bricks to India after a long and hazardous sea-voyoge.

Archaeological Data

Attempts made by archaeologists to substantiate the literary data by field work, have indeed been rewarding. The proto-historic culture of Pandu Rajar Dhipi,[19] an ancient site, on the river Ajai in Burdwan district, stratigraphically revealed three periods beginning from the latter half of the second milllennium B.C., till the sixth-seventh century B.C. The excavated antiquities bear witness to forgotten and thought-provoking relations with foreign lands. A black steatite seal with pictographs and hieroglyphics, seemingly of Mediterranean origin, is worth mentioning. A few earthenwares, terracotta figurines and spindle-whorls, found at this site are reminiscent of similar objects noticed in Anatolia, Palestine, Crete, Troy and Egypt.

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The diffusion of iron working seems to have been adopted in this part of India by the users of black-and-red ware. This period also witnessed the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and was important for the beginning of urbanization. The iron technology helped in the development of the city-sites in the lower Ganga valley and in due course these cities became important trading centres. The presence of northern black polished ware, a de luxe ware of Mauryan times, provides a close link of this region with the rest of India.

The discovery of Roman pottery at Chandraketugarh near Barasat, about 50 kms south of Calcutta, Harinarayanpur, about nine kms south of Diamond harbour, and at Tamralipti clearly indicates close commercial ties between Bengal and the ancient Roman world in about the first and second centuries A.D. A fragementry terracotta plaque from Chandraketugarh that shows a sea-going vessel is interesting.

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A Unique Image of the Sun-God in Tanjinatha, Ranchi

Smt. Indu Mati Pathak
Patna Museum

In the dim beginnings of human civilization, when people believed in the power of natural forces over their destinies, they were given to the worship of natural pantheons in which the Sun played an important role. As a creator of the day (and night), as the sustainer of plant, animal, and vegetable life, and a great source of energy, the Sun was naturally ascribed a powerful role over human destiny.

This utility of the Sun was perhaps, realized by the people even earlier than the neolithic culture. But in the neolithic age we come across crudely symbolic presentations of the Sun. The remains of Indus Valley also reveal symbolic representations of the Sun on seals and potteries. And the subsequent discovery of the extension of Harappan Culture at Lothal, Rupar, Rangpur, and Kalibangan, provide more instances of this symbolic representation.

In the Vedic age the Sun and its various aspects were invoked and worshipped under different names, viz., Surya, Savitr Pushan, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuna, Visnu, Aryaman, etc. These are called *Adityas*. In the later Vedic Age, however, some of the solar gods became unimportant, but Surya and Savitr retained their importance and became popular.

In the Epic age, there were some revolutionary changes in the age-old Vedic traditions and concepts about this god. Changes also occurred in the method of Sun-worship. For the first time the *Mahabharata*[1] tells us that the Sun-sect came to be known as the *Sauras*. And for the first time the Sun, began to be worshipped in human form. At about this time with the rise of the Bhakti movement, the Sun's family also came into existence and Sun-worship took greater hold of the people's mind.

The early *Puranas* narrate the story of the Sun-god and his chariot. These mainly consist in the recitation of the Mantras. In later *Puranas* there was still another change towards a powerful Tantric symbolism, which captured the imagination of the people.

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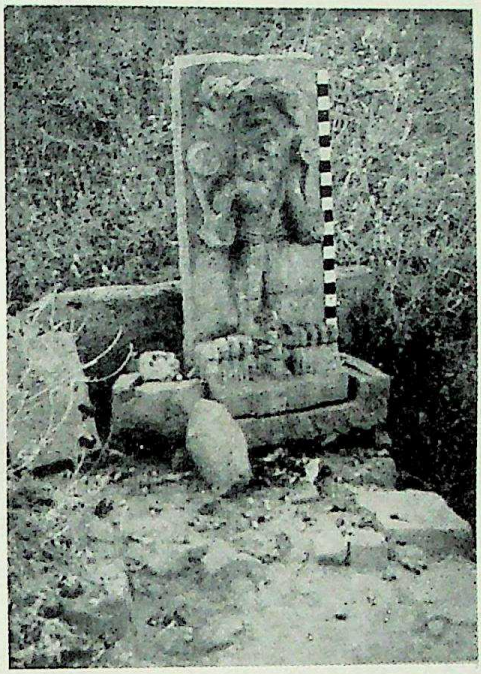

Surya with nine horses from Tanjinath's temple, Ranchi District.

Plate XXI

Text : **A unique image of the Sun-God.**

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In Indian art, the earliest image of the Sun-god in human form is found, on the railings at Bodh-Gaya temple.[2] The whole subject of the relief appears to have been inspired by Vedic mythology. Which means that the execution and theme of the relief are indigenous.

During the period of Buddhist sway in Bihar, the importance of the Sun-worship did not diminish. The figure of Sun-God on the stone railings at Bodh-Gaya temple is evidence enough. This relief belongs to the second century. B.C. Although Sun-worship was prevalent in India, Bihar formed the nucleus where several Sun temples mushroomed, like the Deo-Barnaraka, Deo-Markandih and Suryapura Sun temples in the district of Bhojpur. Besides these Sun temples, Sun images have been discovered in Lauriya Nandan Garh, Kumrhar, Vaishali, Rajgir, and Bhagalpur. Some Tibetan literatures give evidence of Sun-worship at Nalanda[3] also. Gaya was the other important centre of Sun-worshippers in Bihar. During the reign of Nayapal of the Pala dynasty, a number of Sun temples were constructed at Gaya. Pilgrims came from remote distances to pay obeisance to the Sun-God and get miraculously cured of their diseases.

Now let us have a look at the unique image of Surya with nine horses in the Tanjinath's temple[4] at Ranchi. Surya is standing with lotus flowers in both hands, Aruna is sitting in the usual posture and nine horses are tehered to his chariot. The feet of the Sun are not visible. This figure is of the late period, and it probably belongs to the fourteenth century A.D. The remarkable thing in this figure is the depiction of nine horses instead of the conventional seven. The earliest image of the Sun (in India) is from Bodh-Gaya where four horses are delineated. With the development of iconography, however, this number increased to seven. A further stage in the development of iconography shows nine horses drawing the Sun-chariot, (there is no reference in literature to the existence of five, six or eight horses in Sun's chariot).

Indian art was greatly influenced by religion, and *Jyotish Shastra* had a profound influence on religion[5] (the planets and the *grahas* had a hand in moulding human destiny). The artists, influenced by those nine planets and *grahas* began to depict their images in different forms — the nine horses in the sun's-chariot must have had some relation with the *Nava-grahas*. The *Nava-grahas* are still in vogue in different parts of India, especially in eastern India. The *Yajnavalkyasutra* lays down that the *grahayajna* should be performed by one who desires peace, prosperity and ample rain, (for his crops) long life and nourishment, and also to bring harm to one's enemies. The *Vishnudharmottara Purana*, *Agni Purana* and the *Silparatna* describe the different forms and manners of the *Nava grahas*. A unique mode of representing the '*grahas*' is found in the twelve-spoked wheel,[6] the *Nava-*

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graha Chakra, found among the ruins of Kiching. The twelve-spoked wheel rests on its side on a lotus pedestal. Inside the broad rim figures of the nine planets are arranged. This was the Tantric mode of representing the nine *grahas*. The custom was prevalent in eastern India during the Tantric period. This *Chakra* was used as an object of *graha* worship.

The trimurti image of Surya from Bihar is from a place known as Kandaha near Bangaon, a village on the river Dhemura. Here the Sun is shown in triple form to denote that he was the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. This image shows that the Sun had become more powerful than the other deities. In course of time every thing changes, and it is not surprising that a gradual change also occurred in art.

Thus those artists represented the Sun-God as the first among equals by harnessing his chariot with nine horses. This meant that in addition to his own powers, the Sun had the power of the nine planets as well.

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The Coins of the Chahamana Dynasty

Dr. P. C. Roy
Magadh University

There are some silver coins,[1] the seated goddess type, which bear the name Shri Ajayadeva. Prinsep[2] attributed these coins to Jayachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty of Kanauj. Cunningham[3] and Webbe[4] accepted this. Pandit G.H. Ojha[5] assigned these coins to Ajayaraja of the Chahamana dynasty of Sakambhari. In 1958, D.W. MacDowall[6] revived the old theory and attributed these coins to the Gahadovala, Jayachandra.

There are some strong objections to this view of MacDowall and Prinsep. Jayachandra Gahadavala is never mentioned as Ajayachandra or Ajayadeva in either inscriptions or literature. Secondly, the fabric of these coins is quite different from those issued by Govindachandra, the grand father of Jayachandra.

Three objections can be raised to attributing these coins to Ajayaraja of the Chahamana dynasty of Sakambhari. First, the seated goddess type was not adopted by any other ruler of the dynasty. Second, we do not find the general use of the seated goddess type (of coins) in Rajasthan and Delhi, areas over which the Chahamanas of Sakambhari ruled. Third, the coins in question bear the name Ajayadeva and not Ajayaraja, which was the real name of the Chahamana prince.

These objections can be met with on some valid grounds. Ajayaraja issued coins of the seated goddess type probably after defeating[7] Narvarman Paramava of Malava, whose coins, of the seated goddess type were prevalent[8] in Malava.[9] We do not find any coins of Arnoraja, the son and successor of Ajayaraja. The later Chahamana rulers did not issue the seated goddess type of coins because they adopted a different motif for their coins—the horseman and bull type. From Somesvara onward the Chahamanas occupied some territories of the kingdom of Delhi which was then ruled by the Tomaras. In the Tomara territories the horseman and the bull type (of coins) were prevalent; the later Chahamanas only copied that coin type. Ajayadeva was another name of Ajayaraja and is often mentioned in several inscriptions and literature.

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There are certain other important reasons which can be advanced in support of the attribution of these coins to Ajayaraja of the Chahamana dynasty. First, these coins are invariably found[10] in Rajasthan, particularly in the Chahamana territories. Second, the coins of Ajayaraja are found along with those of Someladevi[11] who was the queen of Ajayaraja. Third, the issue of these coins by Ajayaraja is mentioned in the *Prithviraja Vijaya*.[12]

The coins of Ajayaraja are not good pieces. They are very crude and the deity lacks many essential features. The edges of the coins are also rough. The letters 'Sri Ajayadeva' appear to be the work of unskilled minters. The weight of these coins is not known.

There are some coins of the Gadhaiya type and the horseman type which bear the name, Sri Somaladevi. Prinsep[13] first noticed and published a few coins of Somaladevi. He read and restored the legend as 'Sri Samontapaladeva' and 'Samaladeva.' According to him these coins belonged to a prince called Samantapaladeva or Samaladeva. But this reading of the legend is incorrect.

According to Cunningham[14] the dates of these coins would be in the ninth or tenth century. He read the legend as 'Somaladeva.' Thus according to him the issuer is a male person and not a female, and he has nothing further to say of this prince, Somaladeva.[15] Cunningham could not read the legend correctly, could not identify the issuer and, therefore, could not date these coins correctly.

From The Bijolia[16] inscription of the time of the Chahamana king Somesvara, the wife of Ajayaraja is known as Somaladevi. These coins can be attributed to this queen of the Chahamana dynasty on the following grounds. First, these coins have been found mostly in Rajasthan, particularly from the places which were under the sway of the Chahamanas of Sakambhari.[17] Second, some coins are of the Gadhaiya type and bear the rude head of the king on one side. Gadhaiya coins have been very common in Rajasthan and Gujarat.[18] Third, the copper coins bear the figure of a horseman on the obverse. The depiction of the horseman on the coins has been very common in Rajasthan and Delhi.[19] Even the later rulers of the Chahamana dynasty like Somesvara and Prithviraja depicted a horseman on their coins. Fourth, a poem[20] of Jayanaka, *Prithviraja Vijaya*, clearly states that the queen of Ajayaraja made new rupakas every day. Fifth, the coins of Somladevi have been found in close association with the coins of Ajayaraja, her husband.[21] A pot containing the copper coins of only these two issuers has been discovered by the Rao of Parsolia in Mewar.[22] It seems that while Ajayaraja issued the seated goddess type of coins with his name, he issued another type with the name of his wife.

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Rapson[23] suggested that Somaladevi may have struck these coins as regent for the son, after her husband's death. Rapson may have thought so because the coins of Arnoraja have not been found. But the *Prithviraja Vijaya* does not mention anywhere that she even ruled as regent. On the other and, a fragmentary Chahamana prasasti of the Rajaputana Museum[24] says that Ajayaraja put his son Arnoraja on the throne and retired to the forest adjoining the sacred lake Pushakara. This fact clearly indicates that Arnoraja was quite young and able at the time of his accession. He ruled for about eighteen years.[25] Therefore it is wrong to presume that he ruled as a minor son for so many years. Secondly, most of the coins of Somaladevi are of the Gadhaiya type. If Somaladevi had issued coins after the death of her husband, Ajayaraja, she would not have issued the Gadhaiya coins, because Ajayaraja had started the tradition of the seated goddess type for Northern and Central India. The adoption of the seated goddess type of coins by Ajayaraja shows the first attempt to give up the use of the Gadhaiya paisas in the family. This is also indicative of the fact that later issuers of the dynasty, like Somesvara and Prithviraja, also did not issue any Gadhaiya coins.

According to R. Burn,[26] the only known copy of the *Prithviraja Vijaya* was written in the Sarada character of Kashmir. Thus Burn thinks that the book was written by a Kashmiri Pandit and as it was not unlikely that the queen Somaladevi knew of the expliots of the Kashmiri queen Didda, she assumed the royal prerogative of coining. I do not find any similarity between the status of queen Didda and Somaladevi. Didda was a notorious queen who ruled for several years and destroyed many families. But Somaladevi never ascended the throne. The *Prithviraja Vijaya*[27] clearly mentions that Somaladevi was very dear to her husband. So the king, Ajayaraja, may have allowed her to issue coins in her name out of love for her, as she was very fond of designing them. Actually these coins were issued during the reign of Ajayaraja, and they carry his authority. Somaladevi's name was there on his sufferance.

According to A.K. Majumdar, these coins should be attributed to Somaladevi, the queen of Bhima II, of the Chaulukyas of Gujarata.[28] In his opinion these coins represent the Bhimapriya drammas of the inscriptions. A.K. Majumdar points out that Somaladevi, the queen of Bhima II, issued a copper plate jointly with her husband.[29] But these arguments of Majumdar are not valid. These coins are in both silver and copper.

Silver

Cunningham[30] illustrated one coin of Somaladevi and called it unique. This was found in Rajaputana.[31] Its weight is 65 grains.[32] It is a Gadhaiya

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paisa. Its obverse contains the name of the issuer. On the reverse is a rude head pointing right. This is really a very uuique specimen of the Gadhaiya paisa type which not only gives the inscription on its reverse, but also the name of the issuer. Thus this piece is the sample of the later and more advanced stage of the Gadhaiya money.

Horseman Type

Somaladevi issued most of her coins in copper, in the horseman type. These coins are found in three sizes and in three denominations of 65 grains, 33 grains and 17 grains.[33] On the obverse is the legend in Nagari character in two lines.

1. Sri Soma
2. Ladevi[34]

Rev : There is a figure of the horseman on the reverse. This horseman, unlike the one on the later Chahamana coins does not carry a lance. The horseman is sitting astride a horse. He is holding the reins in his left hand. His right hand is extended forwards which indicates that the rider is charging another horseman with some kind of weapon, possibly a stick. It is not visible and the right wrist of the horseman is out of the flan. The horse seems to be galloping. On the whole, the figure of the horseman is not so rude. Bigger circular dots forming the border of the coin are quite visible to the right side of the coin.[35]

Galloping Horse Type

Its weight is 29 grains.[36] On the obverse of these coins the legend is in Nagari character in two lines as:

1. Sri Soma
2. Ladevi[37]

Rev: Cunningham[38] says that there is a horseman galloping to the left on the reverse of the coin. But I do not find any horseman. I see the horse galloping to the left. The depiction is crude and does not give any clear idea. I find the same dots, as are found on the horseman type, on the right side of the coin. The edge on the right corner is slightly chipped truncated. Otherwise the coin is circular.

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The Coins of Somesvara

Several coins of the horseman and bull type[39] give the name Somesvara.[40] These coins should been attributed to Somesvara, the great Chahamana ruler of Sakambhari.[41] These coins are mostly found in Rajasthan,[42] particularly in the Chahamana territories. Secondly, Somesvara's son and successor, Prithviraja III, also issued his coins in the same type.

I feel that Somesvara adopted this coin-type from the coins of Tomara Anangapala. The conflict between the Tomaras and the Chahamanas of Sakumbhari is referred to by several authorities.[43] The Chahamanas wrested[44] some territories in and around Delhi from the Tomaras, where only the horseman and the bull type coins were in circulation.

Taking the presence of a horseman on the coins of Somesvara, Wilson[45] suggested that the princes of the Chahamana dynasty lived in the Punjab. This was supported by Thomas.[46] But I find no evidence in support of this view, because the earliest issues of this dynasty are the Gadhaiya paisas, and the predecessor of Somesvara, Ajayaraja issued coins of the seated goddess type. The numismatic evidence, therefore, precludes any such possibility.

It seems that Somevara was very fond of horses. This is indicated by the erection of the two equestrian[47] statues by him. One of these is of his father riding a horse. The second is of Somesvara himself standing before the horse.[48] This shows that Somesvara liked horse-riding and gave importance to the cavalry in in his army.

The use of the word Somantadeva[49] for the first time in the Chahamana coinage by Somesvara should not be taken to refer to the first Chahamana prince 'Samanta.' This word was used earlier by the Ghaznevide rulers (after the Shahi Samantadeva). Thus it seems that this word was a copy that later appeared on the Tomara coinage. Since the word 'Samanta' meant a great hero, Somesvara did not hesitate to use this word on his coins. It was also in keeping with his love for horse riding and cavalry.

I have examined the coins[50] of Somesvara in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Coin No. 3 has suffered wear and tear most. Coin Nos. 1 and 4 are similar in appearance and are comparatively good. Coin No. 2 is also good. On the reverse there is no trace of the word 'asavari' on coin No. 3, but on the other three coins 'asavari' is traceable. On the obverse also Coin No. 3 has only the word 'Some' and there is no trace of the letters 'svara.' On the other three coins (Nos. 1,2 & 4) only 'Some' is clear, but there are also traces of the letters 'svara.' Hence we feel that Coin No. 3 was issued before the other three coins. On this earlier issue, Somesvara did not use the word asavari—only Samantadeva. But later he did

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use the world 'asavari' along with 'Samantadeva' on his coins. Coin No. 2 has a silvery look which shows that it is a bullion coin. Others have a coppery look. These coins weigh 41,48.1, 50 and 52.7 grains respectively.

H.de S. Shortt reports[51] that there are two[52] coins of Somesvara among the coins of the Connolly Collection. They have the mark 1 on the saddle-cloth. Both of them have the prefix asavari.[53] According to Shortt, Somes-vara's coins are coarser than those of Prithviraja.[54] I get the same idea from the coins of Somesvara deposited in the Indian Museum,[55] Calcutta, and the British Museum.[56]

Prithviraja III

Prithviraja[57] III also issued only the horseman and bull type of coins. Except the difference in the name of ruler (Prithviraja), his coins are exact copies of the coins of Somesvara. The word 'asvari'[58] is retained by Prithviraja, and all his coins give this prefix on the reverse along with 'Sri Samantadevi.' In execution the coins of Prithviraja are better than those of Somesvara.[59]

Coin No. 1 of Prithviraja, deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has been described by Smith as silver. But, as I see, it is silver plated, because although the obverse looks like silver, the reverse looks more like copper. Even on the obverse there are some small spaces where I see the copper metal. At the lower end the white silvery portion is apparent. The round edge of the coin also looks like copper. There are a few silver marks on the reverse. There is no doubt that the coin is silver-plated. The horse is clearly depicted on this coin, its hoofs are very nicely represented. All letters 'Sri Prithvirajadeva' are clear, as also the letters, 'asavari Sri Samantadeva' on the reverse. The bull is also clear. There is a trident mark on the rump of the bull. There is mark I on the saddle-cloth of the bull and its tail is out of the flan.

Coin No. 1 is different from Coin No. 2, because No.2 has the legend on the obverse in straight lines, whereas on the former (No. 1) the legend (the name of Prithviraja) is in the circular margin of the coin. But the reverse of Coin No 2 fully tallies with the reverse of Coin No. 1. The reverse of this coin is very remarkable because the dots on the border, below the bull, are clearly shown. Thus both Coins No. 1 and 2, belong to different pairs of dies.

The other seven coins (Nos. 3-9) are more or less the same. On some of the coins only the word 'Prithvi' is visible. All these coins weigh in the vicinity of 50 grains. One coin weighs 53.5 grains.[60]

The number of the coins of Prithviraja is greater than that of any of his predecessors. By issuing the largest number of coins Prithviraja met the

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need of currency for his quite extensive empire.

The Joint Coins of Prithviraja III and Muhammad Ghori

There are some coins[61] of the horseman and bull type which have the legend on the obverse 'Sri Prithvirajadeva' and on the reverse 'Sri Mahamada Sama'. They are bullion coins.

According to Cunningham,[62] the occurrence of these two names on the same coin shows that Prithviraja became a vassal of Muhammad Ghori. This view has been strongly supported by H. Nelson Wright.[63] According to him, these coins, on one side bear the name of the conqueror, and on the other, that of the conquered Prithviraja.

Recently P.L. Gupta[64] has questioned the validity of the above-mentioned view and pointed out that the coins in question are mules. By mules we understand coins that are struck with the odd halves of the dies to different issuers of the same country or of two countries, which occasionally happens in mints that manufacture coins for more than one country or issuer.[65]

According to P.L. Gupta[66] this issue is the result of a mistake on the part of the mint master, who put Prithviraja's name on the obverse, which should have carried the Sultan's title 'Hammir.' Gupta adds that when the mistake was detected, the issue was stopped and fresh issues were made by replacing Prithviraja's name by the Sultan's title, 'Hammir.' In his view therefore, the occurrence of the Chahamana king's name on the coin shows neither that Prithviraja was alive or dead at the time of its issue, nor does it indicate the suzerainty of Muhammad Ghori over Prithviraja.[67]

P.L. Gupta's view is open to several objections. Muhammad Ghori had defeated Prithviraja in 1193 and had established his rule in India. Hence the coin may have been deliberately issued by him. We know that the Muslim rulers were very particular about the minting of coins,[68] which invariably took place just after the accession of a ruler. The recitation of Khutba, i.e., public prayer in the name of the new king, and issue of sikka (coin) invariably followed the accession. The coins were supposed to offer direct evidence of the existence of the sovereign, the date of the commencement of his reign, and of the country over which he claimed kingship.[69]

P.L. Gupta admits that the Hammir series of Ghori's coins are later issues, and the joint coins are earlier issues. It would mean that before the manufacture of the joint coins there was no reverse die in Ghori's mint and that it was accidentally used with the obverse die of Prithviraja, as suggested by Gupta. The mule theory presupposes the existence of both halves of dies of two different issues. P.L. Gupta wrongly thinks that the preparation of a wrong die by the mint master and a mule issue are the same.

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To correlate the mistake in the plan of changing the legend in the context of mule conceptions is wrong. In the case of these pieces the designer of the die may have committed the mistake, but not hammir strikers who put the two dies together; the mule issue is invariably due to the mistake committed by the latter.

P.L. Gupta does not take account of the minting place of the coins in question, which should have been the basis of his mule theory. He does not say where the coins were minted or where the Hammir series of Ghori's coins were minted. In order to prove these pieces as mules he would have to prove that two odd halves of the dies were present in the same mint because their respective issues were manufactured there. The only mule[70] of the British Indian series is that which carries the obverse of William IV and the reverse of Victoria. It was possible because two series of coins (of William IV and Victoria) were minted in one mint.[71] Muhammad Ghori had several mints. In India his mints were at Lahore, Delhi and Narwar and Kanauj. Does Gupta mean that the mistake was committed at Lahore and the correction was made at Delhi?

A.S. Altekar[72] suggests that after the defeat of Prithviraja his administrative buildings, including his mint, were occupied by Muhammad Ghori. The mint must have contained a large number of the dies of Prithviraja. Muhammad Ghori wanted for his Indian subjects the coin type having the bull and the legend Samantadeva on one side, and the horseman and the legend 'Sri Hammir' on the other. Coins were issued with two such dies for the two sides. Altekar[73] further observes that it is not unlikely that at the early stage when all the dies[74] had not been removed from the mint, a mint employee may have mistakenly put the obverse die of the earlier reign along with the reverse die of the new one, giving rise to present controversy.[75]

According to Altekar[76] about six such coins were prepared by mistake. We have three illustrations of the joint coins, one by Cunningham,[77] another by Thomas[78] and the third by Wright.[79] All three illustrations give three different types of the reading of the legends. Wright's reads 'Prithvirajadeva.' Cunningham's coins reads simply 'Sri Prithviraja deva' and the Thomas illustration reads Sri Prithvi. Thus at least three different obverse dies were used in the preparation of such coins. It is difficult to believe that only one pair of dies was used to prepare two coins. Thus it is not convincing that just six of such coins were produced by mistake. On the other hand, the use of a different obverse die shows that they were not used by mistake. Three pairs of dies would have produced a fairly good number of coins.

Secondly, the spelling of the word 'Prithvirajadeva' on the raja's coins is

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invariably 'Prithvirajadeva.' On the other hand one coin gives a different spelling. Thus at least this obverse die was purposely prepared in the mint of Muhammad Ghori. This obverse die cannot be the original obverse die of the raja's mint.

According to Altekar, on the reverse of the horseman and bull type coins of Ghori, the word 'Samantadeva' was to be written instead of Muhammad Sama. Thus according to Altekar[80] the obverse of the word, 'Samantadeva' on the reverse side of coins is a mistake, whereas according to P.L. Gupta,[81] it is an early, deliberate changing of the legend by the mint officer of Muhammad Ghori. No coins of Muhammad Ghori with the word 'Saman tadeva' have been found. If we believe that any mistake of the mint officer would produce such pieces, as suggested by Gupta and Altekar, then all the bull and horseman type of coins of Ghori, including the joint coins should be regarded as mules, which, I think is very far from the truth. The mistake in changing the legend of any die does not produce a mule piece. A mule piece is that accidentally produced coin where two dies of two issues are put together by mistake.

According to Altekar,[82] the mule theory is supported by the fact that the joint coins are rare. There is a single coin of the horseman and bull type, of Al-Mustadir Billah.[83] Should we, therefore, not take it as a genuine coin? There are many Rajaput rulers[84] of this period, whose one or two coins have been discovered. According to Thomas,[85] the seated goddess type of Ghori's coins (copied on the pattern of the Gahadavala ruler, Govindachandra), are also rare.

Even if very few coins were issued by the mistake of a mint worker, why were they allowed to be circulated, if there were no political motives? Why were they not melted again? The number of such coins was very small and they were detected in the place of their origin, as suggested by P.L. Gupta and A. S. Altekar. P. L. Gupta and A.S. Altekar do not make it clear whether the joint coins enjoyed royal authority or were legal tender when they were manufactured by mistake. When I compare the reverse side of one[86] joint coin with one reverse side[87] of the 'Hammir' series of coins of Muhammad Ghori, I find that both these reverse representations have been prepared by using two different dies. Although Coin No. 14 is rudely executed, yet the letters on the reverse very clearly read 'Mahamada.' The pattern of writing the letters on the reverse, is completely different from the pattern of the letters of the same word 'Mahamada' on the reverse of the joint coin. The letters on the former coin are in a straight line, written slightly above the middle portion of the coin. But on the joint coin the letters are in a circular manner and are in the marginal line, starting from 6 o'clock to 3 o'clock.

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I do not agree with P.L. Gupta[88] that the imitation of the coin type during this period was not governed by political factors. Muhammad Ghori adopted the seated goddess type of coins, of the Gahadavalas, purposely for the circulation of these coins in the Gahadavala territories.[89] Just as Muhammad Ghori adopted the Lakshmi type of coins after he conquered the Gahadavala territories, similarly he may have adopted the Chahamana coin type.

One joint coin was noticed for the first time by Edward Thomas.[90] He took this specimen as really unique on account of the unusal nature of its legends. He frankly confessed that any final opinion could not be pronounced. Quoting the *Taj-ul-Masir*[91] Thomas suggests that, the son of Rai Pitoawa, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, was left in charge of Ajmer; this coinage may have been struck in his name, under the authority of headquarters for special circulation in his government.[92]

Guessing somewhat on the same lines D.C. Sircar[93] has a better suggestion. Referring to Hasan Nizami,[94] Sircar thinks that a son of Prithviraja, if his father was living in prison, could possibly have issued such coins in the name of both his present and former suzerains. He further adds that the brief duration of his rule may explain the paucity of such issues.[95]

But I do not accept these suggestions of Thomas and Sircar because these coins, in that case, do not mention the name of the issuer. The son of Prithviraja should also have indicated his name on the coins. It is very hard to believe that a ruler would accept the suzerainty of two rulers for his territory. Even the illusion of power, at the cost of his independence, is not fulfilled by a mention of his name on the money. Secondly, Thomas has himself admitted that there is numismatic confusion in the sense that the joint coin has a closer appearance of Delhi mint art than of Ajmer manipulation.[96]

Cunningham examined this coin at the request of Edward Thomas[97] and had then simply expressed surprise at the two names on the same coin. But later Cunningham clearly states that 'the occurrence of these two names on the same coin is to be explained away by the facts related by Minhaj who assigns the capitulation of Delhi to the year A. H. 587 when Prithviraja became tributary. Aibak then retired to Hansi, but returned to Delhi in A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193) and captured the city. I assign these coins to the intermediate year A.H. 588. (A.D. 1192).''[98]

What led Cunningham to explain his earlier surprise later was, I think, the addition of three more coins.[99] This view of Cunningham does not correspond with assignment of the year of issue of these coins. Cunningham believes that Prithviraja accepted the overlordship of Muhammad bin Sam in A.D. 1192, after the first battle which took place in A.D. 1191, and be-

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fore the battle of Taraori. This would imply that in the first battle Prithviraja was defeated, and so he had to accept the terms of Muhammad bin Sam. But this is not true. Muhammad Ghori was routed[100] by Prithviraja in the first battle. Hence Prithviraja could not have been a tributary of Muhammad Ghori at that stage.

According to Kunwar Devi Singh[101] the presence of the names of both Ghori and Prithviraja on the coins shows that Prithviraja was not killed in the battlefield, but was only imprisoned. Referring to the seated goddess type coins of Muhammad Ghori, Kunwar Devi Singh explains that Muhammad bin Sam copied the Gahadavala gold coin for his eastern territory, and he naturally did not use the name of Jayachandra on his coins because Jayachandra had drowned himself in the Ganga after his defeat at the hands of Muhammad Ghori.

I think that even after the death of Prithviraja, the use of his name on the coin issued by Muhammad Ghori was possible. Leaving aside the fact whether Jayachandra was drowned in the Ganges or killed on the battlefield, we see that no coins of Jayachandra have been found as yet. Secondly, we have no instance of engraving the name of the issuer, or any other legend, on the deity side of the coins. Thus, there is no question of having the name of Jayachandra on the seated goddess type of coins of Muhammad bin Sama, while on the other side, the name of the issuer Sri Mahamad Sama, is given.

I am inclined to accept the arguments that Prithviraja may have agreed to become a feudatory of Muhammad Ghori for setting himself free after the battle of Taraori. It may be suggested that some such condition had been put to Prithviraja by Muhammad Ghori before the battle of Taraori. Thus I may suggest that the joint coins were issued by Prithviraja himself.[102] But this would imply that Prithviraja was not killed in the battlefield which is not a fact.

D.C. Sircar[103] emphasizes that the joint coins were issued by a private agency. He refers to the issue of coins by private agencies as gleaned from the Muslim and other historical sources. But this view cannot be accepted. I do not know of any actual Ghaznevide or Ghoride coin that was issued by a private agency. Traditional references to such a practice from Muslim histories are not supported by actual finds.

Private agencies such as bankers and merchants may have been allowed to issue coins, but it is very difficult to believe that they were allowed to use royal dies or allowed to make their own dies with royal names and titles. The issue of coins by private agency with the name of Prithviraja on one side and the name of Muhammad Ghori on the other, after the defeat of Prithviraja does not make any sense. D.C. Sircar thinks that the

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coin was issued after the Chahamana raja's death, which implies that the coin has no bearing on Prithviraja being a vassal to Muhammad Ghori. Then what was the sense in allowing a private agency to issue this coin and put it into circulation when his foe was already dead? When the enemy was dead, where was the sense in recognizing him as a feudatory?

In our opinion the joint coins are hundred per cent genuine coins. My suggestion is that these coins were issued from the mint of Muhammad Ghori. They mark a transition stage for his horseman and bull type coins. For the Chahamana territories conquered by him Muhammad bin Sama might have decided to issue coins of the horseman and bull type, on the pattern of the Chahamana coins. The Sultan decided to issue coins having on the obverse, the legend 'Hammir', and on the reverse, his name Mahammad Sama in the Nagari script. But he realized that sudden and complete changes in the legends of the existing coins would not command popular circulation. Hence he removed the total legend on the reverse of the Chahamana prototype and put his own name there. In other words the legend 'Asawari Sri Samantadeva' was replaced by 'Sri Mahamada Sam.' He did not remove the obverse legend bearing the name of Prithviraja. Thus the present issue was made after the final defeat and death of Prithviraja in the battle. The issue has certainly no bearing on the point that Prithviraja was not killed in the battle, or that he agreed to become a feudatory of Muhammad Ghori. The use of the word, 'Prithviraja' on the coin is mainly for the smooth circulation of the currency.

My explanation of the joint issue coins is supported by the analysis of the various coin types of Mahammad Ghori. A study of the coins of Muhammad Ghori shows that Indian coinages were avowedly adaptive[104] and introductory to the more fixed and systematized mintages of his successors.[105] This is true not only of his horseman and bull type of coins but also of his gold coins struck in India. All the gold coins show a close similarity, in metal, symbols, and style of writing, to the Gahadavala coins of Govinda-Chandra.[106] The purpose of such issues was to maintain the local currency.

Can we find out the intervening period[107] between the issues of the various series of the Indian coinages of Muhammad bin Sam? Apparently, the Sultan started striking his Indian series of coinage only after his victory in this country. The joint issues seem to have been his earliest coins. This was followed by his general horseman and bull type coins,[108] because the latter coins show some developed stage represented by a crescent under the horse. Certainly his gold coins[109] on the pattern of the Gahadavala seated goddess type of coins were issued last, when the Gahadavala territories had been conquered from Jayachandra.

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The weights of the joint issue coins are mentioned as 44 grains by H. Nelson Wright[110] and 36 grains by Edward Thomas.[111] When I look at the weight of the coins of Prithviraja, I find that the average weight is 52 grains. So the weight of the joint issue coin does not show nearness to the coin of Prithviraja, and so this was not issued from the Raja's mint. The average weight of the coins[112] of Muhammad bin Sama is also 51 grains. But there is one coin[113] of Muhammad Ghori which is of 45 grains.

Thus my final conclusions are:

1 The joint coins are not mules.

2 They are genuine coins.

3 These coins were issued by Muhammad Ghori for the smooth circulation of his new coin type, after the defeat and death of Prithviraja in the final battle of Taraori.

4 If the fact is established that Prithviraja was not killed on the battlefield of Taraori, but that he was only defeated, then these coins were issued by Prithviraja himself after he agreed to become feudatory to Muhammad Ghori.

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1. *CMI*, p. 87, pl. IX, 17.
2. *Prinsep's Essays* I, p. 293, pl. XXIV, 7.8.
3. *CIM*, p. 87.
4. *CHSR*, p. 39.
5. *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 209-10.
6. *N.C.* 1958, p. 164, pl. XIII, 16.
7. Sharma, D. *ECDY*, p. 40.
8. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 208.
9. The victory of Ajayaraja over Malava was so important that Ajayaraja founded the city Ajamer for conducting easy raids over Malava. Sharma, D. *ECDY*, p. 40.
10. *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 209-10.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. *Prinsep's Essays* I, p. 304.
14. *CMI*, p. 49.
15. Ibid., p. 51.
16. Bhandarkar D.R., *LINI*, No. 344; *I.A.* 1912, p. 211.
17. Ojha G.H., *I.A.* 1912, p. 211; CMI, p. 53.
18. *C.M.I.*, p. 53.

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19. Ibid.
20. Its English rendering is:
"Also his (Ajayadeva's) dear consort Somalekha, though she made new rupakas (coins) every day was not touched by Kalanka (dark spots)" ... *I.A.* 1912, p. 211.
21. D. Sharma, *ECDY*, p. 41, fn. 58 ; *I.A.* 1912, pp. 209-11.; *Nagari-Pracharini-Patrika*, XLV, pp. 357ff.
22. The pot contained 20 coins.
23. Quoted by R. Burn, *JNSI* VII, p. 70.
24. Sharma, D., *Ech. Dy.* p. 40, Verse, 21. For the text of the *Presadi*, Appendix I (Ibid).
25. Sharma, D. *ECDU*, pp. 42-44.
26. *JNSI*, VII, p. 70.
27. Verse 21, Sharma, D., *ECHDY*, p. 40, Appendix-I.
28. *Chaulukyas of Gujarata*, p. 269.
29. Ibid., p. 269.
30. *CMI*, pl. VI, No. 10.
31. Ibid., p. 53.
32. Ibid.
33. *CMI*, p. 53.
34. Ibid., pl. VI, No. 11.
35. Ibid.,
36. *CMI*, p. 53.
37. Cunningham has not illustrated the legend side of his coin. *CMI*, pl. VI, No. 12.
38. *CMI*, pl. VI, No. 12.
39. *CMI*, pp. 84, 86, pl. IX, 9; *Ariane Antique*, XIX, 28.
40. Smith, *CCIM*, I, P. 261.
41. *Chronicles*, p. 63.
42. Tod, *Rajasthan* II, p. 359, fn. I; Ibid. I, p. 551, fn. I.
43. Tod, *Rajasthan*, II p. 594; Sharma, D. *ECDY*, p. 59-60.
44. According to Tod *Rajasthan* II, p. 594, the victory of Somesvara over the Tomaras was so important that he changed his name to Somesvara, because he thought that his Victory was due to god Somesvara. He also erected a temple and a village of Rawani on the Rewa was granted to the temple.
45. *JRAS*, IX, p. 178.
46. Ibid.,
47. *ECH. DY.*, p. 68.
48. *Prithviraja Vijaya*, VIII, pp. 62-66.
49. *ECH.DY.*, p. 9.
50. *Smith, CCIM*, I, p. 261.
51. *N.C.* 1956, p. 315.
52. Ibid., No. 413-414.
53. Ibid., p. 315.
54. Ibid., p. 315.
55. Smith, *CCIM*, p. 261.
56. Photographs supplied to me.
57. *CMI*, p. 86, pl. XI, 10.
58. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p, 261, pl. XXVI.
59. H. de S. Shortt, *N.C.* 1956, p. 315.
60. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 61, Nos. 1-9.

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61. Wright, H. Nelso, *CMSD*, p. 12, No. 36 A.; *CMI*, p. 86, pl. IX, 11; *Chronicles*, p. 11.
62. *CMI*, p. 86.
63. *CMSD*, p. 67.
64. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 222; *Nagari-Prachirini-Patrika*, LVII, pp. 270-73.
65. Biddulph, C.H., *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 159.
66. *NPP*, LVII, pp. 270-73.
67. *NPP*, LVII, pp. 273.
68. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 222; Vaidya, C.V. *Hist. of India*, III, p. 142.
Ahmad Quejamuddin, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 198,
Thomas, *JRAS*, IX. p. 67, and XVII, pp. 15-7.; Sircar, D.C. *SIC*. p. 18.
69. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 218.
70. *JNSI*, XXIII, pl.
71. Sircar, D.C. *SIC*, p. 298.
72. *JNSI*, XV, p. 235.
73. Ibid.
74. Of Prithviraja III.
75. The fact is that neither Delhi nor Ajmer was occupied by the Sultan immediately after the decisive battle of Tarori (CHI, III, p. 41). So there is no basis for supposing that the mint building of Prithviraja was occupied by Muhammad Ghori immediately after the battle.
76. *JNSI*, XV, p. 253.
77. CMI, pl. IX, 11
78. *Chronicles*, P. 18. The coin has been illustrated on Page 17.
79. CMSD, No. 36 pp. 12, 67.
80. *JNSI*, XV, p. 235.
81. *NPP*, LVII, p. 271.
82. *JNSI*, XV, p. 235.
83. Ibid.
84. See the coin of the Chandellas, Paramaras.
85. *Chronicles*, p. 20.
86. *CMI*, pl. IX, 11.
87. Ibid., IX, 14.
88. *Nagarik Pracharini Patrika*, Vol. LVII; PP. 270-73.
89. The coins of Jaichandra have not been found but there are seated goddess type coins of Govindachandra. Sircar, D.C. *SIC*, p. 19.
90. *Chronicles*, p. 17.
91. Elliot, *Hist of India*, II, pp. 216, 219, 220. Tod. *Rajasthan*, II, p. 451.
92. Ibid., p. 17.
93. *JNSI*, XV, p. 230.
94. DHNI, II, p. 1072; CHI, III, p. 41.
95. See P.C. Roy's "*The RAJPUT COINAGE.*"
96. *Chronicles*, p. 17.
97. It is clearly mentioned by Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 17, fn.
98. *CMI*, p. 86 fn.
99. Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 86) clearly mentions that he had three such specimens with him.

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100. Sharma, D, ECHD, p. 81.
101. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, LVII, pp. 270-73.
102. *NJSI*, XVI, p. 122; *I.C.*, XI, p. 70; *ECDY*, p. 87.
103. *NJSI*, XV, pp. 229-55.

Sircar has suggested many other possibilities. He thinks that the coins were issued by Prithviraja as a subordinate of Muhammad Ghori or vice versa. D.C. Sircar is also ready to take Prithviraja as overlord and Muhammad Ghori as subordinate because, in his opinion, on the joint coin, generally, there is the name of the overlord on the oberse and that of the feudatory (viceroy or junior partner) on the reverse. He further adds that such coins are issued by the subordinate party. The overlord does not mention the name of a subordinate on his coins.

The above observations of Sircar are not convincing. It is very hard to believe that Ghori would have even agreed to be a subordinate of Prithviraja. The choice of the side for writing the name of either the overlord or the subordinate has never been so important. The naming of the obverse and the reverse of the horse man and bull type of coins is not accepted by all hands. According to Edward Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 13) and Cunningham (*CMI*, pl. IX) the horseman side is the obverse side and the bull side is the reverse side, but according to Prinsep and H. Nelson Wright, the bull side is the obverse side and the horsemen side is the reverse side. Thus both sides are important. Sometime the names of both, the junior partner and the senior partner, are mentioned on the same side, as is the case of the joint coins of Muizz-ud-din and Mahammadbin-sama. There are clearly two terms for both of them, the 'Greatest' for the former, and 'great' for the latter (*Chronicles*,p. 13). The name of Iltutmish (Samasoraladeva) on the joint coin issued by Chahadadeva appears on the reverse (on the bull side) as the name of Mahammad Sama appears on the coins under discussion. Should we then take Chahadadeva as overlord of Iltutmish ?

104. *Chronicles*, Edward Thomas, p. 18.

The absence of the word 'Sri Samantadeva' from the Horseman and Bull type of coins of Muhammada Ghori is a very important point. It shows that he was very particular about the change, even in adopting the prevalent coin type. He never used this word on any of his coins.

105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., p. 18.

Edward Thomas takes the prototype coins as those of Jayachandra, but they are not the coins of Jayachandra, hence we have mentioned the name of Govindachandra whose coins are available.

107. Unfortunately the Indian Coinages of Muhammad bin Sama are not dated whereas some of his Ghazni issues are dated.
108. Having 'Hammir' and 'Muhammad sama' legends on the obverse and reverse respectively.
109. Wright, *Coinage and Metrology*, No. 4 & 5, p. 6, Pl. I.
110. *Coinage and Metrology*, p. 12, No. 36A.
111. *Chronicles of Sultan of Delhi*, p. 18.
112. No. 10-13, Wright, *Coinage of Metrology*, *Sri Muhamad Sama* type *of coins*, p.6.
113. No. 14, Ibid.

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Notes and Queries on successors of Budha Gupta

Dr. Md. Aquique
Department of Ancient Indian Studies, Magadh University

The present paper seeks to give the various theories about the successors of Budha Gupta. Even so it is not our intention here to go into the details of the problems. What we wish to emphasize in that in spite of a good deal of work that has been done, this problem deserves new treatment and more scientific study.

The last known date of Budha Gupta, 175 G.E.[1] (A.D. 494-95) is engraved on his silver coins. It seems likely that he died by A.D. 496 and the glories of the Gupta dynasty came to an end.[2] Who actually succeeded the throne after Budha Gupta is debatable. The gradual disintegration of the empire had begun. The princes of the Gupta dynasty broke away to carve out independent principalities in different regions and the Gupta empire was reduced to a shadow of its past glories.

Some traces of the lineage from Śrī Gupta to Puru Gupta are available in two fragmentary seals of Narasiṁha Gupta in Nalanda.[3] Evidently, Narasiṁha Gupta was the son of Puru Gupta born of Mahadevi Chandradevi and is, in a way, brother of Budha Gupta. Some Archer type gold coins have been available which bear 'Nara' on the obverse and 'Śrī Bālādityah' on the reverse. Scholars have considered Narsiṁha Gupta and 'Nara' Śrī Bālāditya to be the same person. Narasiṁha Gupta of the coins and anecdotes has been identified with 'Bālāditya' of the Yuan Chwang narrative. The coins of Narasiṁha Gupta have been put under two categories in respect of purity. Some scholars are of the view that the maker of the two types of coins was not the same person but that there were two 'Bālādityas'. The first type was in circulation very shortly before Budha Gupta; while the other, which came into vogue subseqently, has been identified with Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang. But this seems a pointless argument. We are at liberty to equate Narasiṁha Gupta, of the coins and anecdotes, with 'Bālāditya' of Yuan Chwang and *AMMK* and he can be accepted as the successor of Budha Gupta.

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B.P. Sinha[4] has inferred after a comparative study of the coins of Budha Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta, and Srī Bālāditya that the coins of Budha Gupta were minted before those of Bālāditya. If this observation is true, then Narasiṁha Gupta, the brother of Budha Gupta, can be regarded as the next successor to the Gupta throne. It can be further argued that Narasiṁha Gupta, Bālāditya, and Vikramāditya's (Puru Gupta) son Bālāditya of Ayodhya are different names of the same person, and he was the patron of Vasubandhu. According to Takakusu[5] the age of Vasubandhu has been determined at *c.* A.D. 420-500.

Bāla, as narrated in *AMMK*, is identified with Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya. According to this chronicle he was a staunch follower of Buddhism. But Narasiṁha Gupta in his Nalanda seal,[6] has been named 'Pramabhāgavata.' The seal also bears the emblem of Garuda (a large-billed Indian bird). Some scholars may draw the conclusion that Bāla of *AMMK* and Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya of the Nalanda seal are the same person. But it must be remembered that according to the Gunaigardh inscription of Vainya Gupta, he may have been a devotee of Mahadeva,[7] whereas in his Nalanda seal[8] he refers to himself as a 'Pramabhāgavata.' Apparently the epithet Pramabhāgavata had become a part of the official title of the Gupta emperors. Devotion to Viṣṇu had been the family religion. And that tradition was so strong that even when the Gupta emperors specially favoured another religion or goddess, they continued to have the family emblem of Garuda and the epithet Pramabhāgavata engraved on their royal seals. Although, Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya was a patron of Buddhism, according to Yuan Chwang[9] and *AMMK*,[10] he retained his family emblem of Garuda and the Pramabhāgavata epithet.

The coins of Narasiṁha Gupta have been available from Oudh[11] in the west and Bengal[12] in the east. Allan[13] has put his Archer type gold coins into two classes. The second class of coins have rude fabric and do not bear even the marginal legend on the obverse.[14] Two more Archer type coin-moulds of Narasiṁha Gupta have been found at Nalanda[15] at the same site where his two fragmentary seals were found.[16] According to Yuan Chwang,[17] Bālāditya constructed a temple in Nalanda, and waged a war with the Huna King, Mihirakula. A comparison of Bālāditya of the Deo Baranark inscription, with Narasiṁha Gupta, shows that his kingdom was also in the erstwhile Sahabad district of Bihar. It is known from the chronological accounts of the Parivrājaka Maharajas of 191,[18] 198,[19] 199[20] G.E. that the sovereignty of the Guptas was formally accepted in Central India.

Thus from the distribution of coins, seals, and inscriptions and also from references in literature it can be conjectured that the kingdom of Nara-

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simha Gupta extended from Oudh to Bengal. The Gupta's had lost control of most of their western provinces and also those of Central India. The Hūnas had occupied the Mālwa area under the leadership of Toramāṇa. It seems that the early periods of Narasimha Gupta's regime were comparatively peaceful. It was at this time that he coined the Class I of the Archer type gold coins which are purer than the class II Coins.[21] The Class I coins contain 71% gold while those of Class II contain only 54% gold particles.[22] This leads us to conclude that the period when Class II coins were being minted may not have been a peaceful one— a deficiency in the quantity of gold indicates an economic crisis.

It is clear from the aforesaid accounts that the pressure of Hūnas was increasing day by day under the leadership of Toramāṇa. They advanced from Eastern Mālwa, invaded the internal parts of the Gupta empire and overran the eastern provinces. Finally they occupied the city of the Gaudas. This statement is substantiated by *AMMK* in which Toramāṇa has been mentioned as a king of Sūdra tribe coming from the west[23] and is referred to as Hākārakhyah or Akārākhyah. Jayaswal[24] has equated him with Toramāṇa who destroyed the Gupta empire. It seems fairly certain from the aforesaid statement of *AMMK* that Toramāṇa might have sacked Magadh forcing the Gupta king, Narasimha Gupta, to capitulate and pay tribute. This conclusion may be arrived at from Yuan Chwang's statement that the subject and master changed places[25] when Bālāditya defeated and captured Mihirakula. It may be concluded, therefore, that Narasimha Gupta was first defeated by a Hūna king but that he gained supremacy later by defeating the Hūna king, Mihirakula. It is now quite certain that Narasimha Gupta of the coins and Bālāditya of the Yuan Chwang narrative were the same individual.

Toramāṇa found accession easy due to the internal conflicts and rebellious tendencies in the royal family. According to *AMMK*, Toramāṇa released 'Pakārākhya' or 'Prakārākhya' from the Bhagavatapura Jail and had him brought to Nandapura (Pataliputra) and enthroned him in Kāśī (Benaras) as the king of Magadh.[26] Jayaswal[27] has equated this Gupta prince to 'Prakataditya'[28] whose account has been available from the inscription at Sārnāth. The names of Kāśī and Central Province can be read in the inscription.

What is the position of Prakātāditya in the dynastic history of the Guptas is a debatable point. Jayaswal has identified 'Bhā,' with Bhānu Gupta whom he considers to be the Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang and the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Roychaudhury Bhānu Gupta Bālāditya was an imperial Gupta ruler who defeated Mihirakula and fought with Goparāja of the Eran inscription.[29] There is no direct evidence available which cata-

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gorically states that Bhānu Gupta was a Gupta ruler who had adopted the title of Bālāditya. The coins of the Gupta rulers are the only absolute evidence available so far, but no coin of Bhānu Gupta has yet been found, nor is his name mentioned anywhere except in the Eran inscription. Nothing has been said about Bhānu Gupta's ancestors in the Eran inscription of Goparaja. His name also does not bear any association with the hereditary titles of the Gupta rulers. B.P. Sinha[30] rules out any remote affiliation of Bhānu Gupta with the imperial line which may have helped him in those critical years before A.D. 510-11. The invasion of Magadh by Toramāṇa and the consequent defeat and humiliation of emperor Narasiṁha Gupta afforded a favourable opportunity to different scions of the imperial family to embark on a career of adventure to carve out independent principalities for themselves. Bhānu Gupta might also have got power with the help of Goparaja. The Eran inscription refers to a fierce battle which culminated in the death of Goparaja. We hardly know the fate of Bhānu Gupta, but it is quite likely that he was defeated ignominiously. It is possible that this battle may have been fought against the Hūna king Mihirakula. On the basis of these flimsy and doubtful evidences B.P. Sinha has excluded Bhānu Gupta from the list of the Gupta emperors.[31] It is undeniable that there was more than one Bālāditya according to the Sarnātha inscription of Prakātāditya.[32] But this inscription is so sketchy and fragmentary that it is difficult either to decipher it properly or elaborate it to reach any definite conclusion.

According to *AMMK*,[33] Pra[34] (Kaṭaditya) was the son of Bhakārākhya, the descendant of Samudragupta. Bhakharākhya of *AMMK* may be regarded as Narasiṁha Gupta, but the account in this context is confused.

The name of Vainya Gupta is also traceable among the successors of Budha Gupta.[35] A scholar like Dandekar[36] regards him as a descendant of Budha Gupta. According to B.P. Sinha[37] Vainya Gupta proclaimed his independence in the eastern provinces with the help of Toramāṇa. A copper plate along with a seal, has been available from Gunaigarh in Bengal. It bears the legend "Maharaja Śrī Vai (nya Gupta)," and Nandi (Ox) and it is dated 188 G.E. (A.D. 506). In the absence of a complete imperial title, an ox emblem instead of the tradional Garuda mark, it can be assumed that Vainya Gupta was a petty chief, and not a paramount ruler belonging to the Gupta dynasty.[38] But it is senseless to regard him as a petty chief in the absence of any conventional imperial title. Everything becomes clearer after the discovery of Vainya Gupta's Nalanda seal where he has been addressed as "Maharajadhiraja."[39] Unfortunately the complete seal is not available, but it is definitely known that the name of his ancestors ended in 'Gupta.' Indubitably then Vainya Gupta of the Gunaigadh

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copper-plate and the Nalanda seal is the same person. The coins which Allan[40] has attributed to Chandra Gupta III, was later definitely ascribed to Vainya Gupta by Majumdar and R. Burn.[41] Later Allan also concurred with this observation. These are the Archer type coins similar in weight and structure to the later imperial Gupta coinage. In the Junaigadh copper-plate inscription[42] the status of Vainya Gupta was superior to the Maharaja of Vijayasena and Maharaja Rudra Dutta. It is evident from Junaigadh copper-plate and seals that Vainya Gupta was a devotee of Śiva,[43] whereas the Nalanda seal[44] refers to him as 'Pramabhagavata.' The emblem of Garuda is engraved on the obverse of Vainya Gupta's coins.[45] It is probable that Vainya Gupta was a devotee of Śiva, but was tolerant towards Buddhism and may have conventionally followed the family emblem of Garuda on the coins and 'Pramabhagavata' on the royal seal. It is now obvious that Vainya Gupta of the copper-plate, coins, and seals is one person and was related to the imperial Gupta family.

Some scholars have regarded Vainya Gupta Davadasaditya as the descendant of Budha Gupta.[46] According to Dandeker[47] Vainya Gupta ascended the throne after Budha Gupta, and ruled at least up to A.D. 506-7. But according to B.P. Sinha[48] Toramāṇa had Vainya Gupta enthroned as his puppet after the defeat of Narasiṁha Gupta. Possibly he was the son of Kumara Gupta II or Budh Gupta,[49] and may not have been pleased with the coronation of Narasiṁha Gupta. The Hūna aggression under Toramaṇa might have spread a reign of terror and confusion in the whole empire. Narasiṁha Gupta, after his defeat, hid himself in a forest and probably had the Class I coins issued during that period. Toramāṇa wanted to bring disunity among the members of the royal dynasty, and might have instigated Vainya Gupta to proclaim himself emperor of Magadha. The period of his rule may be taken to be *c.* A.D. 504-14. This was the time Narasiṁha Gupta issued coins of base metal and rude fabric. It becomes clear after a study of the coins that for a short period Vainya Gupta replaced Narasiṁha Gupta as king. The Class I coins of Narasiṁha Gupta bear 71 per cent of gold and the Class II coins contain 54 per cent of gold. On the other hand the percentage of gold in Vainya Gupta Danasaditya's coins is 73 per cent.[50] On the basis of this analysis the coins of Vainva Gupta occupy an intermediate stage between the Class I and Class II coins of Narasiṁha Gupta.

It seems pertinent here to clarify the description of Yuan Chwang.[51] According to him Budha Gupta was followed by Tathāgatarāja who built another Saṁghārāma in Nalanda monastery. Tathāgatarāja is generally identified with Vainya Gupta. From the description of Yuan Chwang that both Tathāgatarāja and Bālāditya followed Budha Gupta in the construc-

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tion of Saṁghārāma in Nalanda, some people draw the conclusion that Vainya Gupta was the descendant of Budha Gupta, and Bālāditya succeeded him. But it must be rememberd that the Chinese pilgrim was not presenting the chronological history of the Magadh rulers, but an account of the history of the construction of monasteries by different rulers in Nalanda. Yuan Chwang has pointed out the relation of Tathāgatarāja with Bālāditya, and not with Budha Gupta.[52] It seems that Bālāditya constructed the monastery in Nalanda subsequent to Vainya Gupta.

Vainya Gupta's reign appears to have been very brief—only three of his coins are in *BMC*.[53] Besides, in the third year of the reign of Mahārājadhirāja Gopachandra, the copper-plate of Mallasārula of Mahārāja Vijayasena came into vogue.[54] This makes it clear that Gopachandra possibly ended the rule of Vainya Gupta in Bengal.

From the Bhitari and Nalanda seals[55] as well as from *AMMK*,[56] the descendant of Narasiṁha Gupta appears to have been Kumara Gupta III, the son of Mahādevī Śrī Mitradevī. It is assumed from the narratives of Yuan Chwang[57] that a ruler, Vajra by name, succeeded the throne after Bālāditya and constructed a monastery at Nalanda. It is also speculated that Vajra may have been another name of Kumara Gupta III. There has been available from Nalanda Vihara No. I a seal of his own, which testifies his association with Nalanda Mahavihara. A seal belonging to him has also been found in Bhitari.[58] Most of his coins have been found in the Kalighat hoard.[59] He has been described as the lord of the Gaudas in *AMMK*. So it is clear from the number of coins and seals available that his empire was widespread in the early years of his regime—from eastern U.P. to West Bengal. It can be said on the basis of Navagrama Danapatra (198 G.E.), of Maharaja Hastin,[60] and Betul,[61] and Khoh plates[62] (199 and 209 G.E.), of Saṁkṣobha that the indirect supremacy of the Gupta's extended over the eastern part of Central India.

Kumara Gupta III was killed in a war with Yaśodharman, in *c.* A.D. 530. His descendent was Mahārājadhirāja Pramabhāgavata Viṣṇu Gupta whose seal has been discovered in Nalanda.[63] Unfortunately, the part containing Viṣṇu Gupta's mother and Mahādevi of Kumara Gupta has broken but the chronological indication inscribed points out very clearly that prior to him, Puru Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta, and Kumara Gupta III respectively succeeded the throne.

Some gold coins of Viṣṇu Gupta with the title of Chandrāditya have been discovered in the Archer type shape. These coins contain a gold percentage less than those of Kumara Gupta III. The coins of Kumara Gupta contain only 43 per cent of gold.[64] Most of those coins have been discovered along with the coins of Narasiṁha Gupta and Kumara Gupta III from

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the Kalighat hoard. On the basis of these coins it can be proved that the coins of Viṣṇu Gupta came into currency after the coins of Kumara Gupta III.

Viṣṇu Gupta is also identified with 'Ukārākhya' of *AMMK*. He followed Kumāra.[65] The letter 'U', is engraved on the coins of Viṣṇu Gupta Chandraditya, whose other name was 'Upendra,' meaning Viṣṇu. The *AMMK*[66] also anticipates disunion or disruption after Ukārākhya. It is quite probable that Viṣṇu Gupta was the last Gupta ruler of the Gupta dynasty.

It is clear from the above discussions that Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya ascended the throne after Budha Gupta. Defeated by Mihirakula, the Gupta ruler, gained independence for a short while. He was perhaps the son of Kumara Gupta II (of the Sarnātha inscription) or Puru Gupta. In the meanwhile Gopachandra ended Vainya Gupta's rule in Bengal. Some seals of the Chandra princes have been discovered at Nalanda. Possibly the Chandras put an end to Vainya Gupta's rule by invading Magadh. Later Narasiṁha Gupta strengthened his position and reoccupied his ancestral throne in Magadh. Thereafter, Kumara Gupta III (of the Bhitari and Nalanda seals) and Visnu Gupta followed each other to the throne. It is rather difficult to fix the exact position of Parkaṭāditya and Bhānu Gupta in the Gupta geneological list.

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17. Watters, I, pp. 288-89.
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32. *CII.*, III. p. 284ff.
33. *IHI.*, p. 63.
34. Vide, *DKM.*, p. 94.
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56. *IHI.*, p. 23.
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61. Ibid VIII, p. 284.
62. *CII.*, III, No. 37, pp. 163ff.
63. *EI.*, XXVI, pt. V, pp. 235ff.
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ABBREVIATIONS :

AMMK	:	*Ārya, Manjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, ed. Ganapati Śāstri, Trivandrum, 1925.
ASIAR	:	*Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.*
BMC or CCGDBM	:	Catalogue of the coins, British Museum, Gupta Dynasty, by J. Allan, London, 1936.
CII		*Corpous Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. Ed. G.F. Fleet, London, 1888, Varanasi, 1963.
DKM		*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, by B.P. Sinha Patna, 1954.
EHI	:	*Early History of India* by V.A. Smith, Oxford, 1924.
EI	:	*Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
IHI	:	*Imperial History of India* by K.P. Jayaswal.
IHQ	:	*Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.*
JASB	:	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
JRAS	:	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.*
MASI	:	*Memoirs of the Archaeological survey of Indiv.*
PHAI	:	*Political History of Ancient India*, by H.C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta, 1953.
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S. Chattopadhyaya	:	*Early History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1958.
Upendra Thakur	:	*The Hūṇas in India*, Varanasi, 1967.
Watters	:	*On Yuan Chwang*, London, 1905.

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Kalachuri-Rashtrakuta relations in the *Viddhasalabhanjika*

Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri

Rajasekhara was one of the greatest poets of his age (last quarter of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century A.D.). He was a prolific writer and had equal command over Sanskrit and Prakrit. The *Viddhasalabhanjika* is one of his most well-known plays. Like the *Priyadarsika* of Harshavardhana, it draws upon the love-intrigues of the harem. It is evident from the prologue that the play was composed by the poet-dramatist when he was staying at the Kalachuri capital of Tripuri under the patronage of Yuvarajadeva I. It is stated there that the play was staged at the behest of the court (parishad) of the illustrious Yuvarajadeva. From the use of the name, Keyuravarsha[1] in two places it is apparent that the playwright had Yuvarajadeva I in his mind, and not the second ruler with the same name.[2] Not only that, all historians are unanimous that Rajasekhara made his patron, Yuvarajadeva I, the hero of this drama,[3] a view fully justified from internal evidence. Yuvarajadeva is, in this play, styled 'Khalachuritilaka' or 'Karachulitilaka,'[4] which is undoubtedly a corrupt form of 'Kalachuritilaka.' He has also been given the name 'Vidyadharamalla.'[5] But this is only a figment of the poet's imagination as it is conspicuous by its absence in inscriptions or other sources. Besides, there is considerable similarity in the description of the conquests and matrimonial relations of Yuvarajadeva both in this play and in the Kalachuri inscriptions. The Bilhari inscription of Yuvarajadeva I, speaks of his amorous sport with the ladies of Gauda, Karnata, Lata, Kasmira and Kalinga,[6] which probably means that he won victories over the contemporary rulers of Bengal, Mysore, Gujarat, Kashmir, and Orissa and married the women of those provinces. In another stanza of the same epigraph we find references to the movements of his armies and their victories over the enemies, in the area between Kailasa in the north and Setubandha in the south, and the mythical mountain of sunrise (Udayachala) in the east, and the Arabian sea in the west.[7] An almost identical

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description is seen in the *Viddhasalabhanjika*. According to this work, Yuvarajadeva had matrimonial relations with the princesses of Magadha, Maalva, Panchala, Avanti, Jalandhara, and Kerala.[8] The victory of his armies over the confederacy of the rulers of Karnata, Simhala, Pandya, Malaya, Andhra, Kuntala, Konkana, etc.,[9] is also mentioned. He is further styled 'Ujjayini-bhujanga' (verily a serpent to Ujjayini)[10] and 'Vatsadhipa' (lord of the Vatsa country).[11] We are also told that after conquering all the important monarchs (in the four directions), he secured for himself the status of a universal monarch (chakravartin) in the entire region extending from the eastern sea (i.e., Bay of Bengal), sanctified by the emptying of the Ganges, to the western ocean (Arabian sea), the beloved of the daughter of the moon, viz., Narmada; and from the river Tamraparni in the south, to the ocean of milk (Kshirambhodhi) in the north.[12] In the Banaras plates of Kalachuri Karna,[13] as also in the *Viddhasalabhanjika*,[14] Yuvarajadeva is referred to as 'Paramesvara,' a title indicative of imperial status. Another title 'Trikalingadhipati,' indicative of his influence in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, is, for the first time employed for Karna in the Kalachuri records.[15] However, we learn from the *Viddhasalabhanjika* that this title was used much earlier by Yuvarajadeva.[16] Although this descrlption is undoubtedly highly exaggerated, the extraordinarily close similarity between the account of the achievements of Yuvarajadeva Keyuravarsha found in epigraphic records, and those met with in the *Viddhasalabhanjika*, cannot be denied.

Some scholars go a step further and believe that the story of the *Viddhasalabhanjika* is based upon some important historical events of the reign of Yuvarajadeva, and that it throws a welcome light on Kalachuri-Rashtrakuta relations. It will be convenient to narrate the story in brief before we embark upon a detailed discussion of this question.

Removed from his kingdom by his relatives, the Kuntala king, Virapala Chandamahasena came to the court of Yuvarajadeva Keyuravarsha for help to regain his throne. On seeing Virapala's daughter, Kuvalayamala, emerge from the Narmada after her bath, Yuvarajadeva felt himself attracted towards her. On the other hand, the Lata (central and southern Gujarat) king Chandravarman, (maternal uncle of Yuvarajadeva's queen Madanavati), had had no son and had brought up his daughter, Mrigankavali, as a son with the name of Mrigankavarman. The astrologers had predicted that the consort of Mrigankavali would attain the position of a chakravartin. Having come to know this secret through his spies, Yuvarajadeva's minister Bhagurayana, had her brought somehow to Tripuri and kept her in the harem with the queen—the intention was to get her married to his master. Unaware of this impersonation, the queen, who was

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privy to the king's attraction for Kuvalayamala decided to betroth her to Mrigankavarman—if only to keep her away from the king. For the sake of amusement the queen often had Mrigankavarman dressed as a woman. When dressed in this manner she was once seen from within a hollow (*viddha*) column by Yuvarajadeva, who was charmed by her. Thereafter he saw her often—swinging, as a painting on a crystal wall, beyond the transparency of the crystal wall, playing ball and, on occasions, in the form of a sala-bhanjoka resembling her. They met each other several times and their attachment grew. With the object of teaching the king a lesson for his philanderings (and also to avenge the insult of her maid), the queen Madanvati sent a message to the king that Mrigankavarman's sister Mrigankavali had come to see her brother. And that she (the queen) had been asked by her maternal uncle and aunt to took for a suitable bridegroom for Mrigankavali. The astrologers she said had prophesied, that one who married Mrigankavali would become a chakravartin monarch. What better choice, she concluded, than the king himself and arranged a mock marriage between them. They had hardly gone round the fire and the *laja-homa*, performed as part of the marriage ceremony, when a messenger of Chandravarman came and gave his master's message that a son had been born to Chandravarman. Consequently Mrigankavali, who, in the absence of a son, had been brought up as one, could now be married to a suitable man. Madanavati for whom the mock ceremony was a game to teach the erring king a lesson, was now forced to acquiesce to this marriage. At this Vidushaka said that according to the *Dharmasastras* the wife, the slave, and the son were not entitled to wealth, and whatever wealth they might have acquired actually belonged to him to whom they themselves belonged. In which case Kuvalayamala, who was to be married to Mrigankavarman, also belonged to the king. In short, she was also married to Yuvarajadeva. At this moment a messenger of the Senapati Srivatsa arrived there with a letter which stated that owing to the favour of Kalachuri-kula-tilaka[17] (i.e., Yuvarajadeva), that sharp intellect of the minister Bhagurayana and the obedience of the armies, the rulers of the east, west and north had already been defeated, and that only the monarchs of the southern quarter remained to be subdued. And that at the King's orders the army, with the Kuntala king Virapala, (who had sought the king's refuge after dethronement), in front, pitched its camp in the proximity[18] of the river Payoshni and defeated the confederate rulers of Karnata, Simhala, Pandya, Malaya, Andhra, Kuntala, Konkana, etc., and reinstated Virapala in his kingdom. In consequence of these victories Yuvarajadeva rose to the status of a Chakravartin and in commemoration of this victory the

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Viddhasalabhanjika was staged at Tripuri, at the orders of the assembly (parishad) of Yuvarajadeva.

E. Hultzsch identified the hero of the play with the Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva I Keyuravarsha, but he made no attempt to identify the supposedly contemporary Lata King Chandravarman, and the Kuntala King, Virapala Chandamahasena because there is no reference to them in any other source.[19] Some forty-five years ago Dr. Dasharatha Sharma suggested, for the first time, that the theme of the *Viddhasalabhanjika* had for its basis an important episode in the Kalachuri-Rashtrakuta history. We learn from the Deoli[20] and Karhad[21] plates of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna III, that Govinda IV was weakened by an over indulgence in sensual pleasures and met an untimely death and that at the request of the feudatory rulers, his uncle, Baddiga Amoghavarsha III, ascended the throne in order to maintain the glory of the Ratta (Rashtrakuta) kingdom. But the non-specification of the feudatory chiefs in these records, and a few other evidences seem to indicate that Baddiga's accession was not as peaceful as it is made out to be. The fact is that at the end of the reign of his nephew Govinda IV, Baddiga, with the help of the feudatory chiefs, dethroned Govinda IV and usurped power for himself.[22] In this connection it is noteworthy that from the time of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanaraja I, the relations between the Kalachuris and the Rashtrakutas were extremely friendly and there was a long chain of matrimonial relations between the two houses. Up to a major part of Yuvarajadevea I's reign, this traditional friendship continued (as before), and he gave his daughter Kundakadevi in marriage to Baddiga.[23] The extent of their friendship can be gauged from the fact that Baddiga had even spent some time at the Kalachuri capital of Tripuri. According to the Sudi[24] and Kudlur[25] copper- plate inscriptions, at the time of the marriage of his daughter Revakanimmadi with Permadi Butuga II, of the Ganga family, Baddiga was present at Tripuri. In the light of these facts it would not be surprising if Yuvarajadeva helped Baddiga in capturing the Rashtrakuta throne. There is, however, no evidence of this. According to Dr. Sharma, the theme of the *Viddhasalabhanjika* is woven around this episode. He thinks that the Chedis had a hand in the rebellion against Govinda IV, and they probably aligned themselves with the samantas who, according to the Karhad and Deolai plates, had defeated the reigning Rashtrakuta monarch and placed Amoghavarsha III, who was Keyuravarsha's son-in-law, on the throne. He proposed to identify Virapala Chandamahasena, of the play, with the Rashtrakuta Baddiga Amoghavarsha III, and the heroine Mrigankavali with Yuvarajadeva's queen Nohaladevi who hailed from the Chaulukya family.[26] This theory was

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accepted by A.S. Altekar also.[27] At first Dr. V.V. Mirashi was not prepared to accept this opinion. He felt that Yuvarajadeva's opponent was not Govinda IV, but Baddiga Amoghavarsha III, who had already occupied the Rashtrakuta throne after Govinda IV's demise. Yuvarajadeva may have supported the cause of some other claimant to the throne of Kuntala and fought with Baddiga and his son Krishna III, who may have occupied the throne with the help of the feudatory chiefs. He proposed to identify Virapala with some other uncle of Govinda IV. Yuvarajadeva may have decided to support him, as he must have known that in case his son-in-law ascended the throne, he would be under the influence of his son Krishna III, and would possibly be an obstacle to his ambitions of attaining the status of a chakravatin. He further identified Yuvarajadeva's queen with Nohala, the Lata king Chandravarman with Nohala's father Avantivarman, and Yuvarajadeva's minister Bhagurayana with Bhakamisra, of the epigraphic records.[28] He held that Rajasekhara may have composed the *Viddhasalabhanjika* on the occasion of Yuvarajadeva's marriage with Nohala. But later he changed his stance and accepted the theory of Dr. Sharma and Dr. Altekar. On the basis of the statement in some copper-plate charters of the Silhara king Aparjita, that Baddiga Amoghavarsha defeated his wicked enemies in a sanguine battle, fought at the capital of the Rashtrakuta chief Kartara,[29] Karkaraja, the lord of Achalapura—known from the Sudi and Kudlur plates to have been an enemy of Baddiga's son-in-law Butuga II—he suggested that the battle described in the *Viddhasalabhanjika* took place at Achalapura situated at a distance of some ten miles to the west of the river Purna (ancient Payoshni) in the Amaravati District of Vidarbha. Defeating Karkara and other followers of Govinda IV, the army of Yuvarajadeva advanced towards the Rashtrakuta capital Manyakheta (modern Malkhed, Bijapur District, Karnataka), which had already been occupied by the Chalukya Arikesarin, after killing Govinda IV. Thereafter the feudatory chiefs placed Baddiga on the throne.[39]

It cannot be gainsaid that the above theory has been built up very logically; but there are some difficulties in accepting it. As we have stated, Rajsekhara did not find it necessary to alter the name of the hero, of the *Vidhasalabhanjika*, Yuvarajadeva. His other name Keyuravarsha and the Kalachuri family to which he belonged are also clearly mentioned. In view of this there was no necessity to so modify the names of the other characters of the play that they become unrecognizable—specially if they were really historical personages. Secondly, a glance at the relevant portion of the *Viddhasalabhanjika* seems to indicate that Virapala Chandamahasena had at first ascended the throne of Kuntala and was later removed from the kingdom by the members of his own family. The second act of the play

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says that there was in Kuntala a monarch named Chandamahasena who had come to Tripuri[31] after his removal from power. And the fourth act states that Kuntaladhipati Virapala sought Yuvarajadeva's refuge after his kingdom was taken away by the members of his own family.[32] This description is not applicable to Baddiga Amoghavarsha. For he was not removed from the throne after his accession; instead he had raised the standard of rebellion against his nephew Govinda IV, and had himself occupied the throne with the help of the feudatories. Thirdly, as we learn from the Rashtrakuta records, Baddiga was Yuvarajadeva's son-in-law. In case he is identified with Virapala Chandamahasena of the play, we shall have to assume that Yuvarajadeva married the daughter of his son-in-law, which is unlikely. Dr. Altekar and Dr. Mirashi were aware of this difficulty; but they argued that perhaps Rajasekhara introduced this incident deliberately with the object of lending complexity to the love affairs depicted in the play. But the imagination balks at accepting that such an impossible and unpopular episode was introduced to bring some complexity in the theme of the play. This objective could have been met with by introducing some other episode, and Rajasekhara was certainly quite capable of doing so. Therefore the aforesaid theory does not appear to be logical.

In view of the above-mentioned difficulty involved in the identification of Virapala-Chandamahasena Dr. Buddha Prakash suggested another interpretation of the theme of the *Viddhasalabhanjika*.[33] He finds in this story the depiction of an event in the history of the Eastern Chalukyas of Andhra Pradesh. According to him, the Kuntaladhipati Virapala Chandamahasena is the Eastern Chalukya king Bhima II, Rajamarthanda Chandamahendra, who had re-occupied the throne of Vengi in A.D. 934. He might have been aided by the Kalachuri Yuvarajadeva in securing the kingdom against the wishes of the Rashtrakutas. In the opinion of Dr. Buddha Prakash this incident is indicative of a change in the traditional friendly relations between the Kalachuris and the Rashtrakutas.

There is undoubtedly some similarity between the events of the reign of Bhima II and the description of Virapala in the play. Like Virapala, Bhima II was also after his accession, deprived of his kingdom by his own relatives and he re-ocupied it after defeating his enemies. There is also sufficient similarity between the names Chandamahendra and Chandamahasena. But this view also does not appear to be probable, for the dominions of the Eastern Chalukyas were not commonly known as Kuntala. This name was generally applied to the Kolhapur, Satara, and Sholapur districts of Maharashtra and the adjoining Kannada-speaking area of Karnataka.[34] In this context it is noteworthy that the Pandarangapalli plates describe

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Mananka, the founder of the Rashtrakuta kingdom in southern Maharashtra, as the ruler of Kuntala.[35] In many an inscription the kingdom of the Rashtrakutas is spoken of as Kuntala. Rajasekhara himself states that a king named Vallabharaja ruled in Kultala, situated in Dakshina patha.[36] Vallabharaja is clearly a Rashtrakuta monarch. Muslim historians call him Balhara which is a corruption of Vallabharaja. Rajasekhara avers elsewhere that there is a city called Vachchhoma (Skt. Vatsagulma, modern Washim, Akola District, Maharashtra), in the Kuntala country and there rules a monarch named Vallabharaja.[37] Here Vachchhoma is included in Kuntala, probably because it formed part of the dominions of the Rashtrakutas who were known as the rulers of Kuntala. Dr. Buddha Pakash's view that when Rajasekhara employs the name Kuntala in plural he refers to all the kingdoms of the South[38] is not correct, for the use of names of countries in the plural was common in Sanskrit. In the aforesaid Pandarangapalli plates also, Kuntala is used in the genitive plural.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that although the *Viddhasalabhanjika* affords some historical information about the reign of the Kalachuri king Keyuravarsha Yuvarajadeva, yet in the present state of insufficient information its theme cannot be said to have been based on any historical episode. And even if there was some historical incident that inspired the play, it is difficult to ascertain what it was. The mystery remains to be unravelled by some future discovery.

REFERENCES

1. Some manuscripts give the variant reading Karpūravarsha.
2. In verse 24 of the Bilhari stone inscription the name Keyūravarsha is found employed for Yuvarājadeva I. Vide Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era, CII*, IV, p. 211.
3. See E. Hultzsch, *IA*, XXXIV (1905), pp. 177-179; Dasharatha Sharma, *Ibid.*, IX (1931), pp. 61-63; Mirashi, *ibid.*, LXII (1933), pp. 35-37; *CII*, IV, Introduction, pp. 1xxix-1xxxiii, A.S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūtas and their Times*, p. 110; Buddha Prakash, *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, (Nagpur 1965), pp. 413-423; *Umesh Misra Commemoration Volume*, pp. 371-372.
4. *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, Act IV, pp. 221, 224, verse 24.
5. *Ibid.*, Act. I, p. 21; Act II, verse 19; Act III, pp. 156, 173.
6. Gauḍī-gāḍha-mano-manoratha-karaḥ Karṇṇāṭa-kāntā - kucha - krīḍā - śaila - taṭī-vihāra - hariṇo Lāṭī - lalāt - āṅkadaḥ/Kāśmīrī - vihita - samara - vyatikaras-tasmāt Kaliṅg-āṅganā-sad-gāna-vyasnī sa nīti-nayanaḥ Keyūravarsho - bhavat/Mirashi, *CII*, IV, p. 211, verse 24.
7. Ā Kailāsād - anala - salasat - Pārvatī - keli - bandhor-ā cha prāchaś-śikharivarato bhāsvad-ubdhāsa-bhūmeḥ/ Ārāt setos-tad-anu payasām-a pratīcho-api patyur-yat-senān-ām-ahita-nihit-ānanta-tāpaḥ pratāpaḥ/ *Ibid.*, p. 211, verse 27.

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8. Kiṁcha, puno pariṇāvido evva bhae ajjautto. Taṁ jadhā, Maadhāhiva - Sumda aṇaṁgalehā, Mālava-ṇareṁda-duhiaraṁ, Rañjaṇā-vadiṁ ppiadasaṇam a, Paṁchāla-rāja taṇaaṁ Vilāsavadiṁ, Avaṁt-īsara-sudaṁ Kelivadiṁ a, Jālaṁdhareṣa-kumāriṁ Līlāvadiṁ, Kerala-rāa-puttiṁ pattalehaṁ cha. — *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, pp. 181-182.
9. Kārṇāto yuddha-nāṭye chaturatara-matiḥ Siṁhalaḥ siṁha-karmā Pāṇḍyaś-chaṇḍ-āsi-yashṭir-Malaya-nara-patiḥ kārmuka-prauḍha-bāhuḥ/
Āndhro nīranha-sāraḥ samara-bhuvi paraḥ Kuntalaḥ kunta-śālī kiṁ ch-ānyat Koṅkaṇ-ādyā api nara-patayaḥ saṁyatāḥ saṅgha-vrittim/22/
Atr-āntare taiḥ sah- āsmadīyānām-api mahān saṁrambhaḥ pravṛittaḥ.....tān vijitya...Ibid., pp. 222-223.
10. Ibid., Act I, p. 21.
11. Ibid., Act IV, p. 220.
12. Ā Gaṅgā-pāta-pūta-pluta-nalina-talāt pūrvatas-Tāmraparnyā pūtad-ā dākshiṇāt-yāt tuhina - kara-sutā - vallabhād-ā pratīchaḥ/Nṛityacha-chaṇḍīśa-śuṇḍā-chyuta-vibudha - nadī - nanditād-ā cha devah Kshīr - āmbhodherudīchaḥ Khalachuri (V. P. Karachuli) - tilako vartaee chakravartī/Ibid...Act IV. verse 24.
13. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi Era*, *CII*, IV, p. 242, verse 16.
14. *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, p. 184.
15. Insriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era, *CII*, IV, p. 244, text-line 34.
16. In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (Act I, p. 73; Act IV, p. 214) Yuvarājadeva is styled *Triliṅgādhipati*, which is undoubtedly a corrupt form of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.
17. In the original we have the reading *Khalachuri* or *Karachuli* which is certainly intended for *Kalachuri*.
18. The original has both the readings *parisare* and *tīre*. In case the second reading is accepted, the battle took place on the bank of the Payoshṇī.
19. *IA*, XXXIV (1905), pp. 177-179.
20. *EI*, V, p. 194.
21. Ibid., IV, p. 283.
22. It is stated in the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Śilāhāra Chhadvaideva that Amoghavarsha had uprooted Govinda IV. See Ibid., XXVI, p. 289, verse 8.
23. *IA*, XII, p. 263.
24. *EI*, III, p. 179, text-lines 49-51.
25. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1921, pp. 21-22.
26. *IA*, IX (1931), pp. 61-63.
27. A.S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūtas and their Times*, p. 110.
28. *ABORI*, XI (1930), pp. 361-374; *IA*, LXII (1933), pp. 35-37.
29. *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, I, p. 47; V.V. Mirashi, *Śilāhāra Rāja-vaṁśāchā Itihāsa āni Korīva Lekha* (Marathi; Nagpur, 1974), p. 25, vv. 8-9; pp. 35-36, vv. 8-9 (two sets of the Janjira plates of Aparājita; the verses are identical).
30. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, *CII*, IV, Introduction, pp. lxxix-lxxxiii.
31. Asty-atra Kuntaleshu Chaṇḍamahāseno nāma rājā. Tasya nija-rājya-paribhrash-ṭasya ih-āgatasya.....*Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, p. 78.
32. Tat-kuly-āpahṛita-rājyaḥ Kuntal-ādhipatir-Vīrapālo nāma devaṁ saraṇam-āgato... Ibid., p. 222.
33. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume* (Nagpur, 1965), pp. 415-417;
Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, pp. 371-372.

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34. V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, *CII*, V. pp. xxx, xxxii, 107.
35. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, IV (Varanasi, 1966), p. 134, text-line 2.
36. Atthi ettha Dakkhiṇāvadhe Kuntalesuṁ saala-jaṇa-vallaho Vallaharāo ṇāma rāā. *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 32.

The statement of Dr. Buddha Prakash that Rājaśekhara has here identified Dakshināpatha with Kuntala (*Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 417) is not correct. Really speaking, according to ancient Indian geographical tradition Kuntala was situated in Dakshiṇāpatha, and the same thing is stated by Rājaśekhara.

37. Atthi ettha Vachhomāṁ ṇāma naaram Kuntalesu. Tahiṁ saal-jaṇa-vallaho Vallaharāo nāma raa. *Karpūramañjarī* (Nirnay Sagar Press ed.), p. 34.
38. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 417.

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Harṣa, the Litterateur King

Dr. Sukla Das
Jadavpur University

An illustrious and versatile Puṣyabhūti king, Harṣavardhana had a remarkable literary talent. He was not a mere detached patron or connoisseur of literature but was a litterateur of distinction. His contemporaries as much as later men of literature, both Indian and foreign, have paid glowing tributes to this literary genius.[1]

Three plays, *Ratṇāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda* are said to have been written by him. He is further credited with a work on grammar two poems that are extant.[2] The verses of his Banskhera and the Madhuban inscriptions have his style, and bear his signature.[3] The Banskhera inscriptions bear his beautifully florid signature.

Though some doubts have been entertained by scholars about the authorship and ascription of the works to him, there is ample evidence that speaks in favour of Harṣa. In view of doubts and lack of definite evidence it may be presumed that some literary protege of Harṣa may have given the final touches to his patron's writings, but that does not exclude the possibility of a king's ability for high literary achievement.

The doubt that all three plays were not written by the same man now appears baseless because in theme, treatment, structural pecularity, situations, the use of phrases, ideas and stanzas, all three plays bear a close affinity.

It is, however, not easy to determine the chronological sequence of these plays. *Raṇātvalī*, the most successful imitation of Kālidāsa, is perhaps the earliest work of the poet-king. In the *Priyadarśikā* the author displays more maturity and confidence, and has boldly added an original feature by interweaving a sub-plot into the play. In *Nāgānanda*, presumably the last work, the tone is completely different from the other two light, court-romances. This five-act play, serious in theme, is based on a Buddhist legend where the self-sacrifice of the protagonist is the dominant sentiment. Its purpose is to extol the glory of the Buddhist tenets. This play is suggestive of Harṣa's Buddhist leanings which became more evident

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in the later years of his reign. The play appealed to the contemporary Chinese pilgrims so much that they took it with them to China from where it travelled to Japan. Surprisingly the Nāgānanda theme survives till today as part of the Bugaku theatre of Japan.[4]

Critically assessed, Harṣa was not as distinguished as the literary giants, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, but he possessed the pleasing gift of a facile pen. A deep understanding of human nature, poetic grace, simplicity of expression and subtle toucnes appealed to his readers, despite some major defects which mark his plays.

Literary merit apart, a critical survey of his compositions offers an insight into the existing structure of society as it was and is of significance to those interested in the socio-economic history of our country.

A family being the smallest social unit, his writings contain fine reflections of family life. The *Nāgānanda* mirrors a peaceful family life where a son is the most important member.[5] It also reflects the relationship between the family members and portraits of a considerate father,[6] an affectionate mother,[7] a devoted son[8] and a loving daughter-in-law,[9] who live in well-knit closeness. It is a sensitive study of sound social qualities and a sense of obligations. *Priyadarśika* deals with a misunderstanding between husband and wife and their final reconciliation.[10]

In the life of a householder the Sacred fire played a vital role during Harṣa's time. As the Sacred fire symbolized the stage when a man becomes a householder, it had to be kept burning constantly.[11] Though this stage (of a householder) was the most important, an individual had to go through the four Āśramas enjoined by the *Sāstras*.[12] Mention is made in the *Nāgānanda* of boys reciting hymns in the penance grove. during the first stage—Brahmcharya.[13] When a person grew old and found his son fit to shoulder responsibilities, it was incumbent upon him to retire to the forest with his wife.[14] His requirements were few and included the Sacred fuel, Kuśa grass, flowers, bulbous roots and wild rice. The Vānaprasthin was constrained to shift to another place,[15] only when these natural resources became scarce.

The position of women was not unsatisfactory. A daughter in the family was loved and cared for and her birth was not unwelcome. During her maiden years special training was given to develop her aesthetic qualities. She had to take lessons in dancing, music, both vocal and instrumental, and other artistic accomplishments.[16] Moreover, some education was also imparted to her. Samkrtyāyanī of *Priyadarśikā* was a lady of literary taste and proficiency.[17]

When a girl matured a suitable match was sought for her. The parents of the girl generally took the initiative[18] and preferred a scholarly and

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well-disciplined youth.[19] Age, physical grace and family status were equally matched.[20] Though the law givers advocated early marriage in practice this was not strictly observed. Malayavatī, Sāgarikā and Āraṇyakā, the heroines and their friends, in the plays of Harṣa, are portrayed as youthful maidens. This corroborates nicely with Bānabhaṭṭa's observation that Princess Rajyaśrī, had grown into a young and accomplised maiden at the time of her wedding.[21]

The marriage ceremony was one of the most auspicious occasions when friends and relatives assembled, attired in bright garments, picturesquely made-up with cosmetics, decorated with garlands and flowers and adorned with jewellery.[22]

Harṣa mentions polygamy.[23] The practice was an accepted fact during his time. His father, King Prabhakarvardhana, had other queens besides Yaśavatī, the queen mother.[24] The father of Banabhaṭṭa, the celebrated author of his time, had two wives.[25] In order to secure or enhance political power, prestige and influence through matrimonial connections[26] the custom was encouraged but Harṣa did not fail to notice that it often hampered the harmony of family life and disturbed domestic peace because of the hatred. jealousy and rivalry of the co-wives.[27]

Harṣa has tenderly depicted the pangs of widowhood.[28] Widows were the most unhappy section of that society. They were considered inauspicious and had no place in social and festive functions.[29] A perusal of Bānā's works reveals why Queen Yaśavatī wanted to die unwidowed,[30] or why princess Rājyaśri bitterly regretted her widowhood.[31] Harṣa had first hand knowledge of their sufferings.

The unsympathetic attitude of society towards widows was responsible for the custom of self-immolation or the performance of satī, and Harṣa has mentioned the existence of this practice.[32] He refers to both systems of self-immolation, namely *Sahamarana* or burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband [33] and *Anumarana*, or mounting the pyre with same token possession of her husband who had died at a remote place.[34]

Bāna informs us that Harṣa did not approve of the custom of satī. And he was able to persuade his sister Rājyaśri to refrain from performing this rite after the premature death of her husband, Grahavarman[35] although he failed to dissuade his mother, Queen Yaśavatī, to do so.[36] This is a very significant instance of Harsa's enlightened outlook. It is interesting to note that even in an age when society favoured this practice, the solitary voice of Bāṇabhaṭta, the close associate of Harṣa, vehemently condemned the custom.[37] It is however difficult to ascertain whether Harṣa was influenced by the enlightened attitude of Bāṇa or Bāṇa by that of Harṣa, but the system could not be stamped out and continued for a long

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time. This savage practice found painful expression in the writings of Harṣa.

The segregation of women was apparently not prevalent. Ladies could be seen attending ceremonies and festivals,[38] watching theatrical performances,[39] taking part in aquatic sports,[40] participating in drinking parties[41] giving dramatic performances,[42] receiving guests[43] and above all, earning their livelihood.[44] Though female seclusion as such was not observed, the fashion of wearing veils by married ladies was prevalent[45] and it was considered a breach of etiquette to look at a married lady.[46]

Harṣa furnishes some valuable information about the costumes and toilette in use during his time. The dress for men consisted of two pieces, the upper and lower garments.[47] This corroborates the observations of Hiuentsang[48] and I-tsing.[49] The use of a head-dress was also prevalent.[50] Unlike the modern one-piece sari, women in Harṣa's time were accustomed to lower and upper garments.[51] To these Bāṇa adds jackets.[52]

From Harṣa we also gather that festivals demanded the use of bright colours[53] while at the time of the observance of religious vows a simple dress was prescribed.[54] It is noteworthy that the dress of criminals and newly-weds was red.[55]

The elaborate process of personal embellishment began with a bath.[56] The application of unguents was the second stage of their toilet [57] Yellow sandalwood paste,[58] saffron[59] and scented powders like Paṭavāsa and Piṣṭataka[60] heightened the effect. Ladies dyed their feet[61] and lips[62] with lac-juice and cheeks with vermilion.[63] Floral decoration completed the process of their toilet.[64]

Excessive love of jewellery was also a characteristic feature of the period. Harṣa, however, expressed the view, that extra-decoration with jewellery is a burden to a frame naturally beautiful.[65] But popular sentiment was always in favour of them.[66] Strings of pearls[67] necklaces,armlets, and ear drops[68] were in great demand by both sexes. Ladies could also be seen with jingling girdle-belts[69] and tinkling-anklets.[70] Harṣa had made specific mention of different hair styles[71] decorated with fragrant blossoms.[72]

Of various amusements music, both vocal and instrumental, found eloquent mention in his writings.[73] Another delightful amusement was dance.[74] Festive hours of pomp and pageantry were enlivened by spontaneous dance and merriment. Dramatic performances were also considered fascinating modes of entertainment.[75] Harsa has made particular reference to the theatre hall (Prekṣāgṛha)[76], green room (Nepathyabhūmi) and music hall (Gāndharvaśālā).[77] Painting was another means of recreation[78] About the materials of painting the author refers to the picture-board (citra phalaka), brushes, box (Varttika-samudgaka)[79] and colours.[80] He has even

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referred to picture halls (citraśala or śalikas).[81] R.N. Saletore has Interpreted it "to mean in modern phraseology a picture gallery,"[82] while R.K. Mookherji has identified it with schools for painting.[83] It can be assumed that Citraśalas were centres where teachers and the taught assembled to impart and acquire knowledge in the art of painting; those halls also possessesd magnificent art galleries.

Of various festivals Vasanta, or the vernal festival, was perhaps the most celebrated. This auspicious day of Cupid-worship was marked by unrestrained mirth and merriment when people scattered coloured powder and sprayed water at each other.[84] Kaumudi or the moonlight festival was spent in witnessing dramatic performances[85] and Dipapratipada, or the festival of lights was celebrated by an exchange of gifts.[86]

On festive occasions it was customary to drink in mixed company.[87] Wine was usually poured from decorative jars (surābhāṇḍa) into wine cups (caṣaka) and was perfumed with petals of fragrant flowers.[88] Bāṇa also made mention of these drinking sessions.[89] Harṣa informs us that even ladies had an easy access to drinking booths.[90] These booths, Hiuen-tsang noticed, had distinctive sign-boards.[91]

Festive occasions were characterized by the gay attire of the people[92] exchange of gifts[93] and feeding of the Brahmanas.[94] Fasts and vows seem to have been popular among women. They were meant either to secure a good husband[95] or for the welfare of the husband and children.[96]

Though contemporary economic aspect received scant attention, a critical study of these plays provides some views of the economic structure. It appears that different industries like those of masons,[97] potters[98] jewellers, florists[99] textile workers,[100] dyers,[101] manufacturers of cosmetics[102] and liquors[103] were flourishing. Merchants carried sea-borne trade[104] and Indian traders could be seen in Ceylon.[105]

Harṣa's compositions give a fair glimpse of his personal traits also. In all three plays his kingly ideal is finely reflected. The traditional ideals of the kings of ancient India were those of Harṣa too--of seeing that his subjects enjoy the fruits of a beneficent administration, which included security, and an abundance of crops[106] Hiuen-tsang records that throughout his long reign the king tried his best to translate these cherished ideals into actual practice.[107]

That he had a first hand experience of a battlefield is clearly reflected in his description of battles.[108] Indeed, in such descriptive moments we find the true Harṣa, a hero of many battles.

Harṣa's attitude towards religion is also evident in his writings. In earlier days he was an ardent devotee of śiva and this finds expression in his early compositions.[109] This is reiterated in Bāṇa's narrative[110] and corrobo-

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rated by epigraphic evidence.[111] The Banskhera and Madhuban charters have used the epithet "Parama-Maheśvara" to indicate his devotion to Śiva.

Other deities associated with Hindu mythology like Brahma,[112] Viṣṇu[113], Indra,[114] Kumāra,[115] Gauri, Ganga[116] and Śrī[117] have found a place in his writings. That he was initially a Hindu Brahman is further confirmed by his caste-consciousness and acceptance of the supremacy of the Brahmanas in contemporary social hierarchy.[118] Bāṇa and the inscriptions record Harṣa's grant of villages to learned Brahmanas[119] and thus point to his Brahmanical proclivities.

From the *Nāgānanda* it appears that the playwright took up the Buddhist faith, or at least inclined towards Buddhism.[120] Bāṇa, Hiuen-tsang and Shaman Hwui li, the biographer of the Chinese pilgrim, positively supplement our knowledge in this respect.[121] Whatever his professed religion, in the *Nāgānanda* he gives a remarkable instance of religious co-existence, and Harṣa the religious eclectic emerges from this specific work.

It is not difficult to portray Harṣa's philosophy of life. He was an enlightened monarch and his involvement in the experiences of life, reflected in some of his scattered comments, are of great value. A few illustrations may not be out of place to illuminate his attitude towards life. "Youth," observes Harṣa, "is the abode of passion and it decays."[122] "Strange," he admits, "are the wanton deeds of fate."[123] "It has nothing impossible to do"[124] and "a favourable fate brings the desired object at once."[125] He candidly feels that one "has to bear torment of love when there is nothing to calm down."[126] His poised personality finds true expression in his sincere utterences "even the merits of an enemy generate admiration"[127] or "anything that is worthless generally attains to eminence from a great substratum."[128]

Harṣa embodies in himself all the attributes of a king, warrior, and administrator, yet a progressive, pious and sympathetic author stands out in silhouette against the background of a powerful monarch in his writings which alone are enough to immortalize him. His works constitute a priceless treasure for students of Indology as they possess the weight and grandeur of unbiassed autobiography.

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Jivaka—the Physician to Lord Buddha

Dr. R. Isri

Dr. Arthur E. Desa while narrating 'The Growth of Indian Surgery' wrote, 'History records the feat of Buddha's physician, Jivaka, who must have been the earliest neurosurgeon in the world, for he is recorded to have successfully removed a brain 'tumour' from King Bimbisara.' K. M. Munshi and his associates have recorded in *Glimpses of Ancient India* (page 116), 'The Vinaya texts give an account of the medical education and practice of the physician Jivaka who was appointed by emperor Bimbisara as physician in attendance on the Buddha. He cured the Buddha of constipation by making him inhale the fragrance of a medicated lotus flower. He cured patients of head diseases, fistulas by an ointment and performed surgical operations on the brain and also intestine to free them from entanglements. This account of his successful medical practice is given in the Buddhist canonical work, Vinaya, not given to exaggeration like a work of fiction.'

This Jivaka belonged to Rajgir, a suburb in the district of Nalanda. About Rajgir *The Illustrated Weekly of India Annual 1976* notes that Rajgir is 19 km. from Nalanda, the famous Buddhist University. The word 'Rajgir' or Rajgriha means 'abode of Royalty.' Rajgir was the metropolis of the Magadha kingdom. Buddhist texts mention a bamboo forest and a mango grove as being special favourites of the Buddha during his frequent visits to Rajgir. Venuvana was a garden house skirted by clusters of tall bamboos—a gift from king Bimbisara; and the mango grove, Amravana, was a present to the Buddha by Jivaka, the royal physician.

During his sojourn at Rajgir, the Buddha spent long hours on the Gridhakuta Hill. Devout Buddhists from the world over climb to the summit of this hill to pay homage to the Buddha's memory.

The real name of Jivaka was Jivak Kumarabhacca. It has been suggested that Kamarbhacca means kaumarabhartya the science of the treatment of infants. Jivaka was the son of Salvati, a courtesan of Rajagaha (Vinay text—I, 268—81, Pali Institute, Nalanda). Directly after birth the child was placed in a basket and thrown on a dust

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heap, from where he was rescued by Abhaya Raja Kumara. When questioned by Achaya, people said 'he was alive' (Jivati) and therefore the child was called Jivaka; because he was brought up by the prince he was called Kumara Bhacca) even when he was grown up. He learnt of his antecedents, went to Taxila, without Abhaya's knowledge and studied medicine for seven years. His teacher then said to him, 'Well now, good Jivaka, taking a spade touring all around Taxila, bring whatever you should see that is not medicinal.' 'Very well teacher,' and Jivaka taking a spade, touring all around Taxila, could not find anything that was not medicinal. He told his teacher, 'Teacher, while I was touring all around Taxila, I did not see anything that was not medicinal.' 'You are trained. Good Jivaka, this much is enough for a livelihood for you,' saying this he gave him some trifling provision for journey.

His first patient was the Sethi's wife at Saketa who suffered from headache for seven years and for curing her he received sixteen thousand kahapanas, a man servant, a maid servant and a coach with horses. When he returned to Rajagaha, Abhya kept him in his own residence. Then he cured Bimbisara of a troublesome fistuala and received as reward all the ornaments of Bimbisara's five hundred wives. He was appointed physician to the king and the king's women and also to the fraternity of monks with the Buddha at its head. Other cures of Jivaka's included that of the Sethi of Rajagaha on whom he performed the operation trepanning and also of the son of Sethi of Banaras who had suffered from chronic intestinal trouble due to misplacement.

When Candappaj Jota, King of Ujjain, was ill, Bimbisara sent Jivaka to him. Cadappa Jota hated ghee, which was however the only remedy. Jivaka prepared the medicine, prescribed for the king and went away. The king came to know of this, he was in rage and asked his servant for Jivaka. By the time Jivak returned, the medinine had its effect and the king was cured of his ailment.

Jivaka we greatly attracted by the Buddha. Once when the Buddha was ill, Jivaka, found it necessary to administer a purge, and he rubbed fat on the Buddha's body and gave him a handfut of lotuses to smell. Jivaka was away when the purgative acted, and he suddenly remembered that he had omitted to ask the Buddha to bathe in warm water to complete the cure. The Buddha however had read his thoughts and bathed.

After Jivaka became a *sitapanna*—he was anxious to visit the Buddha twice a day, and finding Vetavana too far—he built a monastery with all its adjuncts in his own Amhana in Rajgaha which he gave to the Buddha and his monks. When Bimbisara died, Jivaka continued to serve Ajata Sathu

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and was responsible for bringing him to the Buddha after his crime of parricide. (*Samanna halla*, sutta, V. 262).

Jivaka's fame as a physician brought him more work than he could cope with, but he never neglected his duties to the 'Sangha'. Many people afflicted with disease and unable to pay for his treatment joined the 'order' in order that they receive his attention day and night. On discovering that the 'order' was thus being made a convenience for treatment, he asked the Buddha to lay down a rule that men afflicted with certain diseases should be refused entry into the order (*Vinnaya pittak*, vol. I, page 71). Jivaka was declared by the Buddha chief among his lay followers loved by the people (aggam puggadappa Saunanam). He is included in a list of good men who would attain the stage of deathlessness.

Jivaka had once gone to Vesali on business and had noticed the pale unhealthy look of the monks. Thereupon at Jivaka's request, the Buddha enjoined upon the monks to take exercise.

And so, three thousand years back, at this very place of Rajgir, the suffering humanity, flocked round a noble hearted man who could soothe, treat and give them new life, new light and new assurance—the man called Jivaka—the physician to Lord Buddha.

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Public Services in Kamandakiya

Dr. R.K. Dikshit

Unlike Kauṭilya's *Arthasātra*, the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka does not mention various public functionaries and the duties assigned to them, but it devotes one full chapter to their qualifications, code of conduct and relations with the rulers of the State.

Kāmandaka has prescribed very elaborate qualifications for the State officials. They should be scions of noble families, intelligent, well-versed in the scriptures and various arts and sciences, physically fit and possessing an impressive personality. They should be thoroughly disciplined, of good conduct and unimpeachable integrity, pure, patient, firm and valorous, but of kindly disposition and a liberal outlook. He has mentioned a long list of qualities that they must possess, and also a list of the evils that they must be free from. The former include dexterity, probity, determination, forbearance, contentment, amiable disposition, perseverance, assiduous endeavour, and the latter backbiting, perfidy, disruptive tendency, wickedness, avidity, untruthfulness, obstinacy, fickleness, cruelty, arrogance, jealousy, deceit, trickery, hypocrasy and thievish mentality. Capacity to put up with all sorts of privations and hardships, absolute integrity in financial matters were also necessary. Above all, they should be loyal, trustworthy and sincerely devoted to the king and his government.[1] Kamandaka also desires the government servants to be acquainted with *deśa* and *Kāla*[2] (proper place and proper occasion for the performance of the duty assigned to them), and to be familiar with *iṅgita* (gestures) and *ākāra*[3] (expressions) so that they might be able to judge the attitude of other persons. Our author rightly declares that public servants who are of heroic temperament, learned, and devoted to the performance of their duty prosper, and not those who are indolent, inefficient and of indfferent conduct and character.[4] He also refers to the *upadhā* tests[5]—as a means of judging the qualities of government officials, as well as of those who seek to join State service; and adds, by way of postscript that their real worth can be judged only in times of distress, and not in ordinary peaceful times.[6]

We are further told that officials should be appointed only to the posts befitting their qualifications.[7] Thus, the heads of different depart-

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ments (*adhyakshas*) should have both theoretical and practical knowledge of the matters entrusted to their charge, while trustworthy persons of tested integrity should be appointed as tax-collectors.[8] The Treasury should, likewise, be manned by trustworthy officials, expert in financial matters.[9]

Kāmandaka does not throw much light on emoluments (*vṛitti*) and service-conditions of the government officials, as we find, for instance in the *Arthasastra* and *Sukraniti*. He, however, favours liberal salaries,[10] determined in accordance with the nature of their work, and paid at regular intervals.[11] Unsatisfactory work led to the termination of service (*vṛittachchheda*).[12]

Government servants have been classified into three categories—*uttama* (superior), *madhyama* (middling) and (*adhama*)—(inferior)[13] evidently on the basis of their qualifications and the nature of the work assigned to them. They should be confirmed in service if their work is satisfactory.[14] *Madhyama* and *adhama* servants should be promoted, if they possessed high qualifications (*guṇairudāraih*). In no case should the superior and inferior servants be treated alike.[15]

Kāmandaka has also prescribed a code of conduct for Government officials. They are advised

(i) to execute the orders of the King promptly and to the best of their ability,[16]

(ii) to address him most respectfully as 'My Lord,' 'My God,' 'Victory unto thee,' 'May thou live long,' 'Command thy Servant,' etc,[17]

(iii) to do obeisance to his sons and favourites,[18]

(iv) to discourse with their superiors in becoming manner and not contradict them arrogantly,[19]

(v) to preserve official secrets,[20]

(vi) to shun the company of women and their associates, sinful persons, enemy agents, people who have been repudiated by the king, and those who have formed themselves into an association (hostile to the king),[21]

(vii) to be dressed decently (*suveshavān*)[22]

(viii) and to speak only sweet, truthful and salutary words, and to avoid telling what is incredible, indecent, unintelligible and jarring to the ear.[23]

Kāmandaka has discussed at great length the ideal relations between the King and his officials. The latter are no doubt asked to promote the in-

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terests of the former, and to comply with his wishes,[24] but Kāmandaka is not a believer in blind obedience. According to him, only such behests of the ruler should be executed as would be beneficial both 'in the present and in the future.' An official should never do what would be injurious to the interests of the people (*na lokadvishṭaṁ ācharet*).[25] He should not presume to offer unsolicited advice to the King, but he should not remain a passive spectator when the King is in distress, or deviates from the path of rectitude or when a favourable opportunity is slipping away unnoticed.[26] He is advised to point out to the king the evil consequences of inebriety, incontinence and gambling and to wean him away from these vices.[27] His commendable duty is to dissuade the sovereign from all evil acts and to persuade him to take to the right path.[28] A servant who does not prevent the king from going astray shares the ruin alongwith him.[29] It is his solemn duty to tender the right advice, even if it is unpalatable.[30] A servant should never forsake his royal master in times of danger, even if the latter is worthless. There is none more praiseworthy than the dependent who stands firm by his master during a crisis. His real merit in judged only on such occasions.[31] Further, we are told that a government servant, even if gifted with royal qualities, should never imitate the King in habits and habiliments[32] nor should he even harbour in his mind the remotest thought of his destruction.[33] On the other hand, the King, too, is advised not to show disrespect to his servants of noble families and good conduct, for in such circumstances they either desert the master or even kill him for the sake of their honour.[34] The King is advised to repose confidence in his servants, but not too much. He should keep a close watch on their conduct.

Lastly, Kāmandaka advises people to seek service only with a liberal, law-abiding King of good qualities, and never with a ruler lacking in royal virtues.[35] Another wholesome advice is that he should serve only a pleased, and never a displeased, monarch. The *Nītisāra* delineates at great length the factors that indicate his pleasure or displeasure (*rāgāparāgau*).[36]

Lastly, we notice that like several other writers, Kāmandaka does not hold a very high opinion of the public functionaries. He reckons them among the 'five sources of apprehension to the subjects (*prajānāṁ pañchadha bhayam*)— the other four being the thieves, the enemies of the State, the King's favourites and the covetousness of the King himself. The latter must keep them under restraint and 'bleed freely his subordlnates swelling with unlawful wealth, like a surgeon bleeding a swelling abscess.'[37] He ends the chapter with the statement that a ruler whose servants are expert in their work, obedient, trustworthy, and satisfied attains great success.[38]

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कुल विद्याश्रुतौदार्यशिल्पविक्रर्धमर्यवान् ।
वपुस्सत्व बलारोग्यस्थैर्य शौचदयान्वितः ।। 13

पैशुन्यद्रौहसम्भेदशाठ्उलौल्यानृतातिगः ।
स्तम्भचापल हीनश्च सेव कत्तुंमर्हति ।। 14

दक्षता भद्रता दाढर्ये क्षान्तिः क्लेशसहिष्णुता ।
सन्तोषः शीलमुत्साहो मण्डयन्त्यनुजौविनमृ ।। 15

अर्थशौचपरो नित्यं..... । 16

.....क्रौर्यमौद्धत्यं सत्सरं त्यजेत् । 18

विप्रलम्भं च मायां च दम्भं स्तेयं च वर्जयेत् ।। 19

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The Jaina *Puranas* as a Source of Social History

Dr. Ram Bhushan Singh
Department of History, Patna University

The present paper is mainly based on the study of the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena and the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, both of which were composed in the ninth century. Both these authors belonged to the *pañcastupāanvaya*, an important monastic group of eastern India, but seem to have migrated to distant Karnataka to find a new group of supporters. In this short paper, an attempt has been made to reconstruct the picture of Jaina social life in the early mediaeval age.

The study of Jaina *Purāṇās* is not only essential for the exposition of Jaina dogmas and Jaina philosophy, but they contain some useful information for the reconstruction of the social history of Jainas. There are scattered but significant references, to the prevalent social order, institutions of marriage and family, the system of caste hierarchy and other social customs.

The Jaina *Purāṇas* specifically refer to the four-fold division of Jain society. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣhatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are the four classes which figure prominently in the Jain *Purāṇas*.[1] As the four-fold division of Jain society was mainly based on the Brahmanical concept of *Varṇa* organization, Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* mentions the duties of different *varṇas*. Each of the four *varṇas* was assigned similar functions which characterized the Brahmanical social order.[2] Jinasena states further[3] that if they refrained from performing their respective duties, there was every possibility of the intermingling of soclal classes. Thus, in order to save the society from intermingling, Ṛsabhadeva, the first Jaina *Tirthaṅkara*, empowers the King to punish the wrongdoers, or whoever violates the established rules of *varṇa* organization.[4] He is also said to have laid emphasis on *daṇḍa* (coercion) which was deemed essential for the maintenance of the existing social order. He justifies it on the ground that if the fear of *daṇḍa* does not exist in society, it will certainly be in a state of *Matsyanyāya*.[5]

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As regards the theory of the origin of these four classes, the Jaina *Purāṇas* inform us[6] that Kṣhatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra originated respectively from the arms, thighs, and feet of Ṛsabhadeva. The Brahmanas who occupied the first position in Hindu society, originated from the mouth of Bharat, the elder son of Ṛsabhadeva. Study, teaching and the performance of worship-rituals are some of the important duties of this class for which they will receive a donation from the lay-devotees.[7]

For a systematic regulation and protection of the *varṇa* organization, Ṛsabhadeva enunciated definite rules of a valid marriage. A study of the marriage rules reveals that caste-endogamy has been the chief characteristic of marriage prevalent among the Jains. The *Ādipurāṇa* clearly states that every member of the four-fold *varṇa* organization should contract marriage within his own caste.[8] In order to make it more clear it further states that a Brahmana should marry a Brahmana lady, a Kṣhatriya, a Kshatriya woman, a Vaisya, a Vaisya woman and a Śūdra, a Śūdra woman. The Jaina *Purāṇas* also furnish evidence of intercaste marriages which were mainly confined to the members of the two upper classes.[9] It was the privilege of a Brahmana and a Kṣhatriya to marry a Vaisya and a Śūdra lady, but this was not permissible for the members of the last two orders. Although the Jaina *Purāṇas* do not distinguish between approved and unapproved forms of marriage, they contain some references to the prevalance of the *Gandharva* or love marriage[10] and marriage by *Svayamvara*.[11] They also inform us about the prevalence of both monogamy and polygamy in Jaina society. The practice of polygamy was generally prevalent among the members of the upper *varṇas*.[12]

The institution of an ideal joint family figures mostly in the Jaina *Purāṇas*. It included father, mother, wife, children, sisters, brothers, etc. The relation between different members of the family was generally cordial but there are certain instances of dissensions among the members for the attainment of proprietary rights. Although the Jaina *Purāṇas* lay down rules regarding the equal partition of ancestral property among the sons and daughters,[13] there are cases of violation of the established rules. The *Ādipuraṇa* refers to the prolonged family strife between the two sons of Ṛsabhadeva for ancestral property. When Bharat, the elder son of Ṛsabhadeva refused to recognize the individual status of his younger brother, Bahubali, a fierce struggle followed between the two.[14]

The study of these two Jaina *Purāṇas* also reveals the fact that the Jainas became strong supporters of the caste-system during the early mediaeval age. Considerations of caste played an important role in the performance of marriage[15] and in the determination of the social status of an individual. Like the Hindu theorists, Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* recognizes

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the Śūdra as the fourth social order whose duty was to serve the other three classes.[16] He also divides this class of Śūdras into touchables and untouchables.[17] Considerations of caste again influenced the performance of the sacred thread ceremony. Artisans, dancers and probably Śūdras were not allowed to wear the sacred thread on account of their low birth.[18] Thus, the Jainas who were originally opposed to the system of caste and creed, failed in their attempts to abolish it permanently from society.

The above description of social life reveals definitely the impact of Hindu culture on Jaina society during early mediaeval times. The composition of the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Uttarapurāṇas* reflects the assimilation of Brahmanical ideas and institutions in Jaina society. The texts illustrate that the Jains were not hesitant to adopt Brahmanical traditions, and they even tried to establish a Jaina origin of these traditions. All this marked a sharp break with the original teachings of Jainism, but such a break was also imperative in view of the mounting opposition of the Brahmana leaders against the anti-Brahmanical sects, the Jains being the most powerful of them. The growing desire of the Jaina leaders to make their system popular and thus strengthen the social basis of the religion probably explains their survival in the south. As a result of the changes which Jaina society underwent during the early mediaeval period and also later, the Jainas of the south, particularly those of Karnataka, lost their social and sectarian identity.

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Pre-Feudal India

Dr. Radhakrishna Chaudhary

It was Karl Marx who, for the first time propounded a theory of historical materialism. A study of history on the basis of historical materialism is yet to be done though in recent years some attempts have been made in this direction. As early as 1848 in the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx made his statement about his conception of history. He said, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." At that time, knowledge of social development was based on unsure foundations and hardly anything about prehistory was known. In the preface to the *Communist Manifesto* (English edition), Engels developed the point in the following manner: "that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind has been a history of class struggles; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution...". Morgan's *Ancient Society* was not there when Marx wrote his *Manifesto*. Morgan brought to the fore the inner organization of the primitive Communist Society which brought in its train the differentiation in society and the antagonistic classes. Engels further developed the idea in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. The primitive form of society, known to have existed when Marx was writing, *From India to Ireland*, was the ideal village community.

Though Marx formulated his theory of materialist conception of history in 1859, he had been undogmatically exploring the idea since 1853 and his formulations about the Asiatic society or Asiatic mode kept fluctuating. According to Marx, the whole earlier conception of history had either eompletely neglected the real basis of history or had considered it a secondary matter without any connection with the course of history. History is a development in chronological order of the basic changes in the means and relations of productions. "The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political, and

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spiritual processes of life. It is not the social consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of productions,... with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then occurs a period of social revolution...In broad outline we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois modes of productions as progressive epochs in the economic formations of society... with this social transformation, therefore, the pre-history of human society comes to an end." Marx overthrew the abstract concepts and perhaps nowhere in the history of human thought was the reader made to feel the excitement of a new intellectual discovery as in his materialist concept. Edmund Wilson describes him as a "poet of Commodities." Marx's definition of social development is a pointer to the materialistic interpretation of history in all countries.

We do not get an account of ancient Indian history or institutions from Marx but certain indications are sufficient to show his attitude towards India and his understanding of this country as a whole. His main source of information was the official report of the East India Company. He may have had before him all the relevant data about India since his general formulations on India in the first volume of the *Capital* which are to a great extent correct and appropriate, though to modern historians they might appear somewhat contradictory. His concept of the Asiatic society appears only as a possible route out of the original primitive communal system of prehistory, a society which resisted but not entirely excluded historical evolution. In his *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formation* (1857), the Asiatic society is not characterized by the absence of property in land or by centralized public works and irrigations as suggested in 1853. The emphasis placed here is on self-sustaining unity of manufacture and agriculture in the oriental villages which retarded the economic revolution. It is now held that the authority might have been more despotic or more democratic in form instead of the Asiatic despotism as being the general rule. The village communities may come under an allembracing unity. His formulations in the *Pre-Capitalist Economic-Formations* are different from *Letters (Marx's letters on India) on India*—the identification of oriental society as a pre-class society being the most significantly different formulation developed in the former work. Even in 1859 in the Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* he accepted the divisions he had made earlier and developed his ideas. His formulation hold good even today and stand

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confirmed by later scientific descoveries. While studying Asiatic society, Marx looked for the specific instances of the east, and viewed in that light his approach is a distinct contribution to the methodology of studying India's past. Marx's methods enable us to go into the details of the social structure at different stages of our evolution. Though some of his findings, based on empirical study, require re-examination an overall survey shows that his intellectual calibre is unsurpassed. In his *Dialectrical and Historical Materialism*, Stalin described five main types of relations of productions—Primitive communal, Slave, Feudal, Capitalist and Socialist. Primitive communal society has been thoroughly discussed as Primitive Tribal Society by Engels. The 'Slave' Society of Stalin is the Ancient form of Marx, Capitalist is bourgeois. 'Socialist' is a form of production which emerged after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Stalin omits Asiatic mode.

Marx never repudiated the concept of Asiatic Society though he relegated it later on to 'Archaic Types' of social formations. He did not make a 'fetish' of the Asiatic society, neither did he ever define it. He made references to self-sufficing Indian village communes who witnessed the ruins of the empires with equanimity. Marx talking about the Indian villages says, "These small and extremely ancient Indian communities...are based on common ownership of the land, on the association of agriculture and handicrafts, on an unalterable division of labour...each forms a self-sufficient productive entity. The greater part of the products is destined for direct use...and does not take the form of commodities...it is only the surplus products which become commodities...The constitution of these communities varies in different parts of India. In these areas of the simplest form, the land is tilled in common, and the produce divided among the members. At the same time, spinning and weaving are carried on in each family as subsidiary industry...the chief inhabitant, who is a judge, policeman, and tax-gatherer in one; the book-keeper who keeps the account of the village and registers everything relating thereto; another official who prosecutes criminals, protects strangers travelling through;...the boundaryman, who guards the boundaries against neighbouring communities, the water overseer, who distributes the water from the eommon tank for irrigation; the Brahmana, who conducts the religious services; the school masters; the calendar Brahmana; a smith, a carpenter; the potter; the barber; the washerman, the silversmith... maintained at the expense of the whole community...The simplicity of the organization for production in these self-sufficing communities...supplies the key to the secret of the unchangeableness of Asiatic societies. ... The structure of the economic elements of society remains untouched by the storm clouds of the political sky" (*Capital* Vol.

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I-1867). This statement of Marx can be compared with the similar statement in the Chola inscription: "the village site, the village tank and its banks, the portions washermen, toddy-drawers, and Pariahs, the burning ground of the high caste Hindus and that of the Pariahs, the irrigation channels, temples, shrines, ponds in the middle of fields, flower of gardens, streams, rivers, high roads, the stone-farm for cattle, the stables, the village threshing floor, grazing ground for calves and cisterns", (*'South Indian Inscriptions*—Vol. II—Introduction). These parts of a village were communal under the Cholas. We have examples of similar feudal villages in mediaeval Europe (*Cambridge Economic History of Europe*—Vol. I, pp. 40-41). By the 9th century India had all the feudal institutions.

The Asiatic mode of production, as stated by Marx and its relations to Indian conditions have been subjected to various interpretations. Since Indian history does not fit precisely into the rigid framework of the accepted Marxian concepts like primitive communism, patriarchical mode (Old Testament) or the undefined Asiatic mode, slave society of classical Greece or Rome, we have to take into account a critical survey of all the available source material for a study of pre-feudal India in its proper perspective. Respect for tradition had a devastating effect on our science and we will have to struggle hard for bringing into light the various stratum of original sources in their correct chronological perspective. D.D. Kosambi, while declaring the Asiatic mode as undefined, believes that at a low level of commodity production, an Asiatic mode did exist in India. According to Maurice Godelliar, the Asiatic mode of production signifies, in its origin, not stagnation but the greatest progress of productive forces accomplished on the basis of ancient commnnal forms of production. The Asiatic mode is taken as a pre-feudal mode and the specific picture of this mode is the village system and even after the emergence of feudalism, the changes did not basically alter the village community. The struggle between the castes gave expression to the essential relations of oppressions and exploitation between a small minority of rulers and the vast majority of the ruled. Though the essentials of the village communities continued for centuries, the Primitive Communist society in India was replaced by a system which divided society into castes—the inequality, oppression and exploitation of which were characreristic of class divisions The *Varṇas* indicated upper, middle, and lower classes (*CHI.*186). This type of class struggle assumed new forms only in India. This particular fact escaped the notice of Marx and hence in spite of his estimation of the village communities, he could not wholly explain the evolution of Indian society in its correct perspective. The general application of the, so-called Asiatic mode of production does not apply entirely to Indian conditions and the theory

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of Oriental Despotism (made out to be based on Marx's Asiatic Society) advanced by Wittfogel stands rejected. In the ancient Asiatic mode of production, the conversion of products into commodities holds a subordinate place; the ancient social organism of production are extremely simple. Caste division was essentially class division and it did develop within the framework of the village system. Marx rightly described the priestly class as 'the most powerful political class.'

The whole of India was not simultaneously in the same stage of development. India passed through savagery, barbarism, and civilization also and each stage resulted in the extension of rational human control over Nature and each new discovery of tools revolutionized history. In pre-capitalistic economy, the method of production, though not static, is primitive in character. It is not even possible to date a certain form of production and define its locality. As such, no single work can apply to the whole country. In India, a unique feature of the social evolution is that, the primitive food-gathering tribal society is not historically succeeded by a society based on slave mode of production. The primitive collective tribal society was superseded by three basic social institutions: the Joint Family, the Caste, and the Village Community. The nature of change from one form of production to another is not very clear. In the early tribal period, land was held in common and this practice continued in Punjab right upto the time of Alexander. The Aryans had for a pretty long time tribal property and not private property. In the early period we had only Arya and Dasa—the main class division without inter-marriage, the division of oppression and exploitation which is as reprehensible as ancient slavery.

A distinct reference to the past relating to the picture of primitive communism with its collective consciousness is formed in *Rig Veda* (VII. 76.4.5). We also get a reference to common wealth (III.2.12; II.17.7; VII.99.8) and common cow. There is an overwhelming sense of collectivity where everything is desired for '*us*' (I.73.9; II.11.21; I.24.3). There is even a reference to common meals (*AV*.III.30.6). The idea of collectivism persisted for a pretty long time (X.191.2-4; *AV-VIVI*.64; III.30.6; III.2.12; VII.6.4-5). The Aṅgirasas are referred to as a group in their collectivity, living a collective life of pre-class society (*RV*. X.62). Agni is the generator of the common wealth for the living beings (III.2.12) and Indra was the custodian of the common wealth (VIII.99.8). Even Vedatha, the earliest folk assembly, presupposes common production. It is one of the earliest collective institutions where there is no class distinction and where the women also participate. In the primitive commune women too owned wealth alongwith men. The *Devastutis* of the *RV* give us an account of the

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primitive communism. In its essential original forms it was part of the social mode of production and distribution—a social duty executed on behalf of the commune. The *Danā* scheme was a protection against starvation.

There was no Varna or class division in the primitive commune. Primitive communism was imposed on social man by the extreme backwardness of productive forces as production was possible only by productive labour. The existence of tribal societies in the pre-Vedic, Vedic and post-Vedic period is an example of uneven development. The evidences supplied by the *Māhābharata*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Buddhist literature*, *Asokan inscriptions* and the *Puranās* complete the picture of tribal societies. From the *Shāntiparva* (59.14), we learn that there was no institution of state and family in the past and there existed a state of promiscuity. There was no institution of marriage in the land of Uttarakuru and the fact stands supported by the *Dīghanikāya* (*SBB*. IV. 192). People enjoyed harmonious life and were free from cares and anxieties. There was no class distinction in the tribal Vedic *Gaṇa* and the *Purāṇas* and the Budhist literature refers to the absence of Varṇa in the past *Vāyu* P.I. VIII.60; *Mahāvastu* i-340-46; *SBB*.IV.62-67). The Sattra was noted for its collective tribal character. It was a collective functioning in which all participated without distinction.

Vedic literature contains a large number of references to *Gaṇa*. The Gaṇa economy was democractic in character. Its character has been emphasized in the ancient literature. Tribal societies were democratic as well as communistic as there was no private ownership of property. Prmitive common ownership of land was one of the charactaristics of the pre-class society and of tribal social organization the tribal survival is one of the feature of the traditional Indian social system. The Gaṇa constitution was the peoples' organization under primitive collectivism where the production relationship was at the same time kinship. Gaṇa, in course of time, indicated not only a tribal republic but also a republic, with an assembly of troops. It indicated an armed organization of the whole people. The leader of a Gaṇa was called Gaṇa pati. We have the following description in the *Atharvaveda* (111.30.5-6) — "Your drinking be the same, in common your share of food; in the same houses do I join you together; Worship Ye Agni united, like spokes about a nave." It implies a sort of primitive communism in which the tribesmen laboured together and shared their produce in common. In the early Vedic Gaṇa, there was no class division. Their economic basis was the rearing of cattle and the members of the Gaṇa moved from place to place. It was in the nature of a primitive tribal democracy centring in itself the military, distributive, religious, and social activities of early man. Gaṇa, in its original stage, was primarily a tribal republic. The earliest Aryan commune

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had possibly on division of labour.

Uneven social development was the basic feature of the early Vedic people and the social organization of the vrātyas is a case in point. Some of the vrātyas moved forward while others were left behind to lead a vrātya life. Those who moved forward developed a contempt for those left behind, as these vrātyas did not till the soil nor engage in trade. Vrātyas (if derived from vrāta — horde) lived in tribal societies and are sometimes equated with the Gaṇas. According to Sāyana, there is little difference between the Gaṇa and the Vrāta (*RV* X. 34. 12). According to the *Pañchaviṅśa Brāhmaṇa* all the ancestors of the Vedic people were living in the Vrātas. Gaṇa Vrāta indicated the group life of the tribal society (III. 26.6; x.34.8). The glorification of the Vrātyas in the *Atharvaveda* may indicate the memory of the collective life of the past (cf. R.K. Chaudhary, *The Vrātyas in Ancient India*). The condemnation of the Vrātyas as non-agriculturists may imply that they did not practice the art of agriculture in the orthodox manner and were still in the tribal stage. They lived in hordes and were equated with Gaṇa, Pūga and others. Since Gana indicated tribal collectivism, we may infer that Vrātyas were not different from them. Pāṇini derived them from Vrāta. Their professions were not fixed. They represented, to a great extent, the outlook of a pre-class society.

The Buddhist Saṁgha was organized on the basis of the old tribal ideal. In the Buddhist Saṁgha, the individual merged with the corporation and everything belonged to the Saṁgha. The Saṁgha became the owner of the property of a Bhiksu. The *Paccitiya* offence involving forfeiture, was based on a clear communistic view of property relations (*SBE* XIII. 18, 26). *Buddha described private property as the root of all trouble and greed.* Since the old values of tribal equality were fast declining on account of the rise of state powers, Buddha built up his Saṁgha on the model of the pre-class society. These were nothing but illusory substitutes of what had already been destroyed by the force of circumstances. The root of the trouble lay elsewhere which he could not correctly analyze or diagnose.

Gaṇa and Saṁgha were identical. Pānini equated Gaṇa with Saṁgha and according to Patanjali Saṁgha was called so because it was one body—a unity. The group life of the tribal society was still cherished. Since the Saṁghas were invincible, Kautilya left no stone unturned to hatch plans for their destruction. If the empire was to succeed, tribal solidarity had to be broken. Kautilya disapproved of their remaining together so they had to be rehabilitated to small but self-sufficient agricultural villages. The rulers of tribal institutions and ideologies were still there and even when settled in different villages they kept their traditions alive. Indians are slaves to the customs and the groups to which they belong. Tribal

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survivals, though a deadweight on society, are there and these have made peasants slaves of time-worn customs. This has been a regular feature of the Indian social system. Village communities are examples of such survivals. Caste, which according to Marx, is the decisive impediment to progress and power is the greatest basic fact of Indian history. It reveals one of the strongest relics of the tribal past. Cooperative life and common ownership of land were the salient features of the tribal survivals. The tribal peoples had to be conquered by violence and we have an example of the Varsakāra corrupting the Lichchavis with sordid means.

Though it is not possible to fit this vast country into a single pattern at a given time, yet certain broad and general stages from primitive communism to feudalism were reached. The course of the development of Indian history has been uneven and this aspect is one of the chief characteristics of our history. What was true of the Indus Valley was not true of all its contemporaries. Even Vedic civilization did not represent the whole of India. Tribal names in Asokan edicts are further evidences of uneven development. When the Vedic people were measuring their wealth in cattles, the Indus people were setting sophisticated urban civilization and centralized state power. The development of a social organization was not homogenous throughout the country. Tribes persisted by the side of the state and even in the Vedic literature we have various stages of development including class division and state power. We have pictures of primitive communism on one hand and its final break up on the other. The *Shāntiparva* (48.71) and the *Atharvaveda* (III. 30.5.6) reveal to us that in the *Arājaka* or the kingless states there was no ownership of property. Kautilya echoes the same feeling when he says that in a Gaṇa where vairajya exists, nobody has a feeling of mine (*AS.* VIII.2). The good days of the past could not continue for long and class contradictions appeared even among the Gaṇas. The Mālava and Kṣūdraka republics were based on slavery and serfdom, corresponding to Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Slaves and hired agricultural labourers of the Mallas and Koliyas were excluded from the exercise of political power which was monopolized by the nobles. This was possible only because of the fact that in course of time these nobles usurped all powers and controlled the means of productions.

Engels divided prehistoric society into six stages of culture:

(i) Three stages of savagery:

(a) emergence of man

(b) discovery of fire

(c) invention of bow

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(ii) Three stages of barbarism :

(a) pottery

(b) domestication of animal and agriculture

(c) smelting of metals.

During the period of savagery and barbarism there was no private property and whatever was available was utilized in common. There was no class antagonism and economic development was almost uniform. We learn from the *Purāṇas* that the people, in olden days, lived on roots and fruits (*Vāyu*-i: VIII.84; *Padmacharita* III.55); while there is a reference to the *Kalpabrikṣa* in the *Purāṇas* the *Mahāvastn* refers to *Vanalatā* (i. 340-41) as the source of livelihood and these would go to show that both the Puranic and the Buddhist literatures were aware of the fact that people began as food-gatherers and not as food-producers. The above statement supports the contribution of Morgan and Engels. The primitive society with its crude instruments and knowledge could not produce to yield a surplus. But after the domestication of animals, people gradually moved towards agriculture. The discovery of the art of cultivation enabled people to produce more than they could consume. Surplus came to be appropriated and that led to the establishment of force and law and ultimately of the State. It further led to the emergence of social classes (equated with Varṇa) and all the evils of social inequality came to the fore. The *Mahābhārata* presents the picture in the following manner—"The wealth of one is snatched by two, that of those two snatched away by many acting together." (*Shāntiparva*. 67.14-15). We learn from the same source that the people made a compact to inspire confidence among all Varṇas (Ibid. 67-19.). The statement of the *Mahābhārta* is in keeping with the statement of Engels that "*State came into existence owing to the necessity of curbing class antagonism*," (*Origin of Family, Private Property and State*). Law and Justice arose to protect the institutions of property. Primitive pre-class society was pre-spiritualistic but the class division brought to the fore the spiritual values. A distinction came to be made between manual labour and intelligence. Manual labour came to be marked as a sign of servitude and slavery and hence contempt for such work developed.

The discovery of fire, taming of animals, development of cattle breeding and discovery of metals changed the condition of man and brought about revolution. With the development of the instruments of production and consequently of the growth of wealth, population multiplied and social division of labour became a necessity. Three important achievements in the

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instrument of production were—(i) smelting of ores (*Aryaskara*-Smelter) and (ii) loom (*Tantuvaya*: weaver) and (iii) development of agriculture. Alongside agriculture arose handicrafts. Production was stepped up for commerce, exchange and commodity production. This shook the primitive commune to its foundation and brought social inequality in its train resulting in the division of society into two main classes—the rich and the poor. Commodity production had destroyed collectivism and the two powerful sections (*Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriyas*) came into clash in the appropriation of wealth produced by the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. We learn from the *Shāntipārva* (58) that private property and accumulation generated greed, selfishness using force to appropriate proceeds of social labour. Slavery had not assumed commercial forms in Rigvedic times, though we hear about indebted gamblers, slaves, jealousy and hatred between man and man.

The earliest division of labour in the Aryan commune began when the *Ṛtvijas*, formerly one, became differentiated in seventeen categories, leading *Yajña* labour into various branches of production. With the advance of Aryan tribal society and the development of inter-tribal contacts and exchange of surplus products, a sort of permanent division of labour came about. Whether the Varṇas arose as a division of labour in society is yet a problematical question but the fact remains that as a result of the internal division in the commune, society came to be divided into classes and the two main divisions in the beginning were (i) the Ārya and (ii) the Dāsa. The Gaṇa began to dwindle away and even when the classes came to stay under the state there were islands in some parts of the country with the Gaṇa economy. S.A. Dange believes that *Puruṣasūkta* is a *sūkta* of the subsequent slave constitutions of the Aryans Gaṇa, when Varṇa, slave and private property and state had arisen therein. A fresh set of production-relation emerged and with them came class antagonism.

The well-marked social divisions were the Āryan and the Dāsas and under the Āryas we have the following categories:

(i) Conduct of war and protection was assigned to the Kṣatriyas;

(ii) Observation of season, flood and the direction of socio-economic efforts, etc., was assigned to the Brāhmaṇas. They were leaders of the social economy and wielded sufficient power following the knowledge of direction and technique;

(iii) Viśas or Vaiśyas consisted of cattle breeders, handicraftsmen, agriculturists and they constituted the real demos.

The Dasas consisted of the so-called *Sūdras* who shared hard labour with the Vaiśyas. Even before the *Mahābhārāta* war, the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriyas

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were involved in a serious conflict over their respective share of wealth produced by the Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

The *Puruṣasūkta* did represent some stage of social development of abstract thinking. The early Vedic people had a predominantly pastoral economy, and rice was still unknown. There were attempts at possession of cattle. War was originally the desire for cattle. In the pastoral economy, the social organization was dominated by men. The destruction of the Gaṇa brought in its train a new social relation and a moral structure based on new property relations. The Āryans had broken the productive basis of the earlier civilization by destroying the river dams and their superiority depended upon the use of horse and a mobile food supply. Land, in their neo-tribal economy, was territory and not property. Even the cattle had a tribal common bond and these were held in common. The king was a symbol of tribal unity and an apportioner of surplus within the tribes. They had moved away from the primitive communist system and had developed a rudimentary class structure and private property in tools and weapons. The surplus produced by the Śūdras was appropriated by the tribe. The rise of surplus helped the growth of oligarchies. The transition from Primitive Communist society to a property ridden society was marked by a series of bloody wars. The division of classless society into two antagonistic classes necessitated the birth of a state. Pre-feudal production relations continued to flourish in the backward regions and among the tribes living near the north-west (as attested by the Greek writers) and north-east frontiers of India.

III

It would be improper to confuse continuity with stagnation. The pre-Industrial age in Indian history had a feudal bias and since a certain point in the course of history, it has been governed by the feudal modes of production relations. Class struggle assumed new form in India and here it was the struggle between castes which gave expression to the essential relations. The class structure in the Indus Valley civilization representing urban economy was helped by religion. The chalcolithic culture, based on domesticated animals and peasant farming and having international trade connections, was still in the barbaric stage. It spread over a wider area where the use of copper and bronze was known. The Indus civilization rested on the expropriation of surplus. Though we are not very sure about the economic relationship it would not be inappropriate to agree with Wheeler that it was a bourgeois-democratic civilization deriving its strength from a combination of agriculture and trade. We are not in a position to state catego-

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rically the reasons for the disappearance of this flourishing urban centre of civilization nor have we any definite information about its relationship with Vedic civilization. The extreme concentration of social surplus and the division of society into classes produced not only contradiction but also limited the expansion of industry. It stagnated after a particular period and the Āryans destroyed the river dams that flooded the land and thereby broke the productive basis of that civilization.

Vedic literature gives us the different stages of social life ranging from pastoral to settled agrarian economy. Old tribal economy ultimately came to be replaced by village agrarian economy and the advance of agriculture in the Gangetic Valley was facilitated by the institution of caste system under which the fruits of labour could be expropriated without slavery. The introduction of the use of iron helped the process. The change from tribe to society received powerful support from Jainism and Buddhism. Their denial of killing suited the new agrarian economy. Vedic ritualism was questioned. The ideological revolt must have had some economic background since the struggle for status was confined mainly to Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa groups at a time when we get an idea of varied material culture from Buddhist literature. In the peasant society of the Buddhist period, we come across Gaṇapatis and kings becoming powerful. The lower orders were made to serve the interests of the upper orders. The age of Buddha saw the development of productive forces and the rise of ruthless state power on the ruins of tribal societies. Lust for private property, trade, and war were responsible for the growth of human misery. The whole process led to a peculiar social set up which was characterized by despotism at the top and a destroyed tribal society below.

The Mauryan State came to be the greatest employer. The peasants were disarmed and the emperor demanded loyalty. A regular standing army was organized. Rational elements were coerced into submission. More and more lands were brought under cultivation by all possible means and the peasants continued ploughing even when the armies were fighting, within their sight. By the time of Asoka, the system of direct exploitation had reached its high watermark. No peasant could leave a tax paying village to settle in a tax free village. South India was yet underdeveloped and the Mauryan conquerors went up to Brahmagiri. In South India, there is no intermediate stage between the Megaliths and the Mauryans. As it was necessary to adopt some means to keep the empire together, Asoka propounded his Dhamma.

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IV

It would not be out of place to take into account the question of slavery in pre-feudal India. Slavery during the Vedic period was of a domestic nature and had not attained any commercial value. India never had a slave-holding economy. We have no definite evidence of their being engaged in productive activities during the Vedic period. Slaves and Śūdras were engaged in ploughing the field and persons doing menial work were treated like slaves. In the *Śrautasūtras*, we find slaves working on land. The bulk of slave labour was supplied by the Śūdras. In the *Suttanipata* (769) the slaves had been treated as property. Even in dowry, slaves were given. It was in the age of the Buddha that the rural economy based on peasant proprietorship, was further based to a great extent on the slaves, who were employed by the landlords for cultivation purposes. Among the Śākyas and the Koliyas, the actual labour was done by the slaves. Slaves and hired agricultural labourers under the Mallas and the Koliyas had no political power. On account of their being engaged in some sort of productive work Buddha advised his followers to look after their well being. There was one slave village in Varanasi known as *Dāsagāmas*. During the period of Mauryan state control, slaves were engaged in agricultural production and the Sitādhyaksa (Superintendent of Agriculture) had a large number of slaves under him. With a view to reclaiming new lands for agricultural purposes, the Mauryan State had to take recourse to slave-labour and hired Śūdras and labourers. Manu makes a legal distinction between a Śūdra and a slave. Some Śūdras even owned slaves. Slave labour was uneconomic in the face of cheap Śūdra labour. Indian slavery did not resemble the slavery of classical Greece and Rome. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possiblc to agree with the following of observations of Hussaini—"*the entire period of primitive capitalist economy coincided with the period of slavery.*"

V

After the decline ef the Mauryan state control, the village again became virtually self-sufficient giving India its fundamental appearance of unity and changelessness. In spite of the growth of population, commodity production greatly decreased. The village artisans came to be attached to lands. The army was dispersed in local garrisons or Gulma. Family holdings had become hereditary and a change in social structure became apparent. In India all the stages of social development were interlocked. It would not be appropriate to believe that a subsequent stage began when the pre-

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vious ended. The evolution of India from Primitive Communism to feudalism passed through various stages. The change from pastoral to agrarian economy sharpened the awareness of the inequalities of the social structure and power became the basis of a hierarchy of privilege. The priests whose status was challenged by the economic surplus sought to re-enforce religious distinctions and the *Śūtra* literature represents the various attempts of the Brāhmanas to challenge the new rules. Marx rightly questioned—"Why does the history of the east appear as a history of religion?" The answer lies in the fact that *Brahmanism included a particular type of social integration and religion had become the province of this intellectual minority*. The *Sūtra* literature explains authority as a means of satisfying basic social needs. Indian Brāhmaṇas indicated a special type and have been associated with the classes which are predominant by birth. The sacerdotal interests have almost universally been interwoven with those of the ruling classes. Even the incidence of taxation did not fall equitably upon all classes of people. The main burden of taxation fell on the people who pursued peaceful occupation such as agriculture, cattle breeding, etc. The texts often describe the 'people' as forming the backbone of royal power (*HCIP*-I.433). The producers were under obligation to support the priests and in the early medieval times the people were required to pay to the Brāhmaṇas a regular tax. With the emergence of the state the king was required to establish *Svadharma Varṇadhara* and *Āśramadharma*. Under feudalism, a king has been described as the regulator of all castes and stages of religious life. He became the supreme lord.

With village as the unit of basic production and immediate consumption, and unpropertied free Śūdra labour as the main source of expropriable labour, a new type of economic relationship appeared in India which in the long run facilitated the growth of feudalism. The Mauryan scheme was completely reversed. Religion became an important adjunct of the state. Taxes for the labourer and artisan were not in cash but in the form of labour. The Sātvāhanas in South India continued the process of integrating tribal groups into general Indian society. Brāhmaṇas were imported from the north to act as settlers and priests. The traders, the Jainas and the Buddhists played an important part in this process of integration. The new settlers from the north brought new types of agriculture to the peninsula. They agreed to share the product with the primitive population that supplied the labour. The surplus produced was used for trade. The fusion between the north and the south was to a great extent achieved during this period. The Brāhmaṇas from the north not only participated in the development of social production but were also influenced by the local customs and

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traditions. The evolution of primitive communal ownership into peasant proprietorship must have taken centuries, with the result, in accordance with the law of uneven development, the tribal, communal, and individual ownership of landed property have survived down to modern times on parallel lines in parts of South India. The cultural implication of India by the systematic projection of northern culture into the south was continued even with greater vigour under the Sātvāhanas.

A very large part of the cultivable land was appropriated by the king, his family, his officials, and miltary lords and specially the priestly upper class which played a vital role in keeping the masses in subjugation by taking advantage of the credulity and superstitions of the intellectually less equipped people. A new production relation was established in land through which upper classes acquired enormous estates and a large mass of peasantry was deprived of the produce of its hard labour. Big landed intermediaries were created in an agrarian economy giving birth to private rights in land. The possession of land was essential to the '*legitimacy of leadership claimed by the nobility since land and caste differentiated them from the rest of the society.*" The grant of land in lieu of cash salaries and various other practices, also helped in the growth of feudal conditions. Immunity was the privilege of the Brāhmaṇas. The Sātvāhana Grants carried the right of administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order.

VI

Feudalism is a new type of production relation on land in which land is owned by the superior classes standing in a favourable relation to the royal power. The Brāhmaṇas stood in special relation to the king and we learn that in the early centuries of the Christian era, estates of about 1000 kariṣās were farmed by the Brāhmaṇas requiring as many as five hundred ploughs and a host of hired labourers and oxen (*HCIP.*11.595). Feudalism indicates a chain of personal loyalty, with a secure foundation in the means and relations of productions, land-ownership, military service, tax collection, and the conversion of local product into commodities. In an inscription of 592 A.D. (*Charter of Visnusen*) we find a sāmanta being treated as a Feudal Viscount personally responsible to the king. Feudalism, in its true colour, made its appearance in the 6th and 7th centuries in India. Under feudal conditions, the peasantry had neither rights nor safeguards.

Summing up, we may conclude that pre-feudal India passed through various stages and our ancient literature and tradition contain references to these stages. India had to pass through all stages of human development

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with varying forms in different parts of the country. References to savagery, barbarism and civilization are found in the literary sources. All sources, taken together, give us reflections of the changing social organism which may be broadly divided into the period of Primitive Communism; society characterized by class contradictions, rise of urban civilization, the pastoral economy of the Vedic age, the rise of towns again and the epoch of state control with the use of slavery in the means of production, and ultimately of the growth of the village as the centre of the productive unit thus marking the beginnings of feudalism in India. A property ridden religion, morality, and philosophy were necessary to cover a new economic base. The conflict and contradictions of the early period of feudalism are well preserved in Shūdraka's *Mṛchchakatika*, a Sanskrit drama of rare importance, where facts of daily life have been more correctly presented than in any other contemporary work. It presents deep faith in the final victory of human dignity and democracy. It attacks all that hampers the free development of man. It is well said,

Know that villain is he
Who oppresses the godly People.

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The Ujjainiya Rajputs of Bhojpur and the Power Politics of the Mughal Empire

Dr. Rajiva Nain Prasad
Reader in History, Magadh University

The Paramar chieftains of Bhojpur[1] played an important role in the political history of Bihar in the medieval period of Indian history. Bhojpur, in early sixteenth century, was under the control of the Paramar Rajputs—popularly called "Ujjainiya Rajputs" in Bihar. This small estate of Bhojpur figured prominently in the Mughal-Afghan contest for supremacy in northern India (A.D. 1534-A.D. 1540) and also in the wars of succession amongst the four sons of Shahjahan.

When Sher Khan was gradually emerging as one of the prominent Afghan chiefs in South Bihar, in the second decade of the 16th century, Bhojpur was under the control of Gajapati. This Paramar chief (Gajapati) was extremely obliged to Sher Khan for the help given to him by Sher Khan in getting the chieftainship of Bhojpur in 1534.[2] Thus he was ever anxious to be of some help to his benefactor. Soon Gajapati got an opportunity of helping the Afghan chief. In order to consolidate his position Sher Khan led an expedition against Mahmud Shah, the ruler of Bengal in 1535, and not unnaturally sought the help of the Ujjainiya chief of Bhojpur — Gajapati.[3] Gajapati warmly responded to this request for help. He joined the Afghan army with two thousand select Bhojpuri soldiers. The battle took place at Surajgarh near Monghyr in the state of Bihar in A.D. 1534[4] and the Bhojpur contingent contributed greatly to Sher Khan's victory. Sher Khan was naturally pleased with Raja Gajapati for this sincere support. As a reward he was allowed to retain all the spoils of war that had fallen into his hands in Surajgarh. The Ujjainiya chief (Raja Gajapati) was also given a bejewelled armlet and a string of pearls — besides, the paragana of Buxar that was given to him as jagir.[5]

Raja Gajapati got another opportunity to prove his loyalty. In the struggle between Sher Khan and Humayun in northern India, he threw in his

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lot with the former. The impelling factor must have been the growing friendship between the two. But the Paramar chiefs of Bhojpur were divided in their allegiance to the Afghan chief. There was another group of Ujjainiya Rajputs led by Dalpat (a claimant for the throne of Bhojpur)[6] who were opposed to the succession of Gajapati to the chieftainship of Bhojpur. When Gajapati joined hands with Sher Khan it was natural that Dalpat would seek the support of Humayun for recovering the chieftainship of Bhojpur. Humayun was pleased to accept the allegiance of Dalpat and placed at his disposal a small Mughal contingent which helped Dalpat to conquer Bhojpur, Buxar and Jugdishpur.[7] Dalpat, the new Bhojpur chief, was also eager to help his benefactor and shortly he too got an opportunity. After his defeat in the battle of Chausa (A.D. 1539), Humayun was hotly pursued by Mir Farid Gaur, an Afghan commander of Sher Khan. At this critical time Dalpat and his maternal uncle, Birbhan of Arail, helped Humayun cross the Ganges near Mirjapur, from where the Emperor proceeded to Kalpi.[9]

With the establishment of the Sur hegemony in northern India under Sher Shah, his trusted ally Gajapati, with the help of a small Afghan contingent, re-established his hold on Bhojpur. Besides, Sher Shah was pleased to confer on him the title of Raja and gave him the Sarkars of Rohtas and Shahabad.[10]

With the re-establishment of the Mughal dynasty by Humayun in July, 1555, there did not occur any untoward change in the fortunes of Gajapati. On the contrary he rose to become one of the most powerful chiefs of south Bihar and attracted the notice of Abul Fazl who observes, "Gajapati was one of the noted landholders of the province of Bihar."[11] Gajapati possessed great political acumen and wisdom and he clearly foresaw the growing power of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. After the downfall of the Afghans he wisely decided to change his loyalty to the Mughals. He became a powerful supporter of the Mughal Emperor and gave all help to the Mughals in their wars of conquest and in the suppression of the recalcitrant Afghan chiefs of South Bihar.[12] Even Abul Fazl was full of praise for Gajapati for he observes: "Gajapati used always to be associated with the warrior of the threshold of the caliphate and he had rendered good services in the conquest of Bengal."[13]

The Paramar chiefs of Bhojpur also figured prominently in the war of succession amongst the four sons of Shah Jahan. Sulaiman Shikoh and Prince Shuja were engaged in a deadly conflict in the eastern provinces. Amar Singh, the Ujjainiya chief of Bhojpur, was a prominent and powerful chief of South Bihar. Hence, both Dara and Shuja were anxious to win him over to their respective sides. Thus, Shuja in one of his Nishans

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(letters) directed Amar Singh to join his camp with all his forces. The Nishan runs as follows:

> ...on receipt of this high, auspicious and prosperous Nishan you (Amar Singh) should come to the service of the wholly fortunate (i.e. Shuja) with as many friends as yon can afford to collect so that after kissing the threshold you shall be rewarded with royal bounties and special favours. Treat this as urgent...[14]

A similar letter (Nishan) was sent by Dara to Amar Singh in which the latter was asked to render all help to Prince Sulaiman Shikoh in the fight against his uncle, Shuja. The Nishan is dated the second month of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.H. (26 January A.D. 1568) i.e., a little over a month before the battle of Bahadurpur which was fought on 14 February, A.D. 1658. The Nishan which was sent from Shah Buland Iqbal Muhammad Dara Shikoh ran as follws:

> this order of high magnitude is issued to the effect that the pillar amongst the equals (Amar Singh) shall immediately on receipt of this high Nishan proceed successfully along with his brother and followers to the service of the fortunate and noble prince (Sulaiman Shikoh) and shall render excessively loyal and faithful services and shall rest assured that the services rendered by the best among the equal (Amar Singh) shall be amply rewarded by Imperial favours and grace. His rank shall of course be raised. Take this as urgent and know that the favour of the king shall be with you....[15]

The Bhojpur chief, Raja Amar Singh, had not forgotten the past obligation of Prince Shuja with whose support he had been able to secure the possession of the estate of Bhojpur. It was quite natural that when the request for help came from Shah Shuja he would rally to his support. Hence the promises of rewards failed to induce Amar Singh to join the camp of Prince Sulaiman Shikoh. In the conflict between Shuja and Sulaiman Shikoh, Amar Singh rendered all possible help to Shuja.[16]

When Prince Sulaiman Shikoh found that Amar Singh had joined the side of his uncle he turned to another powerful Ujjainiya chief of Bhojpur named Koklat[17] and succeeded in winning him over to his side. Koklat was given the title of Raja and a mansab of 1000 zat and 800 sowars besides the village Zuhi in paragana Bhojpur as jagir.[18]

The forces of Shah Shuja and those of Sulaiman Shikoh took up their position near Bahadurpur.[19] Shuja's forces were stationed in the middle of a dense forest making it extremely difficult for the soldiers of Sulaiman's

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army to make any headway. When Dara Shikoh came to know of this he immediately despatched written instructions to Mirja Raja Jai Singh, who accompanied Sulaiman, asking him to take the help of Raja Koklat in that critical situation. The letter ran as follows:

> It is understood that the forces of the unfortunate army (Shuja's) have taken up their position in the midst of dense forest and stream and have fortified themselves there... you also do not find it advisable in the interest of the state and for safety of the army to proceed against them in this place.... However, Koklat Ujjainiya who happens to be zamindar of that place should be asked to dispatch his forces towards the enemy in order to bar their way and stop their supplies of grain....[20]

On the 15 February 1658, the forces of Shuja and Sulaiman clashed with each other. Shuja was helped by Amar Singh Ujjainiya and Sulaiman was backed by Koklat Ujjainiya. In this battle the nephew (Sulaiman) inflicted a crushing defeat on the uncle (Shuja). Shuja fled towards Bengal followed by the victorious Sulaiman Shikoh. In this campaign Amar Singh gave unstinted support to Shah Shuja and won the appreciation of the Mughal Prince; this is clear from the farman mentioned below:

> ....The order is issued to the effect that with full confidence Amar Singh may proceed to receive the honour of being present before the light spreading so that he shall be raised to higher dignity by grace of the Emperor....[21]

Raja Koklat Ujjainiya was still a force to be reckoned with. Shah Shuja, therefore, deputed one of his trusted generals, Syed Jan Alam to curb his power and drive him out of Bhojpur. Amar Singh was also asked to help Syed Jan Alam in fulfilling the assignment with promises of more favours. This is clear from the following farman of Shah Shuja which is dated 6th Muharrum, 1069 A.H. (i.e., 24 September, 1658):

> ...Amar Singh may know that since at the present time the facts of bravery and his efforts shown in company with Syed Jan Alam in the act of resisting and punishing the accursed Koklat have been brought to the notice of the enlightened and by way of imperial favour the role of honour has been given to him (Amar Singh).[22]

By the end of October 1658 Shuja consolidated his position and found himself at the height of his power. He also assumed the title of 'Emperor'. Naturally it was not expected of him to forget the commendable services

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that were rendered him by Amar Singh. Amar Singh's services were commended and he was granted the title of 'Raja of Bhojpur'. This information is available from the following farman of Shah Shuja, dated 5 Shahr Rabi-ul-Awwal 1069 A.H. (i.e., 21st November 1658):

> ...whereas Amar Singh the best among the contemporaries and the likes, by sincere faith and clear heartedness has come into the notice of the high (Shah Shuja) for his having rendered loyal and good services, he has been rewarded by way of royal favour with the charge of Bhojpur etc. after dispossessing the accursed Koklat, and that he has been given the title of 'Raja' by way of distinction.... It is necessary that the Mutassaddis performing higher duties, the administrators, the fauzdars, jagirdars, and the Kroris of the present and the future and the zamindars, choudharies, qanungoes, moqaddams, the tenants, cultivators, all inhabitants and ordinary residents of the said Mahal should regard the aforesaid as the Raja of that place... they shall not disregard his advice which would be conducive to loyalty and good administration....

But all hopes and aspirations of Amar Singh were dashed to pieces when on January 5, 1659, his patron Shah Shuja received a crushing defeat at the hands of Aurangzeb in the battle of Khajwah in the district of Fatehpur.

After the death of Aurangzeb there ensued a period of political instability internal chaos and confusion. In the first two decades immediately after the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal throne was hotly contested by different claimants. In 1712 the succession of Jahandar Shah to the Imperial throne was challenged by Farrukhsiyar. The Mughal Prince came to Patna from Rajmahal and sought the protection and help of Syed Hussain Ali Khan, the then Governor of Bihar. Syed Hussain Ali Khan took up the cause of Farrukhsiyar and directed the zamindars of Bihar to join him with their forces.[23] In response to this call the then Paramar chief of Bhojpur, Raja Horil Singh, joined the Prince's army with an ujjainiya force of 500 infantry and 400 cavalry. He was entrusted with an important assignment of looking after the family of Farrukhsiyar at Patna while the Prince was away to Delhi along with Syed Hussain Ali Khan to try his luck against Jahandar Shah.[24] After Farrukhsiyar became the Mughal Emperor he raised the mansab of Raja Horil Singh from 500 zat and 400 sowars to 1000 zat and 800 sowar. Thus, Raja Horil Singh became a great supporter of the Mughals and rendered valuable services to the Mughal Governors of Bihar in suppressing the revolts of refractory zamindars of the districts of Shahbad and Patna.

The first two decades of the second half of the eighteenth century were one of the most chaotic periods in the political history of Bihar. The

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Mughal's hold on the province of Bihar had almost diminished. The English had begun to take greater interest in the internal politics of the province. After the death of Aliverdy Khan in 1756 the authority of the Nawab of Bengal over Bihar had also waned. Hence, a political void occurred and there was no strong power to fill up this void. The result was that different political forces utilized this chaotic condition of the province to their own advantage. One such force was that of the Ujjainiya chiefs of Shahabad[25] who began to fish in the troubled waters. They abstained from paying taxes to the Nawab's treasury and took sides in the political grouping of the province that suited their interest most.

The then commander-in-chief of the East India Company's forces in Bengal, Robert Clive, was wise enough to realize the political importance of the Bhojpuri chiefs. It was in fact due to his persuasion that Nawab Mirjaffar was led to invite some of the important Ujjainiya chiefs of Shahabad to attend his darbar on February 23, 1758. We get the following information regarding it from Fort William — India House Correspondence:

> on February 23, 1758 the Nawab held a darbar and announced the appointment of his son as Nawab of Patna and of Ram Narayan as his deputy in actual charge of administration. To this darbar also came, on Clive's assurance of pardon and safety, two of refractory chieftains of Bihar—Sundar Singh[26] and Pahalwan Singh[27] — whose territores lay on the border of Bihar.[28]

The Bhojpuri menace however, continued to remain a headache to the authorities of Bengal, and we find them once again extending their support to Prince Ali Gouhar who had invaded Bihar early in 1759 with a force of 30,000 soldiers. In fact the Shahzada had been encouraged to undertake the expedition by the Ujjainiya chief of Nokha, Pahalwan Singh, besides others viz. Sundar Singh of Tekari and Balwant Singh of Benaras. This invasion of the Shahzada was considered so serious that it brought Clive to Bihar to meet the threat. Clive left Calcutta for Bihar on March 1, 1759 with 450 Europeans and 2500 sepoys. On his approach, the Shahzada abandoned the siege of Patna and left Bihar by April 1759. The threat of invasion thus came to an end.[29]

Clive was extremely displeased with the Ujjainiya chiefs for rendering help to Shah Alam II. In May 1759, therefore, he came to Shahabad and invaded Nokha, the stronghold of Pahalwan Singh. The Ujjainiya chief submitted to Clive without fighting and from the Fort William—India Correspondance—we learn, that: "Clive wrote to say that the Shahzada

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had been a long-while cleared of the Nawab's dominions, that Pahalwan Singh had agreed to submit on any reasonable terms, that the other Bhojpur Rajas had agreed to pay ten years arrears of revenue to Ram Narayan."[30]

But Clive was not the last to invade the district of Shahabad for punishing the Bhojpur chiefs for their recalcitrance and disloyalty. He was soon followed by Mir Qasim, the governor of Bengal. Not only did they break out into open rebellion every now and then against the Nawab's authority in Shahabad but they even extended their depradation to the neighbouring districts, causing an enormous harassment to the people there. Mir Qasim was bent on establishing peace and order in that region and decided to curb their recalcitrance by a show of force. It was in fact this Bhojpur menace which impelled Mir Qasim to shift his headquarter, though temporarily, to Monghyr, in June 1762.[31] The Nawab's wrath was further aroused as they failed despite their promises to Clive to pay off the government dues, which continued to accumulate. They had also the temerity to ally themselves with Ram Narayan, whom the Nawab intensely disliked.[32]

Moved by these considerations, Mir Qasim adopted a definite policy of subjugating the district of Shahabad, and of establishing his authority over the hostile and rebellious zamindars of this district (i.e., Shahabad) which served as a frontier between his territory and that of the Wazir of Oudh.

The policy of Mir Qasim received the approval of Mr. Vansittart, the then governor of Bengal.[33] His own trusted officers (of Bengal) also commended it. This is apparent from the following letter of one of his officers:

> ...your Excellency's intention of proceeding to Bhojpur is very right because at the report of your Excellency's departure your enemies both far and near will be ashamed and receive their deserts and they and the Rajas on that side will be obedient to your will. God grant that wherever your Excellency goes, you may have success and rout our enemies. I shall be happy in the execution of any orders from Nawab Muzuderool Mullick Bahadur, Turab Ali Cawn Bahadur. The increase of your Excellency's greatness is my happiness and if any enemies come on this side I shall be ready in conjunction with the said Cawn to defeat and chastize them. Your Excellency will be satisfied in regard to this side and be inclined to chastize the wicked on that side....[34]

Mir Qasim, however, was conscious of the difficulties involved by a march upon Shahabad, the stronghold of the brave Ujjainiya chiefs. He, therefore, made great preparations. Besides his own force which was adequate, he had also with him a small contingent of British soldiers. With this

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army he started for Shahabad in November 1763. The appearanee of such a big army on the plains of Shahabad convinced the Ujjainiya chiefs of the futility of engaging them in a pitched battle. They therefore thought it wise to send their family members to places of safety and they themselves escaped to Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Oudh and Banaras.[35]

Mir Qassim first marched upon Nokha;[36] but finding the fort abandoned, he destroyed it and burnt the neighbouring villages.[37] He then proceeded to Sasaram where he halted for a few days. Advancing thence, he came to Rohtsgarh whose Diwan, Shamal, was put in chains along with the commandant of the garrison because they were suspected to be in collusion with the Ujjainiya chiefs of Shahabad. Rohtasgarh was now placed in charge of trusted officers. Another officer was deputed to hold charge of Sasaram and Chainpur.[38] After making these administrative arrangements, he next proceeded to Jagdishpur which was an important stronghold of the Ujjainiya Rajputs of Shahabad. He found the fort deserted. He destroyed it partly and burnt the houses of the Ujjainiya Rajputs. He then went to Dumraon, another stronghold of the Ujjainiyas and harassed the people there. Finally, one trusted officer was placed in charge of the entire Bhojpur region. Sombre, the German adventurer, popularly known as Somru, was appointed as commandant in charge of Buxar and a strong contingent of soldiers was placed under him. Arrangement was also made for the regular collection of revenue from the zamindars of Bhojpur. The whole of Bhojpur was divided into several paraganas and a Tehsildar was appointed in each. After making these arrangements, Mir Qasim returned to Monghyr.[39]

These arrangements, made in the interest of a strong administration for Shahabad not withstanding the ultimate result of the expedition, was a failure. It had failed to humble the Bhojpur zamindars. They had left their homelands at the approach of Mir Qasim; but they returned almost immediately after he had left the district. They had, of course, suffered some loss in the destruction of their homes and property but they soon made up their losses. They repaired their various fortresses and drove out some of the commandants of Mir Qasim, resorting again to their rebellious activities. Mir Qasim himself was quite conscious of this failure and his uneasiness on this account is evident from the following letter sent by one of the officers of Bengal:

> Your Excellency's gracious letter I have received. You acquaint me that you are displeased. That you cannot dismiss your troops, also that the Baugepoor (Bhojpur) is not entirely settled, and therefore you will remain in Monghyr...Your Excellency's erecting your standard at Mongyr

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is very proper. You need be under no apprehension in regard to Bengal ...you have given me orders to come to Monghyr. It is true, I should be much honoured and rejoiced to pay you a visit at Monghyr...but for two or three months following is the season for the arrival of the European ships. On this account it is necessary for me defer it for two or three months...[40]

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4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, II, p. 15.
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8. Arail was a pargana in the Subah of Allahabad.
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14. The Nishan is dated 1068 A.H. (September, 1657).
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16. *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainiya*, II, pp. 15ff.
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19. Bahadurpur is 5 miles north-east of Varanasi.
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The Concept of Urban Revolution— a Theoretical study of the Second Urbanization of India

Dr. Vijay Kumar Thakur
Department of History, Patna University

Urbanization in ancient India had two distinct phases. The Harappan cities,[1] which emerged in the early part of the third millennium B.C., collapsed after about one thousand years without leaving any urban tradition for posterity. It was only after another thousand years that towns emerged in ancient India for the second time. The total disappearance of the first city dwellers and their failure to convey any meaning of their way of life to their successors is bewildering, especially when viewed in a world-wide perspective. The only plausible reason that comes to mind for the failure of the survival of this early urban tradition is the weakness of their technological base. Their basis was superficial and, not unnaturally, their period of glory brief. In this context the absence of a legacy to draw from and emulate is self-explanatory. With this perspective let us examine the theoretical aspects of the re-emergence of towns in India in the seventh-sixth century B.C.

It was V. Gordon Childe who first formulated the concept of urban revolution in 1936,[2] and in 1950[3] he recorded the archaeological traits that must have been the characteristic features of the earliest city:

1. The first cities must have been more extensive and more densely populated than any other previous settlements.
2. While there might have been peasants cultivating lands outside the cities, all cities must have accommodated non-food-producing classes dependent on the surplus produced by peasants.
3. Each primary producer paid over his surplus to a deity or divine King, who conserved the surplus.
4. Monumental buildings, which distinguish a city from a village.

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were constructed; they symbolized and reflected the concentration of social surplus.

5. The non-food-producing specialists were supported by the surplus concentrated in temples, or royal granaries, and were dependent on the temple or the court. Amongst the specialists, the priests, officials, and civil and miltary leaders, absorbed the major share of the surplus and came to form the 'ruling class,' which conferred substantial benefits upon the subjects by way of planning and organization.

6. Political expediency compelled the ruling class to invent systems of recording and exact, practically useful, sciences. Revenue administration obliged the administrators to invent writing and numeral notations.

7. The invention of writing enabled the leisured clerks to elaborate the more exact and predictive sciences — arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.

8. Other specialists gave a new direction to artistic expression, carving, modelling or drawing, in finely conceptualized and sophisticated styles.

9. The concentration of surplus also facilitated foreign trade.

10. In the city, craftsmen were provided with the raw materials needed for employment of their skill, and also guaranteed security in a state organization based on residence rather than kinship. Itinerary was no longer obligatory. The city was a community to which a craftsman could belong politically as well as economically.

Naturally all ten criteria laid down by Childe have not gained universal acceptance. In fact, at one point an urban status was assigned even to the pre-pottery settlement, invalidating Childe's hypothesis that writing is a necessary trait of urbanity. A stage of Jericho, primarily on the strength of its imposing architectural structure[4] and, more recently, the magnificence of his finds at Catal Huyuk,[5] led Mellaart to assign an urban status to this Chalcolithic Anatolian settlement though it lacked a script. The controversy, however, no longer exists, for Mellaart himself calls Catal Huyuk a neolithic town,[6] not a city. In the classificatory system of archaeology then, the art of writing is the most important element which distinguishes a civilized urban group from its relatively barbaric contemporaries or ancestors.

Similar doubts have also been raised against certain other traits mentioned by Childe. Adams questions the significance of the appearance of representational art.[7] This phenomenon is, at least, not immediately apparent with the emergence of cities. Certain other urban traits outlined by Childe, for instance, the exact and predictive sciences, are largely a matter of interpretation from fragmentary and ambiguous evidence. Adams even questions Childe's attempt to identify Urban Revolution on te basis of

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these traits, which he calls 'loosely associated features.'[8] This criticism, however, fails to do justice to Childe. To understand any socio-economic-cultural phenomena an archaeologist is bound to depend on a number of apparently loosely associated but tangible traits, otherwise archaeology itself would fail to convey any meaning.[9] And Childe has done exactly that. Moreover, we have not yet been offered anything more satisfactory than Childe's ten traits for the delineation of the Urban Revolution. Even Braidwood's eight traits of Urban Revolution do not differ significantly from those of Childe's.[10]

Childe's theoretical scheme to account for the Urban Revolution has also been challenged. The ten criteria suggested by him resolve themselves into a group of primary variables and a larger group of secondary variables, the primary motivating forces for the urban origin being the rise of new technology and subsistence patterns.[11] Childe's emphasis on technology as the prime moving force behind the Urban Revolution is more explicit in his *What Happened in History*: 'The thousand years or so immediately preceding 3000 B.C., were perhaps more fruitful in inventions and discoveries than any period of human history prior to the sixteenth century A.D. Its achievements made possible that economic re-organization of society that I term the 'Urban Revolution'.'[12] The most important invention was the copper-bronze metallurgy, 'the first approximation to international science.'[13] This combined with other inventions and discoveries broke down the comparative self-sufficiency of the earlier peasant communities and paved the way for a new settlement pattern which manifested itself in the form of the city.

Childe's conceptual scheme was criticized by Braidwood who said that the 'emphasis on cultural growth and process as civilization appeared makes our interpretation different from that of Gordon Childe....The great change between pre-civilization and civilized human life came in those realms of culture other than the technological and economic.'[14] Adams, who is of the same opinion, argues that metallurgy came to be effectively developed only in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, when the cities were already a normal feature of Mesopotamian society.[15] In the case of Egypt, according to him, the decisive Early Pharonic power was accompanied by little more in the way of technological change than an enhancement of the supply of raw materials.[16] He further adds that the later technological superiority, in other words, may have had little to do with the processes which brought the city into being.[17] Agricultural surplus, no doubt, was necessary but without an established political authority this surplus could not have been effectively channelized to give an expression of urban settlements. Stretching the argument farther, Ghosh asserts that the prerequisite

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for the development of urbanism is not a hypothetical surplus but an administrative and mercantile organization, the ruler and the merchant, both of the city and each the ally of the other in history.[18] Thus he holds that surplus was not a technical but a social product; 'the institution created the surplus which is not "there" the moment it is technically possible but only after it has been institutionalized through taxes, trade and other means.'[19] Therefore, in the production of surplus the non-agricultural aspect is dominant in the form of procurement.[20]

Ghosh, however, seems to forget the basis of trade and the origin of the mercantile community. Trade itself implies surplus production. Moreover, the criticism of Childe is based more or less on the shifting of emphasis from technology to political authority. In this scuffle the main point seems to be lost. Childe specifically mentions that surplus was a precondition for the growth of the village into a city[21] and within the city the accumulation of surplus was restricted to a small class, which ultimately split the society into classes.[22] Childe is very much correct in saying this because it was the development in technology which ultimately produced the surplus. It was only after the production of this surplus that political power came into the picture. To emphasize the role of political authority at the cost of technological innovations in the field of agriculture is to put the cart before the horse. It has also been contended that surplus could not have been produced unless a need for it arose and the need arose only when political authority pressed for it.[23] But this would mean that agricultural production year after year was so planned and calculated that hardly anything was left at the end of the year. But we know for certain that the agricultural communities must have started producing surplus as soon as a need for certain non-agricultural products arose. Moreover, surplus must have been produced and then accumulated for future exigencies. This would have been all the more necessary in ancient communities for their agriculture mostly depended upon nature, and a single crop failure would have brought havoc on that society. We feel that the idea of surplus-yield is itself present in the very concept of agricultural production. This fact is, in fact, attested by a number of Vedic hymns wherein a sacrificer always desires to possess as much cattle and agricultural wealth as possible.

Childe's use of the word 'revolution' in the context of urbanization has also been objected to. It has been asserted that the event was not momentous enough to warrant the use of the epithet of Revolution. Mumford thinks that though 'the term does justice to the active and critically important role of the city, it does not accurately indicate the process, for a

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revolution implies turning things upside down, and a progressive movement away from outworn institutions that have been left behind. The rise of the city, so far from wiping out earlier elements in the culture actually brought them together and increased their efficacy and scope.'[24] Frankfort's objection, like Mumford, is based on the fact that the word 'revolution' implies a violent change but the facts do not suggest so.[25] Daniel prefers to use the Greek word 'syndecism', meaning 'coming together.'[26] Redfield's acceptance of the word 'revolution' is not without some hesitation.[27] Childe himself, however, points out that the process of urban growth was so finely divided in the archaeological sequence that it is rather impossible to locate the precise point at which the revolution took place, and quantity passed over into quality.[28] Notwithstanding this clarity on Childe's part he has been attacked by Wilson too, who, in the context of Egypt, has gone to the extent of saying that 'one may accept a truth in Childe's "urban revolution", provided it is understood that it was not "urban" and was not a "revolution".'[29] But these arguments and counter-arguments are purely of academic interest and if analyzed carefully Childe's use of the appellation 'urban revolution' will not seem to be a misnomer. While using this word, he had in mind the 'industrial revolution' of England which too was neither violent nor sudden. The event was termed as a 'revolution' because of a marked technological development as well as an expansion of population in England—the two features which are equally applicable to the period of 'Urban Revolution.' The term 'industrial revolution' is also justified on the ground taht it led to far-reaching changes in every sphere of human activity; the same was also true with the 'urban revolution.'

Ghosh, however, raises a basic problem when he hesitates to use the word 'urbanization' in the Indian context.[30] He says that in both the Indus and the early historical periods, there was no large scale drift to the city, as the word would lead us to expect.[31] 'The vast population continued to be rural, and nothing altered the predominantly rural character of the land.'[32] It seems that Ghosh's only criteria, or rather the most important one, for calling a period urban, is the large scale rural-urban migration. This raises a fundamental question: Is the term 'urbanization' to be used only in a context where one can be sure of a large-scale dr ft from villages to towns ? Ghosh, while dealing with ancient urbanization, has, consciously or unconsciously, tried to impose the features of a modern urban society because in no pre-industrial era was there any large-scale drift to the city. In the ancient context[33] society was predominantly rural, and the rural element was quite strong even within the city walls. Mumford has clearly shown that even the Greek cities of the fifth-fourth centuries B C., were quite close to the rural way.[34] In fact, it seems, and quite naturally

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too, that the urbanism of the pre-industrial era was quite dominated by the rural spirit. Max Weber is quite explicit on this point when he says that 'the full urbanite of antiquity was semi-peasant.'[35]

The second urbanization in India which started in the early historic period continued unabated upto the time of the Guptas with periodical changes in its concentration; in any case, it was a continuous process. In this context, it is undeniable that there was a drift from the village to the city over all these centuries. The drift might not have been large-scale but in no pre-industrial society was this drift massive. But, then the cities which sprang up gave birth to a new series of practices and institutions which affected society in a way that altered its character completely.[36] With this perspective in view, we feel no hesitation in using the term urbanization in the context of ancient Indian society.

With this conceptual framework, let us now examine the validity of Childe's ten traits of urban revolution in the context of the origins of the city in early historical India. His first criterion regarding the size of a city and its density of population is quite obvious. The size of a pre-industrial town could not have been very large, but even mounds extending (at least) over one square mile may indicate quite a sizeable population. In fact, in the absence of any large scale horizontal excavations or of any attempt to make a statistical tabulation of the population data, nothing can be said with certainty. On the basis of numerous literary references, however, we can presume that the towns were centres of population and the number of persons living therein was in any case greater than those living in the surrounding villages.[37]

Childe's second criterion regarding the accommodation in towns of non-food producing classes,like specialist-craftsmen, transport-workers, merchants, officials and priests, who thrived on the surplus produced by peasants is equally applicable to the Indian context. Towns which originated were centres of trade and political power. Political power in those days was aligned to temporal power, because the loyalty of the people was directed not towards the state but towards the social order. The priest became almost inseparable from the king, and was held as a manifestation of the social order. On the other hand, trade required a full-time merchant class as well as certain specialist-craftsmen who could manufacture goods that were in demand in foreign markets. They were also supposed to cater to the needs of the new sophisticated urban class. All these classes of people, who were not engaged in primary production due to their specialized avocation, thrived on the surplus produced by peasants in the outlying villages.

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Childe's third criterion, however, as far as early historical India is concerned, needs to be modified. The Mesopotamian city-god or a divine king of Childe's imagination was absent here. However, it was the king, who collected the surplus through various taxes.(The emergence of the taxation system in the post-Vedic period [38] probably indicates this). They concentrated it, no doubt, but, as in the Harappan period, we have not discovered any granary in this period. The fact that a well organized state structure with a host of political, administrative, military, and religious officers and a gathering of merchants, manual labourers and others emerged in this period, points towards the appropriation of surplus by the state. Without a sizeable surplus these institutions could not have evolved.

Of monumental buildings, Childe's fourth criterion of the city, there is not much trace. The only probable exception being Bhir Maund, the first city of Taxila. Here one encounters a pillared hall within a house-complex with larger rooms than elsewhere; the hall was perhaps the reception room of some dignitary's house.[39] Marshall, however, thinks that it was a shrine and the house attached to it 'may have been occupied by priests and their attendants and disciples.'[40] In the 1944 excavation another structure, which Ghosh thinks is a public building,[41] was exposed.[42] The remains at Kauśāmbī which belong to this period, are not very imposing.'[43] The Ghositārāma monastic complex in north-eastern part of the city, however,deserves mention.[44] The structures at Rājagrha, even the stupas, are hardly monumental.[45]

Monumental buildings, which took the form of temples and other religious edifices in Chalcolithic civilizations, had probably no justification for their appearance in early historical India. The religious beliefs and practices of the North Indians did not necessiate the construction of any edifice, except the Buddhists who had their stūpas from the beginning, but they were unpretentious and hardly monumental.[46] The remains of early palaces are also absent [47] although it is certain that they must have been built. As the Āryans did not bury their dead, and the climate of the middle Ganga basin was moister in earlier times than it is now and the area subjected to periodic floods and burnt-brick not in use, it is not surprising that no material remains have so far been disinterred. The easy availability of timber, probably due to large-scale cutting of trees for extending the agricultural land, made wooden structures common, but with time they perished leaving behind pitiful remains, as at Kumrahar.[48] In fact, burnt brick came into use quite late. At Pāṭliputra,[49] Vaisali,[50] Ujjain,[51] Besnagar,[52] and Ahichchhatra[53] burnt-brick came into vogue in the late phase of the Northern Black Polished Ware. On the other hand, at Hastināpura,[54] Rajghat,[55] Mathura,[56] Charsada,[57] Tilaurkot,[58] Atranjikhera,[59] Kauśāmbī,[60] Sonpur and Chirand,[61]

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burnt-brick came to be used even later. Outside north India, at Navdatoli the first burnt-brick structure appears after 400 B.C.[62] At Nasik,[63] Nevasa,[64] and Tripuri[65] the use of brick is post-Mauryan. Viewed from this angle the reason for the disappearance of monumental structures becomes quite obvious.

The formation of a ruling class, which is the fifth criterion of Childe, is quite explicitly mentioned in the contemporary literature of those times. The later Vedic age witnessed the emergence of territorial monarchy concomitant with the transformation of the concept of king-ship.[66] Royal power increased and the king could even grant land with the consent of the clan.[67] Another remarkable feature of this period was the development of two important organs of the government — the system of taxation and official machinery.[68] The increase in the power of the king is also attested by the lessening importance of the popular assemblies. In fact, the king assisted by the Brāhmanas and the war-chiefs, came to dominate the whole scene.

It also seems applicable to the early historic Indian context that the ruling class conferred some benefits upon their subjects by way of planning and organization. Although there is no evidence of the Harappan public sanitary arrangements, there are indications of similar arrangements in individual houses. In the earliest phase of Bhir Mound the sewage was thrown into private soakwells constructed with each house.[69] At Kauśāmbī too these soakage-jars, ring-wells, and pottery drains, all belong to *circa* 400 B.C.[70] Though the references to the planning of cities in contemporary literature may not be wholly accepted they do give us an idea of the lay-out of streets, the planning of the city proper, etc.[71]

Writing as an essential feature of city life—the next criterion of Childe is much disputed. But as we have discussed earlier it is now generally accepted as an important aspect of urbanization. Sjoberg agrees that the use of a writing-system is a single firm criterion for distinguishing the city from other types of habitation centres.[72] According to him, 'pre-industrial civilized society' and 'literate pre-industrial society' are synonymous.[73] Our early historical cities certainly fulfil this criterion. The earliest evidence of writing in early historical India comes to us from the period of Aśoka; Aśokan edicts are the earliest written decipherable records of ancient India. His edicts were inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī scripts and the language used was Prākṛt. Now one thing is certain that any script takes some time to evolve. When exactly the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi scripts came into use is not definitely known, but they were well-established in Aśoka's time and some time-lapse must be allowed for their standardization. Again, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhayī*, which is a standard work of Sanskrit grammar, and which can be dated to *c.* fifth century B.C., indicates the advanced stage

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of Sanskrit language and, by implication, points towards the evolution of a script of some type.

Though much cannot be said about the raison d'etre of the origin of either Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhi script, yet it is certain that they did not have any sacerdotal reason, as was the case in ancient Sumeria. To us it seems that these scripts originated as a result of certain politico-economic changes in the eighth-seventh century B.C. society. The growing trade and the establishment of territorial political power in the later Vedic period needed a method of maintaining records, and it was possibly this necessity which ushered in the era of writing.

Though astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic, the seventh criterion of Childe, developed in India during this period, it is difficult to establish their connection with the growth of urbanization. They were probably a result of saceradotal exigencies — Vedic sacrifices required altars of specific sizes and shapes, and the art of constructing such altars was called Śulba;[74] and it is likely that this led to the development of geometry. Ghosh thinks that the science of astronomy too developed out of religious necessity,[75] but we have no evidence to this effect. It seems that astronomy had a secular origin.[76] Arithmetic too had a somewhat similar origin.[77] Though their connection with urban growth cannot be established, it is certain that much of the later Vedic literature wherein they developed, grew under royal patronage— of course, as a by-product of the accumulation of social surplus. But Childe's contention that it was the leisured clerks who invented these predictive sciences is inapplicable to the Indian context.

Ghosh thinks that no spirit of artistic activity— the eighth criterion of Childe— is noticeable in the early part of our period.[78] To support his contention he asserts[79] that we do not possess any pre-Mauryan stone sculpture, either in the native tradition, such as the later Yaksa-figures, or in imitation of a foreign style, such as the pillar-capitals of Aśoka.[80] But he himself admits the growth of argillaceous art in this period.[81] Though this tenet of Childe is hardly applicable to historical India, his basic contention that specialists gave a new direction to artistic expression is to some extent, reflected in the Northern Block Polished Ware of this period. It was a deluxe ware and a decidedly technological advancement upon its predecessor. In fact, the surplus produced in this period facilitated the emergence of a leisured class among the affluent sections of the upper classes, and this class was in a position to indulge in fine arts and give patronage to various craftsmen and artists.[82]

Ghosh finds Childe's ninth criterion, regarding extensive foreign trade, inapplicable to the Indian context.[83] But on the basis of a recent study, it can be argued that some foreign trade did exist in this period.[84] As for

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imports, silver for punch-marked coins was certainly brought from outside the country. Internal trade, however, was in a flourishing condition.[85] Trade was facilitated by the advent of money economy, which was ushered in by the use of punch-marked coins in this period. Development of trade-routes and sea voyages is attested to by a number of Jātakas.

The security of an urban resident in the state organization and the emergence of a sense of community in the city—Childe's last criterion—is partially applicable to the early historical Indian cities. The specialists who resided in the city must have been looked after by the state. This is implicit in the well-organized municipal government of the Mauryans. Equally clear is the growth of a sense of community among the townsfolk. In Pāli literature the city of Vaiśālī is credited with a community-hall where public matters were discussed,[86] but it seems to be a special feature of the tribal republics. Samājas were, however, a regular institution from early times, being attested in literature and the inscriptions of Aśoka,[87] who discouraged them.[88] They were, however looked down upon by the law-givers.[89] Such and other similar gatherings were probably manifestation of 'the spirit of community.' It is, however, equally tenable that consideration of caste[90] and the heterogeneity of interests might have precluded the full manifestation of this spirit.

The crucial problem that remains to be discussed is the working out of a conceptual framework for the study of early historic urbanization in India. Both A. Ghosh[91] and D. K. Chakrabarti,[92] taking their cue from the sociological theory of Gideon Sjoberg and Mumford, think that political power was of prime importance in the early historic phase of urbanization in India. Ghosh thinks that political power compelled the people to contribute their surplus to the towns, who also received it through regular channels of trade.[93] 'The prerequisite, therefore, is not a hypothetical surplus but an administrative and mercantile organization—the ruler and the merchant, both of the city and each the ally of the other in history.'[94] While discussing the role of iron in second phase of urbanization in India, Ghosh asserts that no technology can flourish unless there is a congenial social climate for its growth, and technology cannot be used to produce a surplus which is not needed,[95] thereby emphasizing the role of political authority who, according to him, got the surpius produced. He also seems to be in line with Sjoberg's view, 'It is the primacy of political power in providing the social stability necessary for the maturation of commerce and manufacturing that is responsible for our de-emphasis of the role of purely economic or commercial factors in the rise (and diffusion and decline) of cities. These

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forces are significant on their own account; yet they can operate only under the aegis of a broader societal power structure.'[96] D. K. Chakrabarti too agrees with this[97] and thinks that the urban revolution was 'pre-eminently a social process.'[98]

Though we have no idea of the social climate of the first users of iron in the Ganga basin, the material climate of the area seems quite favourable to the use of iron technology. The thick jungles of the Ganga basin certainly posed a problem to the expanding Āryans, but the neighbouring areas provided iron, most notably in south Bihar, with which forests could be turned into agricultural fields. Ghosh, however, over focusses the process of burning forests in this period as is evident from the story of Videgha Māthava in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*.[99] But he forgets that even when jungles are burnt, the deep-rooted and hard-fibred sal, seasum, mahua, pipal and other similar trees which flourish in a rainfall of about 50 inches, would have to be cut down by an iron axe. He also ignores the fact that the trees growing in higher altitudes under lower temperature have softer fibres and can be more easily cleared than those found in the middle Ganga basin. Iron, which was definitely introduced in the Gangetic basin by the seventh century B.C., facilitated this process. The rise of Magadha is rightly ascribed to the availability of iron in this area. It also seems plausible that by fifth century B.C., iron metallurgy was developed. To the lustrous surface of the NBP is attributed a steel-like quality.[100]

The production of surplus due to the introduction of iron teachnology went hand in hand with the rapid specialization in arts and crafts in the age of the Buddha. Of course, the king, his soldiers, officially the craftsmen and the monks of the new heterogeneous sects required food and this food came from the villages. R.S. Sharma goes to the extent of saying that it was the differentiation of occupations which contributed to urbanization in the age of the Buddha.[101] In the final analysis, it seems that political authority became necessary only when it was felt that a regular supply of foodstuff from village to town was necessary for the survival of the townsfolk. Without this realization the political power would hardly have come to play any role in the context of urbanization. Infact, the early historic state of India was itself a product of iron technology.

A comparison with Harappan cities would make explicit the role of technology in urbanization. We shall, for our purpose, take the case of tools and implements. Although Bronze Age people, the Harappans used bronze sparsely. Iron objects were used on a much larger scale in the Ganga basin sites than the bronze objects in the Harappan sites.[102] This clearly indicates that the technological base of the Harappans was weak when compared to that of the early historic iron-users. This will explain why Harappan cities

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disappeared subsequently and that too without leaving any tradition for posterity, whereas no such thing happened in historic India. We know now that the Harappans had a centralized political authority which was mostly absent in historic India. This undoubtedly establishes the primacy of technology in urbanization.

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Amir Khan—An Unrecognized Genius

Dr. B.D. Sharma
Department of History, Dungar College, Bikaner

For stability, progress and prosperity our country needs discipline, emotional integration and a sense of unity. It is, therefore, worthwhile to pay due homage to freedom fighters like Nawab Siraj-ud Daula of Bengal, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore and to Ashfaqullah Khan of Kakori fame. It was Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, who compelled the British Government at the peak of its power to remove the Black Hole Memorial—a stigma on the fair name of Nawab Siraj-ud Daula. Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan stand supreme among freedom-fighters—time and again they compelled British arms to surrender ignominiously. When Ashfaqullah was asked to offer an apology to the British Government, he retorted sharply, 'Let a Muslim also sacrifice his life for the country.' Of such stuff were the brave souls who broke but would not bend made. In the military sphere, in modern India, there is one such person and his achievements require impartial and unbiased judgement. He is Nawab Amir Khan, the ruler of Tonk State in Rajasthan from A.D. 1817 to 1834. He is popularly known as Mir Khan or Amir Khan Pindara or Pindari.

Historical facts do not however, corroborate the common assumptions about him. Let us acquaint ourselves with his life and activites to be in a position to form our independent and impartial opinion about him.

Amir-nama the biography of Amir Khan was compiled in Persian by Munshi Basawan Lal Shadan, a Saxena Kayastha of Bilgram, in 1240 A.H., A.D. 1824. Amir Khan was an Afghan of the Buner tribe known as Salarzai. His grandfather, Taleh Khan, migrated to India, early in the eighteenth century during the reign of Mohammed Shah. He took service under Ali Mohammed Khan, a Rohila of distinction in Rohilkhand. When the emperor besieged Aonla, Taleh Khan defended himself for eight days without any external help. Mohammed Shah was amazed by this exhibition of undaunted courage and offered to take Taleh Khan in the Imperial service. Taleh Khan declined the offer. His son Hayat Khan, acquired a piece of land at Sambhal in Moradabad district. Nawab Amir Khan was born in A.D. 1182 (1767) at Sambhal in Mohalla Serai Tereina to the tiller-father.

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When Amir Khan was twenty, he left his home to earn his livelihood. First he tried to get himself enlisted in Mahadaji Scindia's army but luck did not favour him. On account of his youth and lack of experience, De Biogne, the French Commander, did not consider Amir Khan suitable for military service. Consequently, for the next few years, Amir Khan served as a mercenary wherever he could secure lucrative employment. It the beginning Amir Khan and his companions were appointed as *Sebundies* or men of the local militia. In short, Amir Khan had to contend with poverty in the initial stages but he had firm faith in God. Opportunity came his way when internal troubles became rife at the Court of Bhopal (1794-96), with the death of its able minister, Chotey Khan. He was engaged by Hayat Mohammad Khan, the ruler of Bhopal, to support his cause. For the first time fortune smiled upon Amir Khan, but he remained there for only about a year. Next he fought for the Rajput Chiefs—Durjan Sal and Jai Singh Khichi who had been expelled from their fort Raghugarh by Daulat Rao Scindia, Mahadaji's successor. Amir Khan displayed his military talents here and was promoted to the command of 500 in view of his indomitable courage and personal valour. He then entered into the service of Bala Rao Inglia, who raised Amir Khan to the command of 1500 and handed over the fort of Fatehgarh to him. But he could not retain it for long. Amir Khan next turned into a staunch adherent of Jaswant Rao Holkar in A.D. 1768 after Holkar escaped from Nagpur. Amir Khan was upgraded for his gallantry by Jaswant Rao Holkar who was so impressed by him that both became comrades-in-arms and Holkar promised to share his future conquests with Amir Khan.

Amir Khan won laurels against Daulat Rao Scindia and Peshwa Baji Rao II, and compelled them to flee to the British for asylum. The two (Scindia and the Peshwa) then entered into Subsidiary Alliance with the British. He fought the British and was offered land worth 18 lakhs by the Nizam of Hyderabad through his Prime Minister Mushir-ul-Mulk. He was also offered 60 lakhs by Arthur Wellesley, but he was unwilling to betray his friend, the Holkar, and declined the tempting offers. The *Amir-nama* informs us that he tore up the promisory notes (hundies).

The cordial relations of Amir Khan and Jaswant Rao Holkar are a unique example of Hindu-Muslim amity. Sironj was handed over to Amir Khan by Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1798. Tonk and Pirava passed to him in 1806. Nimbhahera was added to his dominions in 1809 and lastly Chhabra in 1816. Holkar duly recognized the meritorious services of Amir Khan and bestowed upon him the title of Nawab. Out of a sense of gratitude Amir Khan too styled himself on his seal as 'Fidvi Jaswant Rao Holkar.' Once Holkar even attempted to get Amir Khan poisoned, but the attempt failed.

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Amir Khan however did not retaliate. And their friendship continued till the death of Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1811.

The policy of non-intervention adopted by the East India Company in 1805 was a blessing for the predatory hordes and the Pindaris. Nawab Amir Khan with his artillary became the terror of Central India and Rajputana. The impact of his arms was felt in every nook and corner and he was dreaded everywhere and was looked upon as invincible.

The principal Rajput States — Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur — suffered heavily at his hands. The *Amir-nama* informs us that he had planned to drive the British out of the country with the collusion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, or with the help of Shah Shuja of Kabul, and also with the aid of his clansmen from the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier. Somehow his schemes did not materialize.

In the period of anarchy or Ghadar (1805-16), Nawab Amir Khan established an intimate friendship with the Rajput Chief of Jhala Zalim Singh of Kota who kept his family at the fort of Sher Garh until Amir Khan was installed as the Nawab of Tonk in 1817. It was during the anti-Pindari drive that the British Government opened negotiations with Nawab Amir Khan and other rulers of Central India and Rajputana to enlist their cooperation in the ensuing campaign. When the British forces entered Malwa, Nawab Amir Khan made overtures to them through his agent Lala Niranjan Lal. Amir Khan's proposals were too extravagant and were eventually rejected. The talks lingered on but the matters came to a head when the Nawab besieged the fort of Madhorajpura under the sceptre of Jaipur. Amir Khan appears to have realized at that critical moment that he had no prospect of a successful resistance against the British Generals, Donkin and Ochterlony, specially when he was left alone. The terms offered him by the East India Company were most liberal. Amir Khan had no other option but to accept them gracefully. Finally the soldier of fortune carved out Tonk State for himself and became its first ruler in 1817, under the title of Amirud-Daula.

He visited Ajmer in A.D. 1832 to attend the Darbar of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. The Nawab paid a courtesy call on His Excellency on January 9, 1832 and impressed him immensely with his free and frank views. Such was the magnetic personality of Nawab Amir Khan that Mr. Henry T. Prinsep, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, undertook to translate Munshi Basawan Lal's *Amir-nama* from Persian to English under the title of *The Pathan Soldier of Fortune Amirud Daula Nawab Amir Khan*. Nawab Amir Khan reigned for 17 years and passed away in 1250 A.H. A.D. 1834 at the ripe age of sixty-seven.

Munshi Debi Prasad, the renowned historian of Rajasthan, has trans-

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lated the *Amir-nama* in Urdu entitled *Iftikhar-ul-Twarikh* with lucid explanatory notes. Luckily the learned author has also dealt briefly with Nawab Amir Khan's correspondence with the contemporary chiefs of India and outside, including references to the Amirs of Sindh, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Chief of Shaikhawati, the Ruler of Sistan and the tribal chiefs of the North-West Frontier.

It is indeed high time for a proper reappraisal of the brave warrior who had exchanged his turban with Jaswant Rao Holkar, Maharana of Udaipur and Maharaja of Jodhpur. He was also the Rakhiband Bhai of Jhala Zalim Singh's wife. His son, Wazirud-Daula, was a close relative of the Mughal Emperor Akbar II. Our late President, Dr. Zakir Husain, belonged to his tribe. And finally, to dub such a brave man as a Pindari is simply a distortion of history. Dr. Tarashankar Banerji of Vishwa-bharati University, Shantiniketan, emphatically asserts that Amir Khan was not a Pindari. The writer of this article agrees in toto with Dr. Banerji. The late Dr. K.R. Qanungo has aptly remarked, 'History cannot be said to have yet done justice to this last great Pathan military genius of India. It is a dark spot of our history.'

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The Murder of Major Burton and the Revolt of 1857 in Kota

Dr. Nondita Bhargava

In 1857 the British Empire in India was rocked by the revolt of the sepoys in the British army, supported by an upheaval of old India against modern reforms. The news of the uprising of the sepoys of Meerut and Delhi soon spread all over northern India including Rajputana. Rumours, that the British Raj would now be wiped out, incited the discontented soldiers of the Kota army whose officers had lost their position of authority to the British officers.[1]

In Kota the symptoms of the unrest were detected in January 1857 when Major Burton, the Politcal Agent was informed by one of the frontier district officers that he saw a few 'coarse Jowar Chapatees' were being circulated by a village coolie in all the villages of the State through which he passed, enroute to the capital.[2] The incident alarmed the political agent at Kota, when on February 28, the Delhi Gazette published the news of the mysterious 'Chapatees' being circulated in the North Western Provinces.[3]

In Rajputana, on May 21, the revolt of the sepoys began in the British cantonment of Nasirabad. But, except for the incident of the 'Chapatees' there was nothing alarming in Kota and the prince and the people evinced 'the best feelings towards' the Britsh Government.[4]

On June 3, mutiny broke out in Neemuch which is about 125 miles to the south of Nasirabad and near the boundary of the Rajput State of Mewar. Feeling insecure, the officer commanding Neemuch Cantonment invited troops from the neighbouring Rajput States. Maha Rao Ram Singh, the prince of Kota placed at Major Burton's disposal 500 infantry, 200 cavalry and two field pieces in the service of the British raj. This help from the prince enabled Burton to proceed at once towards the trouble spot.

In Rajputana the princes steadily stood by the paramount power. Though there was tranquility, yet General Lawrence, the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, did not consider it safe to permit Major Burton to return to this post. He, therefore, stayed at Neemuch for some time.[6] But

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after Monck Mason's murder and Lawrence's retreat from Awah,[7] Burton decided to return to Kota, because he believed that his presence would be a source of strength to Maha Rao whose soldiers resented the British officers of the contingent force.[8]

Nand Kishore, the 'vakeel' of Maha Rao was aware of the discontentment prevailing among the soldiers in Kota. He, therefore, advised Burton not to go back. But the Political Agent took his advice lightly and with his two sons left Neemuch for Kota. Meanwhile Delhi had been recaptured by the British forces.

Burton reached Kota on October 12, and found it quiet and peaceful. The next day he had a private interview with the Maha Rao at which the only other person present was Nand Kishore. In the meeting he urged upon the prince the need for punishing a few disloyal persons who had expressed anti-British feelings openly, notable among whom were Mehrab Khan and Lala Jai Dayal.[10]

Mehrab Khan and Lala Jai Dayal, the two leaders of the discontented troops of Kota, were in the services of the Maha Rao. Mehrab Khan resented the presence and domination of the European officers in the contingent force who had marred all chances of any future promotions for the Pathan soldiers serving the 'Raj Pultan.' When mutiny broke out, Mehrab, revolted against the British, thinking that by putting an end to British political influence in Kota he would be able to get rid of his European rivals in the Kota army.[11]

Jai Dayal[12] had been the 'vakeel' of Maha Rao in the Agency, but was removed from there for his connections with Mehrab Khan. Jai Dayal got an opportunity to take revenge on Burton by joining the mutineers. Nand Kishore betrayed the secret of the proposed action against Mehrab Khan and Jai Dayal to his friend Ratan Lal, a minister of Maha Rao. Ratan Lal may have mentioned it to some of the troops[13] and it caused havoc among them.

On October 15, two battalions of the 'Raj Pultan' mutinied and at about 11 a.m. went up to the bungalow of Major Burton, surround it and started firing matchlocks towards the Residency. The insurgents were about 2,000 in number while Burton and his sons were all alone except for Khum Singh, a faithful employee of the Residency who remained with them. The rest of his men had run away for fear of their lives.[14]

About 100 Mohammedan sepoys with drawn swords came close to the house howling 'Maro, maro' At this stage Burton decided to escape and called his Chobdar, Mir Ali, to fetch his horse. But Mir Ali had already escaped from the Residency.[15]

First the mutineers killed Dr. Salder, the assistant Surgeon and Dr.

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Saviell, an Indian Christian doctor of the dispensary in the Residency. Then they commenced firing at the Residency. Desperate Burton, with his sons, went upstairs and tried to establish some kind of negotiations with them. Khum Singh, the only eye-witness to survive and narrate to the British afterwards the actual happenings inside the Residency during those tragic hours, asserted that the Political Agent asked them to spare his life and stop the firing, but the rebels with kept firing pitilessly at the helpless Burton.[16]

When Burton and his sons found it impossible to remain there, they came downstairs and took shelter in a 'hauz' which was five feet deep where, along with Khum Singh, they remained for about three hours. Unable to remain there any longer, Burton decided to attempt an escape. He asked Khum Singh to go outside the Residency and ask the Sikh soldiers of the contingent force to assist him escape.[17] The mutineers permitted Khum Singh to deliver the message to the Sikhs. The Sikhs were only fifty in number and expressed their inability to face the 2,000 strong who were assaulting the Residency.[18]

During Khum Singh's absence Major Burton again went upstairs. The mutineers reached there with the help of a ladder and slaughtered them. The head of Burton was cut off and carried away.[19]

On hearing of the attack on the Residency, Ram Singh decided to go there in person and called his bodyguard to accompany him, but under the leadership of Nabi Sher Khan, officer on duty at the Palace, they not only evaded his orders, but did not permit him to go either. The prince was helpless. Prevented from leaving his Palace, Maha Rao sent one Devi Lal to intercede on behalf of Major Burton. Devi Lal was executed by the angry insurgents.[20]

In dread of the town being plundered the prince ordered the city gates closed, and called his chieftains and their Rajput followers to aid him.[21] He also sent a 'Khareeta' to the Governor-General informing him of his inability to save the ill-fated Political Agent as his standing force, which was composed entirely of Mohammedans, had secretly conspired and revolted against him. Giving an account of the tragedy, Ram Singh entreated the Governor-General for armed assistance to restore his authority, and normal conditions in Kota, by emancipating him from the hands of the rebel leaders.[22]

The Governor-General was indignant when he heard about this 'unprovoked and cowardly act' of the Kota mutineers, and instructed General Lawrence to take such secret measures as might enable the British Government to fix the guilt of the act upon the instigators.[23] The British suspected Maha Rao for not only did he not try to reach any help to the Resi-

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dency which was under rebel fire for five hours, but he had not even punished the rebel leaders responsible for the murder of Major Burton.[24] But the intelligence from Kota that Maha Rao was entirely unaware of the proceedings and was himself greatly fired at by the mintineers, under the command of Jai Dayal and Mehrab Khan, made some of the British officials drop their suspicion of Ram Singh.[25]

However, the prince succeeded in taking possession of the bodies of the slain Europeans and posted his sentry to guard them during the night following the tragedy. Three days later they were given a proper burial.[26] From October 15, 1857 to March 1858, the city of Kota remained in the hands of the rebels. The Maha Rao was no more than a prisoner in his own Palace. Outside the fort Lala Jai Dayal and Mehrab Khan usurped the power and ran the administration. They plundered the treasury and the people indiscriminately and occupied the government stores, stables, ammunition stores and police stations.[27]

As soon as reinforcements arrived in Rajputana under Major-General H.G. Roberts, General Lawrence laid down measures to recapture the city of Kota, parts of which, in the meantime, the Maha Rao had succeeded in clearing of the rebels with the help of the loyal remnants of his army.[28] On March 28, 1858 General Lawrence and Major-General Roberts reached the vicinity of the city and informed the prince that after the ejection of the rebels from the town, a commission would be set up to investigate the circumstances which led to the murder of the late Major Burton and his sons. On March 30, by 2.30 p.m. Kota was captured by the British soldiers.[29]

The rebels pled. Many were shot and bayonetted. A large number of them were taken prisoner, tried and executed.[30] About 2,000 rebel fugitives escaped towards Gwalior, but the British prevented them from obtaining a footing in the territory of Scindia, who had remained an ally of the British during the upheaval of 1857. Many of them tried to establish contact with the Rani of Jhansi, but perished in hardship due to the pursuing British soldiers.[31]

After the capture of Kota, a Commission was set up and investigations into the murder of Major Burton were opened by Lawrence. There was some ground to suspect Ram Singh as guilty of complicity in the matter, because of a letter received by Scindia of Gwalior from the rebel leaders of Kota. It was addressed to Govind Rao Vitthal, Chief of the district of Subulgarh in Gwalior and written by Lala Jai Dayal, Mehrab Khan and their followers. Its contents were that on the capture of Delhi by the rebellious sepoys, Maha Rao believed that the British Raj had come ot an end and had, therefore, asked Jai Dayal and Mehrab Khan to kill the Poli-

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tical Agent. Ram Singh believed that it would liberate him from British clutches. He resented the payment of three lakhs of rupees to the British as tribute and subsidiary money for the contingent force. However, the letter also stated that the news of the recapture of Delhi by the British forces made Ram Singh change his policy. He betrayed the rebels by agreeing with Major Burton that they deserved to be punished for their hostile activities against the British Government.[32]

The charges made in the letter could be taken to be true because of the following reasons:

(i) When the Earl of Moira started his campaign to eradicate the Pindaris from Central India, he sought the cooperation of the Rajput states which had been their hiding places, and also a battle ground for the Pindaris and the Marathas. By that time the Pindaris and the Marathas had drained the treasuries of the Rajput princes so much that none had any sympathy for them. In fact They looked upon the British as their saviours.

Zalim Singh, the minister of Kota, lost no time in asking for British help. Shrewd as he was, he realized the necessity of pleasing the British, whom Scindia and Holkar would not be able to defy any longer. In 1817 he entered into an alliance with the British and earned their gratitude by helping them extend their influence in Rajputana.[33]

The treaty of 1817 made Maha Rao Ummed Singh, his sons and successors (the sovereign rulers of Kota), mere titular heads, while his servant and minister, Zalim Singh, his sons and successors, became executive heads of the State as a reward for services given to British. The weak-minded Ummed Singh tolerated the painful situation. But Kishore Singh, his ambitious son, rejected the humiliating situation and, in 1821, made a bid to regain his authority. In the ensuing battle Prithvi Singh, upholding the cause of Kishore Singh, his brother, lost his life in the battlefield of Mongrol in 1821.[34] Thereafter the childless Kishore Singh looked after Prithvi Singh's son, Ram Singh. After the prince died, in 1828, Ram Singh sat on the 'gaddi' of Kota. He had not forgotten that his father was killed while fighting the British forces.

(ii) Since his accession to the 'gaddi,' Ram Sing found it impossible to tolerate the insubordination of his own minister and servant who had the support of the British. The quarrel between the prince and Madan Singh, Zalim Singh's grandson who was then the executive head, resulted in a deadlock which in, 1838 the British broke by bringing about a division of the State between the prince and the executive head.[35] Ram

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Singh was most unhappy when his servant want away with three eighths of his territory and became a prince in his own right.[36]

(iii) Ram Singh also harboured a sullen resentment for the annual payment of three lakh rupees from the Kota treasury for the contingent force, while the prince of Jhalawar[37] paid nothing, although the force guarded his domain as well.

Ram Singh was really unhappy with the British. It would therefore, be natural for him to have rejoiced at the fall of Delhi—it shook the British imperialists for the time and caused them great embarrassement and loss of prestige in north India.

The Commission did not consider the letter as authentic and it was not accepted as evidence against Maha Rao.[38] On the basis of the report prepared by the Commission, General Lawrence declared Maha Rao Ram Singh as guiltless of any complicity in the murder. He believed that Ram Singh was unaware of any intention on the part of the rebel leaders to kill Burton till the tragedy took place.[39] The British adopted a compassionate attitude towards the prince, because he was known to have been friendly with the late Political Agent from whom he was expecting considerable advantages. The latter had already written to General Lawrence on the question of a remission of the tribute. 'From the Agent's good offices the Rao had every reason to expect benefit and from his death nothing but evil.'[40] The promptness with which he sent troops to Neemuch with Burton speaks well of their relationship. General Lawrence said that Maha Rao had been 'victim of circumstances.'[41]

However, for his negligence of duty on October 15, it recommended a fine of fifteen lakh rupees and a remission of five lakh rupees if the rebel leaders were seized and executed on the highest tower of Kota.[42]

Considering the great humiliation and the heavy financial losses Maha Rao had borne during the period of the mutiny, the Governor-General decided not to inflict a fine on him. But as a mark of displeasure of the Government for his negligence of duty, the number of his salute was reduced from 15 to 11 guns only. The Governor-General-in-Council said that even at the risk of his life the Maha Rao should have gone to the Residency. By 'proceeding in person' to Burton's assistance, he could have saved them.[43]

The Maha Rao imprisoned eighty such persons who had sided with the rebels against him. Even a wine merchant was fined Rs. 150 for providing the mutineers with wine. Mehrab Khan, Jai Dayal and Nubee Sher Khan were arrested and shot down.[44]

Lawrence judged Ram Singh's character well. A prince like him, how-

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ever hostile to the British, neither possessed the will to openly take up arms against them, even when his own men urged him to do so, nor could he control the situation, when from October 15, 1857 onwards, Mehrab Khan and Jai Dayal, made him a prisoner in his own Palace and ran the administration of the State. Maha Rao certainly resented the payment of the subsidiary money, but could not comprehend its economic impact on his State. He simply wished to have a few more lakhs to spend on wine and women. He was not interested in administration and during his reign opium, textile and cloth-dyeing industries, for which Kota was famous in Rajputana and Central India, deteriorated.[45] The prince's extravagance and the economic deterioration due to maladministration, led to bankruptcy of the State and to a period of utter misery for the people.

The uprising of Kota was not a popular movement, because the Rajputs and the people of Kota generally did not support the rebels, nor had the mutineers any contact with the general uprising of 1857. It was an uprising of the discontented Mohammedan officers of the Kota contingent force, led by Mehrab Khan and Lala Jai Dayal, the scheming diplomat, who had been disgraced by Major Burton and who naturally wanted to fish in the troubled waters. Weak-minded Ram Singh, not used to taking quick decisions followed by prompt action, became a victim of circumstances. Unhappily, the adventurers struck Ram Singh and Burton died. It will be unhistorical to try and ferret out seeds of nationalism in this revolt. The establishment of the contingent force under the British officers had deprived the Muslim officers of the Kota army of their social status and political position, and had put them to heavy financial loss. They thought the right time for taking revenge had arrived, and they paid a very heavy price for their miscalculations.

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British Imperialism and Education in Bengal

Dr. Arti Guha

'As a consequence of the Battle of Plassey, the English advanced from the position of traders admitted on sufferance to that of the ruling race.' (Sinha). Even when they succeeded in earning the Diwani of Bengal for the East India Company, they looked upon it less as a means of power than as a means of private enrichment for themselves. More and more the private excesses of the Company's servants aroused indignation against the newly-emerging rich nabobs in England. This indignation was very largely responsible for attracting attention to the welfare and education of India.

The British rulers were amazed to see that 'learning of all kinds had slunk away into the background.' (*CHI*). The dismal picture of the all-round socio-intellectual degeneration convinced them of the necessity of spreading education which would perhaps, purge Bengali society of the existing evils. But they were not yet wholly sure of the stability of their rule (in the land) and they wanted to proceed rather cautiously. Hence, initially, they did not entertain any idea of introducing any system of education at all.

British imperial policies have always to be understood with a proper reference to the circumstances—in England or in Bengal—under which they came to be enunciated.

Nineteenth century British imperialism often showed some peculiar characteristic features— generally not to be associated with imperialism as such. This imperialism is famous in history as 'liberal imperialism.' While we all know that basically imperialism is illiberal and unjust and that the term liberal imperialism is a contradiction in terms, we cannot deny that nineteenth century British imperialism was not wholly devoid of an ethical basis. Even if it was not based only on liberal humanitarianism, it was often at least accompanied by it.

To admit the truth of this last assertion is not to deny that India was certainly an example of what is usually termed as an 'exploitation colony,'

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or that 'England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindusthan, was actuated by the vilest interests and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them.' (Marx). Throughout the British imperialistic regime political liberty and administrative experience were denied to the subject peoples, the very fabric of indigenous productive system was destroyed, and utmost economical exploitation was the fundamental feature of the colonial policy pursued by the foreign rulers. If ever there was any conflict between imperial interests and liberal humanitarian policies, the former had always been allowed to prevail upon the latter.

In spite of the ever-present considerations of basic selfish interests of the imperialist ethos, Britain — because of the dominant cultural ideas and traditions of the time — could not help playing a definite, progressive role in India and was constrained to be 'the unconscious tool of history' in bringing about much-needed socio-intellectual changes in the country.

Eighteenth century British imperialism was often accompanied by a genuine humanitarianism, rationalism and cosmopolitanism. Very few of the ruling authorities could have legitimately been held guilty of the charge of conscious racism. In the next century Britain became the chief spokesman in her own land of what was dubbed by B. Croce as 'nineteenth century religion of liberalism.' Liberal England, in a befitting progressive manner had to think of looking after the well-being of her subjects and sought a synthesis between empire and liberty. Britain began to make genuine efforts to bring the Western concepts of politcal liberty to the Eastern nations and began to give them preliminary lessons in self-government. As Marx, the keen contemporary observer, analyzed: 'England has to fulfil a double mission in India : one destructive, the other regenerating the annihilation of Asiatic Society; and the laying of the material foundations of Western Society in India.' Marx's observation brings out clearly the dual aspects of British imperial policies in India. At the same time it shows how Marx too, just like any other Westerner, was under the spell of the current ethnocentric interpretations of Indian society and which, as an ideology, gave currency to the 'white-man's burden'-thesis and provided the necessary justification for the alien imperial rule in India.

British liberal imperialism came to be reflected in the system of education that the British fostered in India. In early nineteenth century, British imperial achievements had given birth to a typically parochial British nationalism. This was mainly instrumental in preventing Orientalist learning, that had already been in vogue in Bengal, from being continued by the powers that existed. British rulers possessed an unshakeable conviction of the intrinsic superiority of European science and knowledge to all other branches of knowledge then available. The first flush of enthusiasm at the unexpected

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discoveries of the ancient literary treasures of India was cooling down in Europe. Goethe's rapturous paean on *Shakuntala* was already a thing of the remote past. The political implications and bearings of the colonial educational policies were methodically examined by the ruling authorities. Many were afraid that 'they had just lost America from their folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges and it would not do for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.' But liberalism placed humanitarian duty above the base selfish imperial views, and suggested a line of conduct that would gracefuly reconcile duty and interest. The Anglicists felt that a cultural assimilation of the people to their rulers would establish a community of ideas and feelings between them, and minimize the gulf between the two. So they proposed a policy of anglicizing the manners, thoughts and also the speech of the people. Many again dreamt of the ultimate triumph of the imperishable British Empire.

British benevolence was strengthened by considerations of administrative convenience and economy measures. The principle of the larger employment of the Indian agency in the administration went a long way in putting emphasis on the need for spreading education among the Indians.

The nineteenth century narrow nationalism was mainly responsible for the rise, if not of a religious chauvinism, at least of a sense of religious superiority in the British mind. Outwardly, the British rulers never deviated from their often professed policy of religious neutrality. But a careful scrutiny leads us to conclude that 'with the British imperialists, religious neutrality was more an affair of the letter than of the spirit' (Boman Behram) and the Anglicists' antipathy towards oriental systems of education, was caused not a little by the latter's indissoluble bonds with the 'heathenish' religions.

All these factors led to the initially accidental, gradually conscious, policy of a cultural conquest of the colonial people of the country. They found the effective means for that cultural conquest in the education-policy they suitably devised—the policy embodied in the famous Government Resolution of March 7, 1835, which decided to impart European education to the Indians through the medium of the English language. 'This monumental decision laid the foundation of the entire educational system that still exists in the country' the *Report of the Education Commission* of 1948-49 wrote. In the late nineteeth century and also in the twentieth, some alterations came to be made in educational policies, but that too was within the framework of this fundamental policy. In 1844, the British official policy of imparting Western education through the medium of English was strengthened by replacing Persian with English as the language of administration in the country. 'By one stroke, the learning of English was given a

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great stimulus for practicable purposes.' (Spear).

The British multiplied schools and colleges in Bengal and took the decision to found universities (in accordance with Wood's despatch of 1854) on the model of the London University. They founded the Calcutta University in 1857 and established in each province departments of Public Instruction with their system of graded officers, and from time to time appointed Commissions and Committees for the purpose of reviewing the progress of education.

But if the British imperialist rulers did much in the sphere of education, they failed to do very much more. What was most apparent (and also very natural) was their total lack of awareness of the true goals of education or the general social ends that should be served by education. Their total lack of any social commitments may be explained by their imperialist character.

The Indian Education Commission of 1964-1966 rightly pointed out: 'The main task before the nation is to secure rapid economic development. If this is to be successfully accomplished, education must be related to productivity.' But imperialist Britain never realized that education should not only enlighten a man but should also make him a socially efficient individual whose knowledge must serve social ends and secure a living wage. As soon as we begin to read the second chapter of the *Report of the Education Commission* of 1948-49 and see how it discusses the true aims of education and is aware of the basic needs for education to be related to productivity, we notice at once the differences of outlook between our erstwhile foreign rulers and our own independent representatives. Besides, imperialist Britain never cared nothing for the significance of India's national culture or the basic needs of the people. Hence her ignorance of novel experiments like the Visvabharati founded by Tagore and the Wardha Scheme of Education, popularized by the future Father of the Nation.

The education system that had come to be built as a result of all aspects of these colonial policies suffered from a number of grievous defects. First of all, this education was circumscribed only to 'the learned classes of the land'—the Hindu pundits and the Muslim maulavis. That education could have been imparted to the masses was never considered feasible. Persons of democratic outlook like Brian Houghton Hodgson preached education for the masses and insisted on the vernacularization of knowledge in order to prevent the possibility of a monopoly (of power) by a favoured few. But this policy did not obtain the support of the ruling power. The net result was that the entire Western education remained confined mostly to the male members of the rising Hindu middle class.

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Secondly, in spite of the Court of Directors' insistence on imparting a 'useful knowledge' to the native population of India, much of what was being taught was absolutely useless in character. Only the classics and mathematics were stressed; the physical sciences were ignored. This gave rise, an injury to the interests of the people notwithstanding, to the total absence of what in later times would come to be termed by Nehru as 'the scientific bias.'

This educational system, disproportionately enough, laid great stress on higher education (in which the province of Bengal easily led the rest of India), but neglected the primary and secondary stages. It was marked by a low standard at every stage, and the problems connected with its structural defects have even today not been satisfactorily solved.

But the gravest charge against this educational system was that it was unnational in its content, irrational and imperious in employing an alien medium, and thoroughly denationalizing in its effects on society as a whole. Initially it excluded from university studies the whole of oriental learning and religion and imparted a history and philosophy to the Indian people 'whose roots lie exclusively in the Mediterranean and in Christianity.' Its foreign medium made the people aliens in their own country, prevented the growth of the vernaculars and the classical languages of the land, widened the mental gulf between men and women, and also between the classes and the masses of India. British imperial rule also led to the teaching profession's adherence to the strictly authoritarian mould, and to the absence of any sense of commitment. And this colonial rule led gradually and indirectly to what is now known as student activism.

It is very difficult to pass a sober, reasoned verdict on the impact of this Western education on Bengali society as a whole. A learned discussion of the subject is not possible within such a short space : Spear states, 'This creative contact between the two (cultures) transformed India within a century.' True enough, but whether or not the transformation has been for the better (for India) is, even today, often a theme of heated discussion.

It is often pointed out by the supporters of the system that a common language and common thought facilitated the political unity of India, and political unity alone is worth anything India can pay for. Undeniable. More undeniable is the view that political unity would have been brought about in any case by the political authority then uniformly exercised by the British right of conquest—irrespective of any system of education. And had Hasting's inspired system of Oriental Studies been allowed to continue might it not have regenerated the decadent Indian culture? Today it is difficult to imagine the picture of India that would then have emerged, not

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that those possibilities of regeneration were entirely non-existent.

English education truly unified the middle classes of all the provinces of British India—the class which provided leadership in its struggle against (and also compromises with) the foreign rulers. On the other hand, should we also not apportion the blame to this same educational system for creating a wide intellectual and cultural gulf between the educated classes and the common masses of the land?

It is commonly said that this Western education threw open to the Indians the treasures of European knowledge. Again, it is easy to see that the process was almost inevitable and the manner in which the doors of these treasures were thrown open did not exert any beneficial results on the majority of the people.

The platitudinous remark often advanced by the protagonists of Western education is that this education was responsible for giving rise to the idea of nationalism which is essentially a foreign import, andas such, a borrowed article in our land. This idea is a fixed obsession with many of our leading historians who like to tread in the footsteps of the rationalizers of imperialist regimes. But, after all, what is nationalism? It is a spirit which 'is founded upon that permanent and immutable relation which subsists between a particular people and the land which it inhabits', said C.R. Das in his Presidential address to the Bengal Provincial Conference of 1917. He further pointed out that, 'Just as the laws of gravitation existed even before the birth of Newton, so the nationality of the Bengalees existed even before the advent of the British people; only the shock of an alien civilisation was needed to make us conscious of this spirit and the shock was supplied from Europe.' The present author considers even this proposition (that the whole consciousness of the feeling of nationality was supplied by Europe) debatable. The popular indifference in the pre-British days to the political happenings of the times has always been identified with this seeming lack of the feeling of nationality. Be that as it may this nationalism, even if imported from the West, was an unintended gift of the imperialist rulers.

Though this education alone has not brought forward any socio-economic changes, it reflected and also consolidated all the socio-economic changes brought forward by the colonial policies of the British rulers. There is justice in the assertion of G.S. Chhabra that under the impact of the English education in India, Indian behaviour and mode of life changed. India began to ape the West in her food, dress and habits, and this created wide markets for the consumption of English goods in this country. India began economically to be exploited.

But the severest defects of this system were felt in the sphere of culture.

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'The mimic anglicism of the hybrid(s) in dress, in thought, in sentiment and culture and (who) are making frantic attempts even to be hybrids in blood,' (C.R. Das) showed the worst features of this system, and was a vindication of the British imperial policy of cultural conquest. The worship of mammon and the meretricious ideal of individualism, and the habit of identifying Europeanization with modernism and materialistic prosperity with progress and civilization, are the not so slow but steady results of this system of education. We are today so used to the evils of this system that we never attempt to imagine the picture of India that could have emerged—had the 'Orientalist' phase of education, or the course suggested by the 'popular-culture Orientalists' (like Carey and Hodgson) been allowed to flourish in India.

Hypothetical questions like what could have happened had India been ruled by, say, France or Germany have always been answered in favour of imperial England, and, perhaps, the answer is not inaccurate. It is always pointed out by the supporters of the British educational system that this imperialism—because of its liberal character—inculcated in the minds of the people ideas of liberty, self-government and individual dignity — and thus carried within itself the germs of its own dissolution. What is certain is that the results of pursuing these liberal policies had been anticipated by some, tolerated by a few and welcomed by only one or two of the millions. For the majority of the British people, either in England or in Bengal, this inevitable result was nothing but a totally unwelcome and unintended gift to the Indian people.

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The Archaeological Wealth of Madhya Pradesh

Dr. K.D. Bajpai
University of Sagar

Geographically the State of Madhya Pradesh occupies the central position in the country. The extensive hilly areas and dense forests of the region have been largely responsible for preserving the rich and varied cultural wealth of central India.

Pre-& Protohistory

In the hoary past several parts of the present Madhya Pradesh were inhabited by primitive people called the Nishādas, Śabaras, Pulindas, etc. These people used to live under shady trees or inside rock-shelters. They ate fruits and roots and the flesh of animals and birds they killed. Those among them who had a rudimentary knowledge of painting used to paint the walls of their shelters.

The rock-shelters discovered in several parts of India are mostly natural rocks. Excavations recently conducted in some of them have brought to light important relics which have a bearing on the culture of the primitive people inhabiting them. The paintings found in these rock-shelters are equally important. The largest number of painted rock-shelters has been discovered in Madhya Pradesh in the hillocks situated on the river banks. The moderate climate and resources for livelihood, abundantly available in this region, provided necessary facilities to the primitive people. Such archaic rock-paintings and engravings have been found in the districts of Mandsaur, Narsinghgarh, Bhopal, Raisen, Hoshangabad, Sagar, Panna, Rewa, Ambikapur and Raigarh. Stone implements, bones and a few pot-sherds have also been obtained in some of these rock-shelters. These relics, alongwith the paintings, have thrown welcome light on the mode of life of the people who lived in the rock-shelters. The colours used for the paintings were red, white, black, blue and yellow. The paintings usually represent hunting scenes, fights, honey-collecting, dance,

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music and various interesting household scenes. Of special interest are the paintings of Ādamgarh, Barkhera, Bhopal, Raisen, Pachmarhi and Raigarh. Recently Professor Shankar Tiwari has discovered a long belt of painted rock-shelters in the Betwa valley stretching in the Bhopal and Raisen districts. He has located some sites which may have been inhabited during the Chalcolithic period. The Chalcolithic people may have contributed, to some extent, to the art activities in the shelters.

The field-work done at Kharwai and Barkhera (district Raisen), Māhishmati (Maheshwar, district Khargon), Kayatha and Nagda (Ujjain), Eran (Sagar) and Tripuri (Jabalpur) have thrown valuable light on the protohistory of this region. The excavations have revealed that from about 2000 B.C. these sites had evolved settled habitations with a more developed material culture than that of their aboriginal predecessors. The remains unearthed at these sites include stone and copper implements, pottery, beads made of semiprecious stones and clay, metal ornaments and various other objects of daily use. The post-Harappan Chalcolithic culture developed in the valleys of the Chambal, the Narmada and the Betwa from the beginning of the second millennium B.C to about 600 B.C. The excavations at Eran have amply proved this. The Chalcolithic people of Madhya Pradesh were familiar with agriculture and the industries of tool-making, pottery and ornaments of various forms. They also had trade relations with the people of Iran, Baluchistan, and Sind.

Early History

Coming to the early historical period beginning from about *c.* 600 B.C. we find that some parts of Madhya Pradesh became thickly populated. There was a growth of civilization, particularly in Malwa and parts of the northern regions. Avanti, with its capital at Ujjayini, comprised the major part of western Malwa. It was one of the sixteen great kingdoms (*mahājanapadas*) of northern India during the time of the Buddha. Besides Ujjayini, Māhismati was another important town of western Malwa. Vidisha on the river Vetravatī (Betwa) grew as the biggest town of eastern Malwa with Eran as its chief military headquarters. During the sixth century B.C., King Pradyota was the monarch of Avantī. He made matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Mathura and Kausambi. His daughter Vāsavadattā was married to Udayana, the king of Kausambi. The elopement of this beautiful princess of Avanti with Udayana became a popular romance which is depicted on several clay plaques of the Śuṇga period.

During the Maurya rule almost the entire region of Madhya Pradesh was included in the Maurya Empire. The great Emperor Aśoka served as

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governor of Avantī before he ascended the imperial throne. It is mentioned in the Buddhist works that Aśoka married the daughter of a *Śreṣṭi* of Vidisha. This religious queen of Aśoka caused the construction of a Buddhist monastery at Vidisha. Aśoka did a great deal for the propagation of Buddhism. He was responsible for the erection of two lofty stūpas in central India, one at Sānchī (near Vidisha) and the other at Bharhut (near Satna). Gradually these two sites became great centres of Buddhism. Aśoka set up one of his inscribed pillars at Sānchī. His other pillars bearing edicts have been found at Rūpanāth, about 30 mls. from Jabalpur and at Gujarra in the Datia district of Madhya Pradesh. Recently two new Aśokan inscriptions have been discovered at Pangudari in the Raisen district. One of these refers to Aśoka as *Priyadarsi Mahārājakumārā*. This indicates that the inscription was engraved when Aśoka was the royal prince, and not full-fledged emperor. At Ramgarh in the Ambikapur district besides a Mauryan theatre several Brāhmī inscriptions datable to *c.* third or second century B.C. are preserved.

After the Maurya rule came the epoch of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas. The rulers of these two dynasties were followers of the Vedic religion. But a spirit of tolerance prevailed during their regime. Under their patronage the great stūpas at Bharhut and Sanchi were renovated and were embellished with four tastefully ornamented gateways, one on each side. During the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age cities like Ujjayinī, Māhishmatī, Vidisha, Padmāvatī (Pawāyā) and Tripurī grew up into commercial and cultural centres of Central India. They were linked together by trade-routes. The Sātvāhanas ruled over the major parts of Madhya Pradesh from the middle of the second century B.C. to about A.D.100. They made their distinct contribution to art and culture. Although they followed the Vedic-religion, they gave patronage to Buddhism and Jainism. They had to struggle for supremacy against the foreign Kshaharātas and the Śāka-Kṣatrapas in the Malwa region and western India. Several branches of the Śākas had occupied, one after the other, extensive parts of western India extending from Kathiawar to Vidisha. Gautamīputra Sātakarni, one of the Sātavāhana monarchs dealt a crushing defeat to the Śākas. But soon after, the Śāka-Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman I in the middle of the second century A.D. defeated his contemporary Sātavāhana king and re-occupied the lands lost by the Śākas. Since then the Sātavāhanas diverted their attention primarily to the Deccan and the South and became masters of extensive territories. The Śāka-Kṣatrapas continued to rule over western India and major parts of Malwa till they were finally ousted by Chandragupta Vikramāditya at the close of the fourth century A.D.

The Sātavāhanas were succeeded by the Bodhi kings who ruled in the

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Tripurī region during the second and third centuries A.D. The recent excavations at Tripuri conducted by the University of Sagar have brought to light coins and seals of as many as two rulers of the Bodhi dynasty. The contemporaries of the Bodhis were the Magha Kings of South Kosala. During the third and fourth centuries A.D. the Nāgas became powerful in Central India. The chief centres of the Nāga rulers were Vidisha, Kāntipuri (modern Kutwarn Morena district) and Padmāvatī (Pawāyā) in Gwalior district. These independent ruling dynasties of Madhya Pradesh, alongwith several forest kingdoms, played an important role as a bulwark against the onrushes of foreign rulers, particularly the Śākas and the Kushānas. They eventually succeeded in driving them out of Madhyadeśa.

The Gupta Period

In the fourth century A.D. the Gupta dynasty rose to power in northern India. One of the early Gupta emperors, Samudragupta (A.D. 335-375) made a countrywide conquest. He uprooted several ruling dynasties of the north and subdued a number of the monarchs of the South. He conquered eastern Malwa and appointed his son, Rāmagupta, to look after the newly conquered territory. The Śākas of western India submitted, for the time being, to the suzerainty of Samudragupta. Other parts of Madhya Pradesh, north of the Narmada, were annexed by this monarch to his empire. The region south of the Narmada was ruled over by the Vākāṭakas, with whom the Guptas maintained friendly relations throughout.

Soon after the death of Samudragupta, the Śākas, taking advantage of the weakness of Rāmagupta, overpowered him. The Śāka chief demanded the hand of Dhruvadevī, the beautiful queen of Rāmagupta. The latter yielded to this nefarious demand of his adversary but due to the timely intervention of Chandragupta, the younger brother of Rāmagupta, Gupta prestige was saved from disgrace. The Śāka chief was murdered and the Śākas had to vacate eastern Malwa. Soon after this episode, Rāmagupta too was put to death and Chandragupta became the emperor of the Gupta dynasty. He consolidated the Gupta Empire and eventually succeeded in putting an end to Śāka rule in western Malwa, Gujārat and Kāthiāwar. The achievements of Chandragupta II in the field of art and culture were equally great. The credit for developing towns like Mathura, Ujjayinī, Vidishā and Eran into cultural centres largely goes to Chandragupta II. Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and dramatist, flourished in the time of this ruler.

During the reign of Kumāragupta I, the son and successor of Chandragupta II, the Gupta Empire witnessed a period of tranquility. But the peaceful atmosphere was disturbed by the Puṣyamitras and the Hūṇas in

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the last days of this monarch. Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta had to wage war against these two turbulent enemies and finally succeeded in defeating them. But the roots of the Gupta Empire were greatly shaken. The rule of the Gupta monarchs over the region between the Yamuna and the Narmada, however, continued up to the time of Budhagupta. In the Gupta period great advancement in the fields of religion and fine arts were made in south-eastern parts of Madhya Pradesh. The present author has recently brought to light a few monuments and a good number of stone sculptures bearing exquisite aesthetic and iconographic traits, at Malhar Adbhār and Tālā (all in the Bilaspur district).

After the decay of the Gupta power in central India at the end of the fifth century A.D. the Hūṇas, a barbarous race of Central Asia, invaded this country under the leadership of Toramāṇa. The Hūṇa forces penetrated in the east as far as Eran in the Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh. This event took place about A.D. 510. Goparāja, the brave chief of the then Gupta king Bhānugupta, was defeated and killed. This indicates that the Hūṇas had by this time become powerful enough to challenge Gupta sovereignty in the North. But by A.D. 528, they were, wiped out from Madhya Pradesh by Yaśodharman, the mighty king of Daśapura (Mandasor) with the help of the Gupta ruler Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. The Hūṇa chief defeated by Yasodharman was Mihirakula, son of Toramāṇa.

Later Times

After the fall of the Gupta Empire, parts of northern Madhya Pradesh passed under the suzerainty of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Harhsa once visited the thick Vindhyan forests while making a search for his sister Rājyaśrī. Bānabhatta, the celebrated court-poet of Harsha, has left a vivid description of the Vindhyan forest in this context. It is believed that Bāṇa was born and brought up near modern Chandreh in the Sidhi district of Madhya Pradesh.

From about A.D. 650 to 1250 several dynasties of kings ruled over different parts of Madhya Pradesh. The chief among these were the Gurjara-Pratīhāras (northern Madhya Pradesh), the Chandellas (Bundelkhand), the Kalachuris (Tripuri and Ratanpur regions), the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs (Eastern Madhya Pradesh) the Kacchapaghātas (Gwalior and the region around) and the Paramāras (Malwa). There were occasional battles for supremacy among these and some of the other contemporary powers. The forts of Gwalior, Kālinjar and Marpha, besides several others were turned into great strongholds during this period.

Some of the early mediaeval rulers, like Mihira Bhoja, Vidyādhara, Dhaṅga, Gāṅgeyadeva, Lakśmīkarṇā, Yuvarājadeva I and Bhoja Paramāra,

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were great patrons of literature and the arts. The Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta cults, alongwith Buddhism and Jainism, developed during their rule. The architecture and sculptural remains at places like Markhera, Khajuraho, Sohāgpur, Gurgī, Tripurī, Bherāghāt, Ratanpur, Udayapur, Tumain, Suhāniā, Padhāvali and Gyaraspur furnish ample testimony to the development of art and architecture in various parts of Madhya Pradesh during this period.

After the twelfth century A.D., began the advent of the Muslims in several parts of Madhya Pradesh. By the close of the thirteenth century A.D., major parts of Madhya Pradesh were conquerd by them. The art-remains of the Muslim rule, extending over five centuries, are quite numerous in different parts of the State. These are in the form of palaces, forts, mosques and other monuments. Some of these are still preserved at Māndū, Dhār, Gwalior, Chanderī, Asīrgarh, Mandlā, Dhāmonī and several other sites in Madhya Pradesh. The Gonds of Garhā-Mandlā continued to rule during Muslim supremacy. They deserve special mention for extending their patronage to the plastic arts, which are distinctly marked by its folk characteristics.

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Mahādeva—a King of North-Eastern Punjab

Dr. Nisar Ahmad
Banaras Hindu University

Of king Mahādeva six coins are known. Two of them are of silver and four of copper. The silver coins are preserved in the British Museum and are catalogued by Allan. These pieces are round in shape. Among the copper coins two are published by Rapson and the remaining two are listed by Bidyabinod.

A. Catalogued by Allan

Typologically silver coins can be divided into two classes. The coin of class I belongs to the coin collection of Cunningham and was first published by him in his book *Coins of Ancient India*[1] and later on included by Allan in *DMC, AI.*[2] The specimen of class II was handed over to the Museum by Gen. M. Clark and Allan has catalogued it.[3] These coins are described by Allan as follows :

Class I : BMC, AI, No. 12

Obv. : "Humped bull r.; lotus flower (?) in front. *Bhagavatamahadevasa* around" and "below *rajaraña*" in Kharoshṭhī.

Rev. : "Elephant l.; trident on l. *Bhagavatamahādavasa* around" and "below *rajarāja*" in Brāhmī.

Class II : BMC, AI No. 13

Obv. : "Humped *b*ull l. ⊙ on l.; ω above.

Bhagavatamaha—around" and "*Rajara* — below" in Kharoshthi.

Rev. : "As preceding. Traces of legend around" and "below *rājaraja*" in Brāhmī.

First of all, the lacunae and discrepancies noticed in the description of the coins of these classes must be pointed out. The wavy line and straight

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line that occur below the bull and the elephant on the obverse and reverse of the specimens of both the classes respectively have not been accounted for so far. The symbol represented in front of the elephant is described as 'trident battle-axe' of 'Śiva' by Cunningham and Chakrabortty.[4] Allan[5] at one place simply mentions it as trident. K.K. Dasgupta also does the same.[6] Elsewhere, Allan describes it as 'trident with axe on handle.'[7] The monogram below the humped bull on the metallic piece of Class I is recognized as lotus flower by Cunningham. Chakrabortty simply describes it as flower and for its identification as the lotus he puts a mark of interrogation. Allan is also doubtful and hesitatingly accepts the symbol of the coin as a lotus flower. Similarly Das Gupta also mentions it as lotus flower. Bela Lahiri[8] and Ajay Mitra Shashtri[9] accept the identification proposed by Cunningham. And on the specimen of Class II Allan and

Das Gupta draw it as. .

It can also be added here that the present symbol of the specimen of class I is similar to that which occurs at the same place, i.e., under the mouth of the humped bull on the reverse of the coin of class II, although the mark on the latter is drawn in the conventionalized form and so exhibits certain minor differences in the shapes of its constituents. The pivotal circle of the symbol in question on the coin of class I contains spokes, but on the specimen of class II, it is represented by a dot. Also the petals of the lotus flower on the former are shown by the outer lines whereas in the other they are depicted in the form of solid dots.

Cunningham deciphers the Brāhmī and the Kharoshṭhī legends as *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa Rāja-raja* and *Bhagavata Mahadevasa Rajaraja* respectively. But, since *rājaraja* is a nominative instead of genitive like the other words of the inscription which are against the syntactical rules, Franke favours the reading *rajaraña*.[10] However, as Bergny points out, this "is the reading of the Kharoshṭhī inscription" and the Brāhmī counterpart of the Kharoshṭhī letter *ña* of the word referred to above is clearly *ja*. Therefore, to avoid it Bergny proposes that the terminations of the two words *mahadevasa* and *rājarājasa* are combined into one form.[11] He also suggests that the letters of "the former have at their tops short horizontal strokes resembling the *o*-stroke of *to*, the *ā*-stroke of *hā* (and *rā*), and the *e*-stroke of *de*." He also adds that *sa* of *Mahadevasa* and *sa* of *rājarājasa* "are combined into one form (*sa, sa*). A similar character occurs on a coin of Zoilus in the British Museum (Cunningham, 342); here the *sa*-terminations

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of *tra-ta-ra-sa* and *jho-i-la-sa* in Kharoshṭhī are combined so as to form one character *(sa, sa)*."[12] For the letters of the Kharoshṭhī legend he observes that the *u*-stroke in the letters *bha* and *va* "is attached to the forms in precisely the same way as in the Aśoka incriptions." The letter drawn as is identified as *gu* by him." in which the *u*-stroke is attached to the side of the down-stroke just as in (p*u*) of the word *a-pu-la-pha-na-sa* on the coins of Apollophanes in B.M. Cat., pl. XIII, 1 and in (*ku*) of the word *pa-ku-ra-sa* on a coin of *Pakores* in the Berlin Museum (XI,1,6; No. 26)."[13] Thus he makes out the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends as "*bhagavato Mahādevasa rājarājasa*" and "*Bhuguvusa Mahadevusa rajāraña*" respectively. For the *rajaraña* he further suggests tnat "it might also be read *rājarāña*."[14] Abou tthe double-forms of the letter *sa*, Rapson remarks that "they are simply blunders of the die-engraver, who has miscalculated the space at his disposal, with the result that the final letters of the two portions of the inscription going round the margin of the coins, one from the left upwards and the other from the left-downwards have got jumbled together." He also adds that it is a mistake "pure and simple; and there is an end of the matter."[15] Thus, he somehow accepts the reading proposed by Bergny. Chakrabortty, also agrees with the above decipherment of the legends.[16]

Allan reads the legend as '*Bhagavatamahādavasa rajarāja*' or '*rājaraja*' in Brāhmī and '*Bhagavata mahadevasa rajaraña*' in Kharoṣṭhī. And, elsewhere he writes : "The frequent omission of long vowels on these coins makes the reading of the exact dialect difficult. The marginal legend *Bhagavatamahadevasa* in Prākrit is the same in the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī forms.... The legend *rajaraña* in the exergue of the obverse, corresponding to the Sanskrit *rājarājnaḥ*, is represented by *rājarāja* on the reverse, which is a puzzling form, the second *ja* is possibly an error for *jñ*."[17] But he also holds, as one of the possibilities, that, "Perhaps as Bergny suggested it is *rājarājasa*, the two final *sa*-s running into one another."[18] P.L. Gupta writes the legend as *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña Odumbarisa*.[19] A.M. Shastri gives the legends in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī as *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña* and *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajarāja*, respectively.[20] Dasgupta also refers to the legend as *Bhagavatamahadevasa Rajaraña* in Kharoshṭhī and *Bhagavatamahādevasa rajarāja* or

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rājaraja in Brāhmī. Jai Prakash also, like Gupta, holds that "The coins of Mahadeva... bear-*Bhagavata Mahadevasa* (*raña*) *Odu* (ṁ) *baris.*"[21] B. Lahiri reproduces it as *Bhagavata Mahādevasa rājarāja* in *Brāhmī* and *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña* in Kharoshṭhī.[22] As regards the Brahmi inscription written on the obverse, we agree with its decipherment proposed as *Bhagavato Mahādevasa* and restore the rest *rājarāja*, taking in view the readings of both the coins of Mahadeva published by Allan. Of this inscription, *Bhagavato Mahādevasa* runs anti-clockwise and *rājarāju*, clockwise. Further, we know that the character, which follows the letter *va* of Mahādeva is inscribed as . If the engraver first inscribed the anti-clockwise legend, then the reason for the occurrence of the left stroke consisting of a horizontal line bent slightly downwards is inexplicable since the remaining two arms fully make the Brāhmī alphabet *sa;* and if the scribe first inscribed the clockwise legend, then the letter *sa* subsequent to *rājarāja* must have been put in its exact shape thereon by him in case he intended to write this legend in genitive form, and no one arm of the above form can be considered to be the part of the alphabet *sa* inscribed along with the letters of the clockwise legend. Hence the present character appears to have been inscribed along with other letters of the anti-clockwise legend. If the scribe wished to engrave a separate letter *sa* along with the clockwise legend, he could have accommodated it easily on the coins. The silver coins of the Vemakas, which served as the proto-type of these coins of Mahādeva, have 15 letters whereas these coins have only 13 letters. Thus, we cannot subscribe to the suggestion of Rapson that it was the result of the blunders of the die-engraver and a miscalculation of space but agree with the view of Bergny that this represented double *sa.* It must be mentioned here that the legend *Odu* (*ṁ*) *barisa* added by Gupta and Jai Prakash on the coins of Mahādeva is purely a creation of their mind. Thus, we can read the Brahmi legend as *Bhagavato Mahādevasa rājarājasa.* We also endorse the reading of the Kharoshṭhī inscription proposed by Bergny as *Bhuguvusa Mahadevasa rajaraña,* although it can be argued that the first alphabet seen on the specimen catalogued in *BMC,* for the first time, is devoid of the stroke representing *u-kara.* These differences in the inscriptions of the two scripts are evidence of the existence of different dialects. Thus, we can describe the coins catalogued by Allan as follows :

Class I

Obv. : Elephant facing left; below, straight line (perhaps pedestal) and trident with axe. In front : Legend in Brāhmī around.

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Bhagavata Mahadavasa; and below, *rajarājasa*

Rev. : Humped bull facing right; below wavy line and under the mouth of the bull. Legend in Kharoshṭhī around, *Bhuguvusa Mahadevusa;* and below *rājaraña.*

W. : 33.0 grs. *S.* : .65"

Class II

Obv. : As above, but traces of the legend around and below *rājaraja.*

Rev. : Humped bull facing left; wavy line below; ☿ above and* under the mouth of the bull. Kharoshṭhī legend *Bha* (*ga*)-*sa* and rest the same as above.

W. : 31.5 grs. *S.* : .65"

B. *Published by Rapson :*

Rapson published two copper coins from the coin-collection of L. White King as follows:[23]

Obv. :

Rev. : Standing figure, holding in right hand a trident and battle-axe combined. Legend *Bhāgava* (*ta*) *Mahādevasa*

S : .7"

K.K. Dasgupta[24] and B. Lahiri pronounce this legend as *Bhagavata Mahādevasa.*[25] The former also goes to the extent of saying that "Rapson's reading Bhāgavata is doubtful."[26] But the medial sign (*mātrā*) in *bhā* is very clear and Rapson himself had no doubt about it. The only letter which is not quite clear is *ta.* Hence the reading mentioned in the description is correct. However, the obverse symbol is quite peculiar. Rapson says that "it may possibly be some other form of the *liṅgam* or some religious symbol." This symbol also occurs, though as a countermark, on the coin of Uttamadatta of Mathurā. And Rapson remarks that, "in any ease, the countermark probably denotes some connection, the nature of which we can only conjecture, between the dynasty to which these coins belong and the Hindu Princes of Mathura." The reverse figure, in his view, "is undoubtedly that of a man holding the trident-battle-axe in his right hand. This is the usual weapon of the God Śiva (Mahādeva) who

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is probably represented here in allusion to the name or title of the prince."[27]

The trident with axe and the legend *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa* of these coins also occur on the silver coins referred to earlier. These facts make it highly probable that the copper and silver coins were issued by the same authority. Contrarily, however, the differences in type and legend between the siver and copper coins can be accounted for, and they are : the former has elephant, straight line (besides trident with axe) on the obverse and humped bull, wavy line and lotus on the reverse and they have inscriptions on both sides, on the obverse in Brāhmī and on the reverse in Kharoshtī, and contain *rājarāja* in Brāhmī and *rajarañña* in Kharoshṭhī in addition to the legend *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa*; whereas the letter bears a peculiar symbol on the obverse, standing figure on the reverse and the legend in Brāhmī alone. However, a similar instance from this region and belonging to the same period can also be cited. The Audumbara chief Dharaghosha adopted a symbol for his silver money which was different from the one he used for copper. The former has the standing figure of Viśvamitra with right hand raised and a skin belt over his left arm on the obverse, and trident with axe and tree in enclosure on the reverse. The copper coin bears tree within enclosure, forepart of elephant and undulating line on the obverse and two-storied temple and trident with-axe on the reverse. On the basis of this, we can presume that the same authority minted the coins of both the metals referred to (above), and that he used different symbols for the two metals. The addition of the title *rājarāja* or *rajarañña* on the silver coins might be indicative of the growth of his power at the time when these coins were minted. And, the use of the Brāhmī legend alone on the copper coins suggests that the area in which these coins circulated was familiar only with the Brāhmī script.

C. *Catalogued by Bidyabinod*

Bidyabinod doubtfully catalogues 12 square and oblong copper coins under the heading, 'Audumbara';[28] and of them, he identifies the legend *Mahadevasa* on two coins only — Nos. 5 and 7. And this is how he describes these coins :

No. 1 (5)

Obv. : "Ditto. Trident with battle axe, tree, legend lost."

Rev. : "Br. legend, *Mahadevasa*, tree, snake, trunk of elephant."

W : 47.3 *S* : .68 × .52

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Let us see, what Bidyabinod means by 'ditto'. The obverse of coin no. 4, is simply described as "Ditto' legend lost." So the 'ditto' used for coin no. 5 refers to the obverse of coin no. 3, which is described as "Br. legend, *Radradasa*, temple and trident with battle-axe." About the legend, of coin no. 5, Bidyabinod writes that it is lost; and, the 'trident with-battle axe' is mentioned therein. Therefore, 'ditto' possibly stands for the temple. But then why was it not used to represent the 'trident with battle-axe' which was already recorded with temple in the description of coin no. 3. It is also known that the coin is not same as those of the Audumbaras, since it incorporates certain new characteristics. Thus the reason for the doubt, whether the temple exists on the obverse of coin no. 5 or not. However, it should be recalled that the temple does occur on another coin (no. 7) of King Mahadeva and, therefore, it can be surmised that the temple was depicted on the obverse of this coin too. It must be mentioned, however, that an inversion of the obverse and reverse of this coin should be taken as the correct picture. Bidyabinod, too, notices traces of the legend, which is lost on the obverse. Since the legend on the reverse is inscribed in Brāhmī, the legend of this side may be presumed to have been engraved in Kharoshṭhī.

No. 2 (7)

Obv. : "Kh. legend, *Mahadevasa*; tree and elephant with-rider."

Rev. : Temple worn."

These two coins, nos. 5 and 7, with forepart of elephant, trident with-battle-axe, wavy line have been wrongly identified by Bidyabinod as snake, (coin no. 5), tree, and temple as in the square or oblong copper coins of the Audumbaras. Probably because of the similarity of these symbols he ascribes these coins to the Audumbaras tribe. Dasgupta takes the legend *Mahādevasa* as imperfect, and groups them with those Audumbara copper coins which bear the incomplete legend *Mahādevasa Odubarisa*[29] and are recorded by Allan under the name of the so-called Audumbara king Mahādeva.[30] But these coins cannot be taken as the specimens of the coins of incomplete legend because they contain some new typological features, altogether absent on the Audumbara coinage. Out of the special typological features of coin no. 5, only one is pointed out by Dasgupta that it "presents some novelty in introducing the Brāhmī legend with the motif of a tree, the forepart of an elephant etc,." which always occurs on the reverse of the copper coins of the Audumbaras. Secondly, the device of tree

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depicted along with the temple is not on the face of the Audumbara coins which bear temple. The coin no. 7 has the device of 'elephant with rider' on the obverse and this is not on a single metallic peice of the Audumbaras. Also to be recorded is the observation of Bidyabinod, in the obverse of coin no. 1 (5), as the 'legend lost' may be presumed to have had the legend inscribed in Kharoshṭhī since its reverse evidently bears the legend in Brahmi. This is also supported by the fact that coin no. 2 (7) has its legend in Kharoshṭhī on the face which contains the device of temple. On the reverse of coin no. 2, although Bidyabinod does notice traces of the letters, he admits, that this side of the coin is worn and indicates the possibility of the existence of the legend which might have been in Kharoshṭhī. Thus, these coins like those of the Audumbaras appear bi-scriptual.

King Mahādeva, depicted the combined battle-axe on both his silver and copper coins while the elephant motif is only on the silver, referred to earlier. Therefore, at the present stage of our knowledge Mahādeva of these two coins can be identified with Mahādeva of the other four coins.

II

Two silver and four copper coins bearing the name of Mahadeva are known so far. The silver coins have the legends *Bh (tā) gavato Mahādevasa rājarājasa* in Brāhmī on the obverse and *Bhuguvusa/Bhaguvusa Mahadevasa rajaraña* in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. The copper coins published by Rapson bear the legend in Brahmi alone as Bhagava (*tā*) *Mahādevasa*. And, the copper coins listed by Bidyabinod contain simply *Mahādevasa*, probably in both the scripts.

The interpretation of the inscription of the silver coins is a matter of dispute. Cunningham takes Mahādeva as the personal name.[31] Bergny translates the legend as: "(Coin of) His Majesty Mahādeva, King of Kings."[32] Rapson says that, "the title Bhāgavata denotes a worshipper of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa" and, therefore, "Mahādeva is probably, in this case, not a name but a title."[33] The view of Rapson is elaborated by Chakrabortty: "The legend on these coins had been interpreted to refer to a king named Mahādeva. but this cannot be taken to be certain. The word *bhagavata* is generally applicable to Gods, and the title '*rājarāja*,' the King of Kings, is more applicable to a God than to the King of a small principality. Moreover, '*Mahadevasa*' in the coins of Dharaghosha might refer to the national god, of whom Dharaghosha was the worshipper. So I would rather like this legend as applicable to god Mahādeva and the coin seems to be dedicated to him—like the Chhatreśvara type of Kuniṇda coins. The legend, therefore, may be interpreted as follows — 'In the name of the Almighty Mahā-

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deva, the King of Kings."[34] Allan takes the legend *Bhagavatamahadevasa* for *Bhāgavata Mahādevasya* and transcribes as "Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat."[35] Sircar also concurs with Rapson and Chakrabortty that these coins which "were issued in the name of the god Mahadeva or Siva bear the Prakrit legend, in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, indicating *bhagavata Mahādevasya rājarājasya.*"[36] P. L. Gupta along lines of Chakrabortty takes it as 'of the almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings.'[37] Jai Prakash in the same manner translates it as:— "of the worshipped lord Mahādeva, king (of the) Audambara kings."[38] But we must admit that a part of their rendering, i.e., 'of the Audambaras' is incorrect. Shastri also accepted the explanation forwarded by Allan,[39] for a while.[40] B. Lahiri holds this interpretation 'to be more plausible.'[41] K.K. Dasgupta also agrees with this view, although he feels that the word *Mahādeva* connotes the name of the issuer and as well as that of god.[42] Earlier he had suggested that the king was 'a human agent' of the god, to whom the state was dedicated, to carry out the administration,[43] but later he modified his opinion and wrote that "the king did not act as the regont of god, but was the god himself."[44]

However, we find that the controversy to a great extent, rests on the interpretation of the word *Bhāgavata.* This has generally been taken as a sectarian title meaning a 'devotee' or 'worshipper' of Bhagavat. But this interpretation is not accepted by scholars except Allan, and even he translates this expression differently. This form is also incorporated in the legends of the Brāhmaṇyadeva[45] and Chhatreśvara[46] coins. Here Allan takes it as an equivalent for the English word 'divine.'[47] Banerjea writing on 'the reading and interpretation of some Yandhaya coin-legends' thinks that the first part of the component read by numismatists as *Bhāgavata* is really *Bhagavata* (*h* or *to*).[48] He also extends this to the Chhatreśvara type coins.[49] Then he interprets the terms *Bhāgavta* and *Bhagavatah* or *Bhagavato* as 'a devotee of the Bhagavat or the worshipper 'of the holy or worshipped one.'[50] He also refers to "such well known terms found in very early Indian literature and inscriptions as *Śiva-Bhāgavata, Bhāgavatena Gājāyanena...Pārāśariputrena, Parama-Bhāgavata,* 8 c.)."[51] No doubt the phrase in question on the present coins, is inscribed in Brāhmī as *Bhagavato* but that is because the upper portion of the letter *bha* is partly out of the flan. It is certainly *Bhāgavata* on their copper counterparts. The only doubt which Rapson had in this reading was on the letter *ta* and again the *a*-stroke with the letter *bha* is quite clear. Of course this expression is spelt out in Kharoshṭhī as *Bhuguvasa* or *bha* (*guvusa*) and this stands for Bhagavata. But we also know that the long vowels are often entitled from the tribal coin legends (cf. Rudradasas, Sivadasasa, etc.).[52] Also to be remembered is that the legend is affected by the dialect. Note for instance, the change of

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the Brāhmī *ta* into *sa* and the use of *u-kara* with *bha*, *ga*, and *va* in Kharoshthī. Jai Prakash, pronounces this term as *bhagavata* on the Mahadeva[53] and Chhatreśvara coins,[54] and *bhāgavata* on the Bhrahmanyadeva type coins.[55] And renders both *bhagavata* and *bhāgavata* on the Mahadeva and Brahmanyadeva type of coins into English as 'of the worshipful'.[56] But he considers the word *bhagavata* on the Chhatreśvara type coins to be an adjective of *Śiva*.[57] But considering the peculiarities of the Prakrit dialects of that time, too much stress cannot be made on the distinction between the readings *bhagavata* and *bhāgavata* used in the earlier coin-legends. And, wherever this phrase is used with the name of a god, it should be interpreted as the 'worshipful' or 'divine'; or it must be taken to mean a 'devotee' 'worshipper of Bhagavat', 'the worshipful one'. The interpretation 'devotee of Bhagavat' is applicable to cases where it occurs with the name of a person.

But the present case is quite clear. Here the word inscribed on the copper coins is *Bhagavata* and considering the arguments cited above, refers to the inscription on the silver coins. Here this can be interpreted as 'a devotee of the worshipful one' in case Mahadeva is considered as the name of the god; otherwise it should be read as 'a devotee of Bhagavat'. But in determining this point the regal epithet *rājarājasa*, 'the king of kings', helps us. Admittedly, we do not have earlier instances of gods being venerated by such superlatives and, moreover, this title is used by the contemporaneous śaka kings, namely Azes I, Azilises and Azes II[58] with their names. Against the objection of Chakrabortty that Mahādeva was 'the king of the small principality' we must remember that he extended his suzerainty over the kingdom of Mathura and probably also over the Audumbara dominion. Therefore, here it is certian that both *Bhāgavata* and *rājarājasa* were the appelations of Mahādeva and used in the sense of 'a devotee of Bhagavat', i.e. 'Vishnu'.

Here Shastri also applies the view of Banerjea and elaborates: "But this interpretation does not go well with the representation of what appears to be some sort of *lingam* or some other religious symbol on the obverse and standing Śiva holding trident-battle-axe combined in the right hand on the reverse".[59] For him these are the 'contradictory features.'[60] To avert them, he suggests: "Although in later times the word *Bhāgavata* came to be employed almost exclusively in the sense of 'a worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e., Vishnu, it was not so in the earlier period." He quotes Patanjali '2nd century B.C., who refers in his *Mahābhashya* 'to the *Śiva-bhāgavatas*, i.e., devotees of bhagavat Śiva who carried iron tridents with them as their religious mark. Therefore, he concludes: "It is likely that in the present case also the word *bhāgavata* has got to be taken in its original non-sec-

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tarian sense of devotee of *bhagavata* or god who could have been either Vishṇu or Śiva or any other deity. And as indicated by the religious devices noted above, *bhagavata* in the legend on the coins of *Mahādeva* denotes a worshipper of the god (*bhagavat*) *Śiva* and has a connection similar to that of the word Śiva-bhagavata.[61] But certainly in the 'earlier period' the expression *bhāgavata* was exclusively used in the sense of 'a devotee of Bhagavat' otherwise the term *Śiva-bhogavata* would not have been coined to distinguish with the popular usage *Bhāgavata*. Again the peculiar symbol depicted on the obverse of the copper coins cannot be accepted as *lingam* with sureness. Further, the depiction of the figure of Śiva holding trident-battle-axe in his right hand cannot come as the barrier in the way of accepting our suggestion because we know that Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta who were the devotees of Bhagavat, introduced trident[62] and nandi[63] on the reverses of their silver coins. This evidently shows that not all respresentations of the devices used signified to the religious faiths of the issuers. Consequently, the portrayal of the figure of Śiva on the coins of Mahādeva should only be taken as the introduction of local characteristics. Even if the word *bhagavata* is simply meant for a devotee 'of the god', then it seems highly unlikely that the minter inscribed a religious appelation without mentioning there the name of the god whose devotee he was. Therefore, it must have been employed in the same sense as *Māheśvara* and *Māhādeva*. It would follow then that King Mahādeva was Vaisnva and not a Śiva-Bhagavata.

So the legends *Mahādevasa*, *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa* and *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa rājarājas/rajarña* (the letters in Kharoshṭhī) should be translated as—(coin) of Mahādeva, (coin) of Mahādeva, a devotee or worshipper of Bhagavat, and (coin) of Mahadeva, a devotee or worshipper of Bhagavat, the king of kings.

III

So far six coins, two of silver and four of copper with name of Mahādeva are known. The silver coins have elephant, straight line and trident with axe on the obverse and humped bull either facing right or left, wavy line, lotus and sometimes *triratna* on the reverse. Of the copper coins, two have a peculiar symbol on the obverse and the figure of Śiva on the reverse. The other two copper coins have tree, trunk of elephant or elephant with rider and wavy line on the obverse and temple, trident battle-axe and tree on the reverse.

Cunningham, who published, for the first time, one of ihe silver coins

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of Mahādeva, included it amongst the Audumbaras.[64] Rapson, who brought into light the copper coins of the 'peculiar' symbol/Śiva type, attributed these copper and silver coins to the tribe of the Audumbaras.[65] R.D. Banerji objects to the inclusion of the coins of other rulers who do not have the tribal name Audumbara in the catalogue prepared by Cunningham, but not on the coins of Mahādeva—although he accepts that "attribution of coins which do not bear the name of the tribe to the Audumbaras, must be very doubtfull."[66] A.C. Banerji does not agree with this attribution and remarks that "of Cunningham's list Dharaghosha can be regarded as an Audumbara chief."[67] Allan,[68] Jagannath,[69] K.A.N. Shastri[70], U.N. Ghoshal,[71] J.N. Banerjea,[72] Sircar,[73] Puri,[74] Jai Prakash,[75] and Dasgupta[76] accept the attribution made by Cunningham and Rapson. B. Lahiri assigns these coins to the Vemakas. A.M. Shastri refuses both views. However, this problem raised a controversy between three scholars viz. A.M. Shastri,[77] Dasgupta,[78] and B.Lahiri.[79] Among them Shastri contributed four papers and the others, atleast two. Even after so much writing on the rejection of the tribal lineage, Shastri does not appear to have cut the ice completely.

Although Cunningham and Rapson accept Mahādeva as an Audumbara chief, they do not give the reasons for this acceptance. This assumption is elucidated by Allan : "The attribution of these pieces to the Audumbaras is based on the name Mahādeva, the type elephant with a trident in front, and general similarity to the coins of Dharaghosa."[80] Dasgupta elaborates this and adds some new points which are :[81]

First, that several copper coins bearing the inscription *Mahādeva* are known and seven of them are in the British Museum. Therefore, it "seems rather strange to think that the mint-master has systematically omitted the name of the issuer and given title only, used by an anonymous ruler." Most probably "the king's name has been given in all such cases," but here *Mahādeva* is mentioned once to avoid representation. Consequently "the use of the word *Mahādeva* seems to have served a double purpose: as a personal name and as a regal title."

Second, "that the mention of the name of the tribe, though expected is not an invariable feature of the tribal coins." For this he cites (the Chhatreśvara coins of the Kuṇiṇdas and the coins of the Yaudheyas bearing the legend *Bhagavatasvāmino* Brahmanyadevasya, Kumārasya) on which the tribal name is absent. He further explains the reason for the non-occurrence of the name of the tribe by suggesting that "the omission of the tribal name in a series may be due to factors connected with the increase of the power of the chief concerned. Such a thing may have happened in the present case." Therefore, he holds that "Rājarāja Mahādeva may have

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been a relatively powerful chief, known more by his name than by his association with his tribe."

Third, "that the coins of Mahādeva do not differ typologically from those of Dharaghosha" because "the copper coins of Mahādeva are related copper issues of Dharaghosha in respeet of type" such as tree-in-railing and elephant on the obverse and "temple and combined trident-battle-axe and legend in the tri-scripts which are Kharoshthi and Brahmi." Again," the silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha seem to have practically belonged to the same numismatic conception as seen in their fabric, type, legend and weight. The points of similarity in type, legend and weight are further elaborated by him as "the silver issues of both Mahādeva and Dharaghosha show the common motif, viz. the trident" of their coins; "both these groups of coins bear Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends on their obverse and reverse respectively, in contemporaneous charrcters;" and, "coins of Mahādeva weighing 33 and 31 grains and those of Dharaghhsha, which weigh 37.5 and 43.7 grains, seem to approximate to the same standard."

Fourth, the silver coins of Mahādeva "bearing the figure of an elephant to left on their reverse are evidently related to "these silver square copper coins of the British Museum which also have the same animal motif on their obverse." As the latter were undoubtedly the issues of the Audumbaras, the silver coins may be supposed to have been issued by the same tribe." He also does not find "relevant in this context to draw a conclusion from this similarity with Allan's class II of the Yaudheya coins."

Then, Dasgupta concludes, that the coins of Mahādeva (catalogued by Allan and Rapson) were issued by an Audumbara chief named Mahādeva who was regarded as the personification of the deity having the same name." Mahadeva "did not act as the regent of the god, but was the god himself." He further explains that on the basis of the legends in question it may be inferred that the Audumbara chief, Mahādeva was identified with the god whom he worshipped presumably in common with the citizens of the republic." Lastly, to bring the matter home completely, he adds "the assumption of self-deification by the chief may not have marked any basic change in the form of the government which was a republic. But at the same time it must be admitted that Mahādeva was arrogating himself to a position of over lordship rather than that of a mere tribal chief. This was probably a late symptom of political development in the history of the Audumbaras, as is indicated by the coins of Mahādeva."

Let us critically examine the arguments formulated by Allan and Dasgupta and see whether the un-accounted evidence, the copper coins listed by Bidyabinod, can be cited in favour of their view.

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(1). As regards the suggestion of the presence of a chief named Mahādeva among the Audumbaras, the three facts mentioned below should be considered:

a) The supposed existence of a king named Mahādeva amongst the Audumbaras is based upon his own presumption that *Mahādeva* of the imperfect legend of the square copper coins of that tribe and restored by him as *Mahādevasa raña Odu (ṁ)barisa*, stands for the king's name, and, to support his hypothesis he refers these silver coins — "There is no reason, however, to doubt the existence of a ruler of this name, especially as we have also a silver coin (*sic*) bearing it;'[82] but, surpripingly enough to ascribe these silver coins of Mahādeva, he recalls the so-called existence of the Audumbara chief Mahādeva. Certainly this peculiar approach of Allan weakens his argument.

b) To ascertain the nature of the word in question, the undisputed legends of the Audumbara copper currency are cited here as follows:

i) *Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odu (ṁ) barisa*

ii) *Mahadevasa raña Rudradasa Odu (ṁ) barisa*

iii) *Mahadevasa raña Dharoghosa Odu (ṁ) barisa*

These legends led Allan to admit: "As Mahādeva is also found as a regal title on these coins, it is possible that some of the specimens attributed to him in the catalogue are really incomplete specimens of coins of other rulers.[83] Further, these three legends definitely reveal that all the coins of the Audumbaras are characterized by conservatism. They have the legend *Mahadevasa rāna Odu (ṁ) barisa*, except with the change of the name of the issuer which intervened between *raña* and *Odu (m)—barisa.* Thus the mention of the tribal name on the Audumbara currency was its basic feature and this is conspicuously absent on the *Mahādeva* coins. The Audumbaras had the sectarian epithet of *Mahādeva* whereas king Mahādeva used the title of '*bhagavata*'. Further, the Audumbaras, simply called *rāja* on some of the coins, do not have any regal title while *Mahadeva* designated himself with the more honoured and powerful title *rājarājas* (King of Kings). Therefore, if *Mahādeva* had been a member of the Audumbara family he would have used the traditional sectarian and regal titles *Mahādeva* and *rājā* and mentioned his tribal name *Audumbara.*[84]

(c) Of the seven square copper coins listed under the hypothetical king *Mahādeva*, five specimens are illustrated.[85] Among them, one piece (*BMC, AI*, No. 14) bears the legends as follows

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Obv. : Kh. legend: top *Mahadevasa ra*—; right Oduba—

Rev. : Br. legend : right—*sasa*; and left *Odubarisa.*

The presence of the letters *sasa* in Brāhmī which is genetive cannot be the part of the so-called complete legend *Mahadevasa raña Odu (ṁ) barisa* as none of these words ends with *sasa.* If the legends of both the scripts are kept in view, it becomes evident that the inscription runs beyond *Mahadevasa raña Odu (ṁ) barisa.* Thus the present legend can be restored completely as *Mahadevasa raña—sasa Odubarisa.* We know that the name of the two chiefs Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa terminate with the letter *sa* (in legend as *sasa*). Shastri says that "this coin, has, therefore, got to be attributed to either Rudradāsa or Śivadāsa the genetive singular of whose names end in sasa."[86] However, we can point out that the feet of the letters *sasa* face to the inner side of the flan. We know that the feet of of the letter *Śivadasa* face outside and those of the name of Rudradāsa face toward the inner side of the flan. Hence, here the letters *sasa* represent the last part of legend *Rudradasasa.*

At the right side of the reverse of the coin No. 2 (*BMC, AI*, No. 15) we can clearly read two letters, which are in Brāhmī, as *sa* and *da.* Again, at the left side of the obverse of coin No. (*BMC, AI*, No. 16), the legend *Rudradasa* can be deciphered clearly. Thus these two coins, like the previous one, were also minted indubitably by the Audumbara chief Rudradāsa.

The rest two illustrated specimens have the legends as follows

No. 4 (*BMC, AI*, No. 17)

Obv. : Blurred

Rev. : Brāhmī legend on top *Mahadevasa*

No. 5 (*BMC, AI*, No. 18)

Obv. : Kh. legend : top *Mahada* — ; right *Odubarisa*

Rev. : Br. legend — *bari* — at left.

These two coins have the legend *Mahadevasa* in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmi on top and *Odubarisa* in Kharoshṭhī on the right side of the obverse and in Brāhmi on the left side of the reverse. The square copper coins of the Audumbaras are characterized by *Mahādevasa raña,* inscribed in both the scripts Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī, on the top of the obverse and reverse, respectively. The legend *Odubarisa* in Kharoshṭhī occurs at the right of the obverse and, in Brāhmī at the left of the reverse. And the issuers' name is

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represented there in Kharoshṭhī at the left of the obverse and in Brāhmī at the right of the reverse. So, had these coins been struck by the so-called king Mahādeva, the legend *Mahadevasa* (the issuer's name) might have occurred at the left side of the obverse and the right of the reverse. Thus, the legend *Mahadevasa* in question is definitely a sectarian epithet as it occurs on the other Audumbara coins. Of the remaining two unillustrated coins, one (*BMC, AI*, No. 19) bears *dabarisa* in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and *Mahadevasa Oduba* - in Brāhmi on the reverse. The second (*BMC, AI*, No. 20)has *vasa raña* and-*barisa* in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and *barasa* in Brāhmī on the reverse. Keeping the legends of both the faces together, the complete inscription of these two coins can be restored and read as *Mahadevasa raña Odubarisa*. Unfortunately, we do not know about the places of the occurrence of these words on the coins. Even then considering the results of all the illustrated coins discussed above, the word *Mahadevasa* on these coins should also be taken as the sectarian appelation rather than as the name of the issuer. Again, if these coins had been minted by the so-called king *Mahādeva*, the legend *Mahadevasa* should have followed and not preceded the regal title *raña*. Thus among all the seven coins of the British Museum listed under the hypothetical name Mahādeva three pieces were issued by the Audumbara chief Rudradāsa and the other four are in fact the specimens with imperfect legends which were carried by any one or more chiefs of this tribe.

Of the first argument of Dasgupta we can reject his first point at the outset that '*several*[87] copper coins bearing the inscription Mahādeva' are not known. For the first time, Allan catalogues seven coins under the hypothetical king Mahādeva. Besides, there are four copper coins which bear the name Mahādeva, and are devoid of any tribal nomenclature. On the copper coins in the British Museum, the mint-masters did give the name of the issuers. Of them three pieces (Nos. 14, 15 and 16) were certainly coined by *Rudradāsa* and the renaining four are specimens with the complete legend which were struck by anyone or more of the three known Audumbara chiefs, but they were certainly not issued by a king named Mahādeva. Thus, his contention that "the use of the word *Mahādeva* seems to have served a double purpose: as a personal name and as a regal title" is speculative and baseless. His view that *Mahādeva* was a regal title because *Mahādeva* himslf acted as god can be refuted, as Shastri also does,[88] on the grounds that : *firstly* the succeeding word *rājān*, "a regal title, would become redundant;" *secondly*, *Mahadeva* is nowhere used as a regal title; and *thirdly*, Dasgupta himself, at one place, accepted *Mahādeva* as the name of the god. This was the view which was suggested first by P.L. Gupta : "such a high title, which is used for God *Śiva*, cannot be imagined for the leaders of

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the tribe, who themselves were devotees of *Śiva* and, therefore, he s uggests" that the word *Mahādeva* refers here to God *Śiva* himself.'[89] Even the modified and the latest, conjecture of Dasgupta has inconsistent statements such as the Audumbara chief called himself *Mahādeva* and acted as that god and not as his regent. And then he goes on to say say that the chief worshipped the god Śiva like the citizens of the republic, in which case the king had to desist using the form of the god Mahādeva.

(2) Contray to the theory of the type elephant with a trident in front put forth by Allan, we can humbly recall that the elephant device represented on the silver coins of king Mahādeva is quite dissimilar to that depicted on the copper coins of the Audumbaras. But mention must also be made of the argument of B. Lahiri that the copper coins of the Audumbaras depict only the forepart of an elephant on the obverse" and "those of *Mahadeva* (of the silver) issues bear the full figure of an elephant,"[90] does not carry any weight. Certainly, the full figure of elephants do occur on the square or oblong copper coins of the Audumbaras,[91] but they certainly do not occur on coins which bear the names of the chiefs.[92] Moreover, here the trunk is upraised while in those of the Audumbaras the elephant is shown with trunk hanging down. Moreover the device of elephant generally depicted on the Audumbara coinage is the forepart which consisted of the head, and the forelegs. Again, here its trunk is shown hanging downwards. Although the elephant's trunk is shown on a piece of the *Mahādeva* coinage cannot ascertan whether trunk hangs down or is raised upwards. However, it must be rememberd that the fore part of the elephant also occurs on the coins of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas. An elephant with an upraised trunk also figures on the coins of the Vemakas but here it faces to the right.[93] The elephant with identical forms, the entire body and the upraised trunk facing to left of the silver coins is represented on those issued by the *Mitras* of Punjab.[94] Further, an elephant with a rider motif on a Mahādeva coin is also found on the coins of the Mitra kings.[95] Of course, the trident occurs on the coinage of the Audumbaras.[96] But we can draw the attention of scholars to the occurrence of the same symbol on the silver coins of the Vemaka king Rudravarman and the Indo-Greek king Zoilus II.[97] Can these pieces, too, be considered to have been issued by the Audumbara tribe? Therefore, it is certain that the depiction of the trident-battle-axe on all these coins was a local numismatic characteristic.

The suggestion of Dasgupta that "the copper coins of Mahādeva are related to the copper issues of Dharaghosha" in respect of tree-in-railing, elephant, temple and combined trident-battle-axe, is highly unrealistic as these square or oblong copper coins of the British Museum do not contain the name of a king called *Mahādeva*. No doubt, the tree, forepart of

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the elephant, temple and combined trident battle-axe matrifs are used on some of the copper coins of Mahādeva. But we do not know the shapes of the tree and the temple depicted thereon, moreover, we know that the structural representation is not confined to the Audumbara coins only. We are also aware that the forepart of the elephant and combined trident-battle-axe are not the features of the money of this tribe alone. But similarity in type should not be taken as indicative of the lineage. And, when we remember, that Mahādeva mostly introduced innovations in those currencies which were coined on the pattern of the Audumbara coinage, such as *Brāhmī* legend on the obverse and a tree on the reverse on the coin no. 1 and elephant with rider on the coin no. 2, these coins cannot prove Mahādeva's lineage with the Audumbaras.

4. The proper assessment of the last observation of Allan, i.e., 'the general similarity' of the silver coins of *Mahādeva* with those of *Dharaghosha*, demands a reproduction of the details of *Dharoghasa's* silver coins[98], viz. :

Obv. : *Viśvamitra* standing (facing) with right hand raised, pelt over left hand which rests on waist. *Kharoshṭhī* legend: around, *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghosha*; below *Odubarisa*; and across the field *Viśpamitra.*

Rev. : Trident with axe on right; tree in enclosure on left. *Brāhmī* legend around: *Mahadevasa raña Dharoghoshāsa*; and below *Odubarisa.*

W: 37.0; 37.5 *S:* .7"

After comparing the silver coins of Mahādeva with the silver coins of Dharoghosha, we notice their general similarities. And they are: legend-patterns, bi-scriptual inscriptions, and the use of the silver metal. But these features are not only confined to these coins of the two princes. And except the combined trident-battle-axe which was a local trait, all the devices of the silver coins of Mahādeva are different from those of the coins of Dharaghosha. Again, the suggestion of Dasgupta that the silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha belong 'to the same numismatic conception as seen in their fabric, type, legend and weight' is unwarranted. In respect of fabric the absolute uniformity between the silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharoghosha is non-existent since the silver coins of Mahādeva measure .65 inch and those of Dharaghosha .7 inch. Of the type, the common motif which Dasgupta finds is trident-battle-axe alone. No doubt we must remember, as Shastri points out, that the question is of types and not just isolated symbols which could occur independently in several unconnected series of early coins. If this point is kept in mind, no similarity can be traced, between the two classes of coins.[99] Even if we set this aside in, no way can we ignore the fact that the occurrence of the combined trident battle-axe on

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these coins was the result of the local feature of the numismatic conception and, therefore, no hypothesis can be made on this basis. As regards the legend we also do not notice any similarity at all except that both are inscribed around and exergue. The legend on the coins of Dharaghosha runs as *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa*, whereas it is *Mahadevasa* or *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* or *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rājarājasa* In connection with the argument that the issues of both the kings have Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends on the obverse and reverse respectively, we must recall that the coins of the Kuṇiṇdas and the Vṛishnis similarly have the same legend on both sides: on the obverse in Brāhmī and on the reverse in Kharoshṭhī. Shall we regard the coins of these titles to have been struck by the Audumbaras? For the attribution of the silver coins of Mahādeva to the Audumbaras, the nearness in weights of the coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha do not convince us since both of them, as Dasgupta himself accepts, adopted the same Graceo-Persian standard which was introduced by the Indo-Greeks. It is also likely that Dharaghosha and Mahādeva either evolved their own weight-standards modifying the Graceo-Persian standard, or they followed two different weight-systems, if we remember that Dharaghosha ruled a few decades before Mahadeva. But even then the silver coins of the former have the higher weights (37 and 37.5 grs.) than the latter which are lighter, 31.5 and 33.0 grs. Again the fact that the coins of Dharaghosha range between 37 to 38 grs. and while those of Mahadeva between 31 to 33 grs. cannot be brushed aside lightly. Further, the average weights of coins of *Dharaghosha* and *Mahādeva* as 37.25 and 32.25 should also be borne in mind. Even if our conjecture is not acceptable, it is certain that this cannot be made a criterion to suggest that both belonged to the same family or tribe. The weight standard followed by the kings was in fact not of a particular dynasty but of the region. The same instances can be cited here: viz., Guptas introduced their gold coins on the Kushāṇa coin-pattern and weight-system, and the silver currencies on the types and weight-standard of those of the Western Kshatrapas. They certainly did not belong to those foreign stocks, and the weights adopted by them were of the time and the regions (Northern and Western India).

One may argue that the silver coins of only one Audumbara chief are known. However, as Shastri observes, "in view of the uniformity of their copper coins as regards their obverse and reverse types and legends, it would not be too preposterous to suppose that on their silver coins also they must have followed the same type and legend (except the ruler's name) as Dharaghoshas. The Audumbaras appear to have been very conservative in respect of their coin-legends; they used the title mahadeva and the name

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of the tribe on both copper and silver issues; but they adopted a new type for their silver money; the figure of Viśvamitra and trident-axe and tree-in-enclosure on the obverse and reverse."[100] Had Mahadeva belonged to the Audumbara tribe, he would have used the figures of Viśvamitra on the obverse and trident and tree in-enclosure on the reverse; and not the elephant on the straight line and trident-axe on the obverse and bull on wavy line, lotus, and sometimes triratna, on the reverse. Apart from that we know that a good number of copper coins of the Audumbaras are discovered and all of them have uniformly the same types: tree-within-enclosure, forepart of the elephant and the wavy line on the obverse, and three-storied-temple and trident-axe with fillet on the reverse. If Mahādeva was a member of the Audumbara tribe, he must have minted his copper money exactly identical to those of the Audumbaras.

5. The next point of Dasgupta that the occurrence of the tribal name "is not an invariable feature of the tribal coins" is as unacceptable as the earlier ones because the examples of the Chhetreśvara and 'Brahmanya-deva' types cited for, are based on the wrong notions of the numismatists that they were issued by the Kuṇiṇdas and the Yandhayas, respectively. Even if we consider them to have been minted by those tribes, the coins of Mahādeva like the Chhatreśvara and the Brahmanyadeva types of coins, have to be proved on typological ground to have been coined by the Audumbaras; although we remember that the sectarian title Bhagavata was never used by any one of the Audumbara chiefs. But no coin of Mahādeva is minted in a coin-type of the *Audumbaras*. Of his argument that Mahādeva deleted the tribal name from his money as the result of the increase of his power, Shastri refutes it on the ground that Dharaghosha was also a powerful chief as indicated by the fact that he issued silver coins of an excellent execution, but he did not give up the use of the tribal name for that reason.[101] But this argument has no force because the use of silver by a prince for his currency might have been related with the exigencies of trade, and their excellent execution, the result of the technique which was learnt by the indigenous minters from their contemporary foreign issues. But there is no proof that his power increased from his accession at the same scale which it was at the time when he assumed the title of *rājarājasa;* else copper coins would have contained the epitact *rājarājasa* and, surprisingly enough these pieces too, don't bear the tribal name. Thus the absence of the tribal name has a great bearing on the attribution of the coins of *Mahādeva*.

6. The statement of Dasgupta that "the Mahadeva silver coins bearing the figure of the elephant to left on their reverse are evidently related to their copper counterparts with the same animal motif on the obverse,"

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6. The statement of Dasgupta that "the Mahadeva silver coins bearing the figure of the elephant to left on their reverse are evidently related to their copper counterparts with the same animal motif on the obverse,"

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refers to the square copper coins of the alleged Audumbara chief *Mahādeva*, and these are definitely the coins which were minted by Rudradasa and as well by the other chiefs of the tribe. Therefore, the opinion held by him that "the silver coins as well may be supposed to have been issued by the same tribe," althought based on the fact that they "were undoubtedly the issues of the *Audumbaras*," is not tenable.

7. Lastly, the conclusion of Dasgupta that *Mahadeva* "was regarded as the personification of the deity having the same name," is baseless. We do not know of an earlier example of this kind. Again, his presumption "that Mahādeva was arrogating himself to a position of a overlordship rather that of a mere tribal chief" is simply fabrication as the Mahādeva silver coins are devoid of the tribal name and typologically, as well in respect of legend, differ with those of the Audumbaras.

Thus, Shastri rightly concludes: *firstly*, "Had Mahādeva belonged to the tribe of the Audmbaras, we shall be justified in expecting him to use the title of *Mahadeva;*" *secondly*, he would have mentioned the name of his tribe; and *thirdly*, "the silver coins of Mahādeva differ very much from that of Dharaghosha both in type and legend. We can add that in case he was an Audumbara chief all his copper coins would have been identical with the copper currency of the Audumbaras.[102]

Shastri holds that the silver coins of Mahādeva "agree more closely with Allan's class II of Yaudheya coins than with any definitely known Audumbara coins."[103] Certainly both are round,[104] they have elephant on one side and bull on the other. And one of the silver coins of Mahadeva like the class II of the Yaudheyas coins, contains the *triratna*, though the former bears it above the bull and the latter above the elephant. But the silver coins of Mahādeva are struck on the Indo-Greek weight standard, whereas the coins of class II of the Yaudheyas are not. The Mahādeva coins are made in silver metal and those of the latter in point. The Mahādeva silver coins are minted by the die-struck technique whereas the specimens of the class II of the Yaudheyas are coined by the stamp-die process. The coins of the Yaudheyas are crudely made but the Mahādeva silver coins are manufactured like the contemporaneous Indo-Greek coins. The Mahadeva silver coins have the legend all around but the class II of the Yaudheya coins does not. The former has inscriptions on both sides: in Brāhmī on the obverse and in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse, but the coins of the Yaudheyas (referred to above) have the legend in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse only. Lastly the typological dissimilarities can also be pointed out: the Mahadeva silver coins have trident-axe, wavy line and lotus, whereas the coins of the class II of the Yaudheyas bear a pennon-like object and *Yupa* within railing. Thus the observation that the Mahādeva silver coins

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"agree more closely" with the coins of the class II of the Yaudheyas does not appear to be correct. In fact the Mahādeva silver coins resemble more closely the coins of Rudravarman of the Vemaka tribe.[105] The issues of both are round and minted in silver metal. They are struck in style and fabric like the later Indo-Greek coins, and made by the same die-technique. Again, all of them have elephant with trunk upraised, trident, straight line and the circular Brāhmī legend on the obverse and humped bull, lotus, wavy line and circular Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. The device of elephant with the trunk upraised is also noticed on the coins of the Mitras discovered in this region.[106]

To attribute those coins to the Vemakas, B. Lahiri observes that the silver coins of Mahādeva are 'closely allied with the silver coins of Rudravarman." The type of the coins of both is the same, "with the only exception that the elephant on the obverse on both the coins of Mahādeva is turned to the left, while that of Rudravarman is seen to right. The bull on the reverse of Mahādeva's coins has, however, both the varieties—it is seen either to the right as on Rudravarman's coins, or to the left." She also adds that the Mahādeva silver coins "bear the full figure of an elephant along with the trident on the same side, just as is seen on the silver coin of Vaimaki Rudravarman." Thus she concludes that "in every respect the silver pieces of Mahādeva are more akin to that of Vaimaki Rudravarman and, therefore, it appears to be more logical to attribute the silver coins of Mahādeva to the Vaimakis." Of the round copper coins of Mahādeva (published by Rapson) she writes that "the combination of the epithet and the name 'Bhagavata' and 'Mahadeva', as well as the trident-battle-axe held by the deity may connect these coins with the silver pieces of Mahādeva.

However, vis-a-vis this conjecture it must be borne in mind that *firstly*, all the coins of the Vemakas have the elephant device facing to right, and while this motif is also found on the silver coins of Mahadeva it faces left. *Secondly*, the copper coins of the Vemakas bear elephant r. and *triratna* behind on the obverse and Bull l, *triratna* and *Svastika* on the reverse, but none of the copper specimens of Mahādeva is struck in this type. *Thirdly*, Mahadeva often had the sectarian title *bhagavata* and sometimes the regal epithet *rājarāja* but such *birudas* are unknown on the money of the Vemakas. *Fourthly*, the coins of Mahādeva are without the name of that tribe. *Fifthly*, the silver pieces of Mahādeva and the Vemakas differ in fabric: the issues of Mahādeva measure .65 inch and those of the Vemakas, .7 inch. *Lastly*, we know that Mahādeva minted his copper currency in three types : (i) Peculiar symbol/Śiva, (ii) Front part of Elephant/Temple, and (iii) Elephant with-rider/Temple. But none of the

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Vemaka coins is known in this type. Therefore, in view of these facts these coins of Mahadeva cannot be attributed to the Vemakas.

Thus the King Mahādeva was neither an Audumbara nor a Vemaka but a non-tribal ruler. He also adopted the epithet *rājarāja*, (king of kings) on his silver coins which was uncommon for an Indian monarch of the time. This indicates the increase of his power and status. Besides it may also suggest to the extension of his influence over thc neighbouring states. Nevertheless, this title, a testimony of the elevated position, raised Mahādeva to the rank of the contemporaneous kings of the foreign stock who usually used such epithets. Neither *raña* (*rājña*) nor *rājarāja* is used on his copper coins. The difference can be explained by assuming that the copper coins were minted when he had no such title. Now the question arises, when did he begin using the title *rājarāja* ? The natural inference is that he either adopted it in the earlier or later part of his reign. The latter seems to be more probable.

The Brāhmī characters on the coins of Mahādeva are characterized by their angular feature and, therefore, palaeographically they appear to have belonged to the period later than the *janapada* coins of the Vemakas. Bergny[107] rightly compares the alphabets inscribed on the silver coins of Mahādeva with those that occurred on the Kshatrapa records of Mathura. Besides, the simalarity in the types of the silver coins of Mahādeva with those of the Vemaka king Rudravarman also indicates to the nearness of their dates. However, on this point Dasgupta makes various contradictory observations. Allan places *Mahadeva* in the first century B.C., but to Das gupta "these coins belong to a period a little earlier, say in the latter half of the second century B.C."[108] Further he suggests that the "silver coins of *Mahādeva* and *Dharaghosha*, appear to indicate that these two rulers came into contact with the Bactrian king Zoilus or some of his predecessors or successors in as much as their coins are based on the Graceo- Indian model both from the points of view of type and metrology" and, therefore, "their coins seem to be later in date and they may be placed in the first century A.D."[109] But at another place he appears to put *Mahādeva* in the second-first century B.C. as he considers *Mahādeva* to be the contemporary of *Uttamadatta* of Mathura who, in his view, "flourished in the second-first century B.C.' [110] But *Mahādeva* cannot be dated prior to the time of the *śaka* king *Mauas*—his silver coins like those of the *Vemakas* have close typological affinity with those of the *Mauas*. Their coins have the device of the elephant with trunk upraised on the obverse and bull on the reverse, and again they have a symbol below the mouth of the bull,[111] although on those of *Mahādeva* and the *Vemakas* it is Indianized. Bela Lahiri suggests, "The silver pieces, both of *Rudravarman*

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and of *Mahādeva*, being similar in style and fabric to the silver issues of *Audumbara Dharaghosha*, may be assigned to the same period i. e., the second half of the first century B.C."[112] But according to us Dharaghosha reigned in the first half of the first century B.C.[113] Likewise both, Rudravarman and *Mahādeva* should not be considered to have flourished at the same time because, even if both of them minted their coins in the same type and fabric, the representation of the lotus below the mouth which was adopted from the issues of Rudravarman is here conventionalized gradually. However, the date proposed by her as the second half of the first century B.C. for *Mahādeva* appears correct. It is attested by the borrowing of the title *rājarāja* from the *Śaka* kings *Azes* I and as well as his successor who flourished roughly from the middle of the first century B.C. However, we can add that he has to be placed before the end of the first century, since we know that *Mahādeva* restruck a piece of *Uttamadatta* of Mathura and the rule of the indigenous princes of that place terminated before the end of the first century B.C.[114]

The area *Mahādeva* ruled is merely a matter of tentative suggestion on typological ground since the provenances of his coins are unknown. Although Dasgupta writes of the silver coins of Mahadeva that "These coins appear to have hailed from Pathankot,"[115] we cannot vouch for this. Of the two silver coins one belongs to the coin-collection of Cunningham and nowhere does he mention the site of this find. The other specimen comes from the coin-collection of Gen. M. Clark and the provenance of this, too, is unknown, atleast to me. Thus the typological evidence alone help us in the determination of *Mahadeva's* principality. The silver coins of *Mahādeva* have elephant with upraised trunk to left on the straight line representing pedestal and trident-battle-axe in front on the obverse, and humped bull facing to right or left on the wavy line and the lotus under its mouth and sometimes *triratna* above it on the reverse. All these devices are found on the coins of the Vemakas. Their silver coins have elephant with upraised trunk facing right on the straight line and trident-battle-axe below the mouth, on the obverse, and bull to right facing front on a wavy line and lotus flower below the mouth on the reverse and the copper coins bear elephant to right, *triratna* behind on the obverse and bull to left, *triratna* and *svastika* on the reverse. Chakrabortty writes: The coins of the Vemakas have "a great similarity with the *Mahādeva* coins and bears the same type. There seems to be some sort of relationship between" them and "perhaps they were neighbours."[116] The same is reterated by Shastri who thinks that the "sameness of coin-types may equally well indicate that *Mahadeva* ruled over a principality situated close to that of *Vaimaki Rudravarman*".[117] But it is not a simple matter of similarity but the

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imitation of the coin-type of the *Vemakas*. And this refers to the same locality in which the currencies of the *Vemakas* and as well of *Mahādeva* circulated Unfortunately, we do not know the provenance of the silver coins of the Vemakas. Nevertheless, their copper coins probably come from Hoshiarpur district. Further, the motif of the elephant with trunk upraised facing to left[118] and elephant with rider[119] occur alone on the coins of the Mitras. Beyond any doubt these Mitra pieces hail from Hoshiarpur district.

Thus we remember that the shape of the elephant device i.e. elephant with upraised trunk facing to left on the silver coins of Mahādeva is identical to that which occurs on the coins of these Mitras. Again the motif of elephant with rider introduced by Mahadeva on one of his coin types is also seen on the Mitra coins. Further, the standing figure portrayed on another copper coin type of Mahadeva can also be noticed on the coins of these Mitras.[120] Hence, it appears that Mahadeva originally ruled over the principality which was previously governed by the Vemakas, and later by the Mitras.

Some of his copper coins have the motifs of elephant, tree, wavy line, temple and trident. As these devices are evidently copied from the coinage of the Audumbaras, these pieces might have been minted for circulation in the Audumbara terrirories. But in this case his control over the Audumbara dominion must have extended after the passing away of its great chief Rudradāsa because he also claimed himself to be the *rājarāja*, the King of kings, and flourished in the second half of the first centurp B.C. Thus Mahādeva was a later contemporary of the Audumbara ruler Rudradāsa.

His second copper coin type, which bears a peculiar symbol cited as *lingam* by Rapson on the obverse and a human figure standing with trident battle-axe on his right hand on the reverse, may indicate the union of the new land to his kingdom. The occurrence of the Brāhmī script alone on these coins points out to the eastern part of his kingdom as the area of their circulation where the use of this script would probably have been well established by then. Also the depiction of Śiva on these coins and the combined trident battle-axe on his other issues and as well as on those of the Audumbaras, Vemakas and the Zoilus II indicates that this region was almost entirely inhabited by the Śaivas. The peculiar symbol of this coin type also occurs as the countermark on the coins of Uttamadatta of Mathura. Rapson, taking Mahadeva as an Audumbara prince, finds 'some connection' between the Audumbaras and the Hindu Princes of Mathura." Since Mahādeva was not an Audumbara chief, his observation can only be applied to Mahādeva and the indigenous rulers of Mathura. But he himseif accepts it as the countermark and we know that in almost all cases the countermarks are considered as symbols put by the conquerors.

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This countermark evidently proves that Mahādeva invaded the kingdom of Mathura and established his supremacy over that area. It is also not unlikely that at least for a short period, he directly governed this region and put one the symbols of his money, which was used on the coins of the eastern part of his state, as the insignia of his royality on the currency of the desposed ruler of Mathura.

About the restruck coin of Uttamadatta, Dasgupta writes: "What is of more interest with regard to that Mathura coin is that it bears on the obverse the legend *Bhagavata Mahādeva*,"[121] But Rapson, who draws the attention of scholars on the occurrence of the restruck symbol stamped over a piece of Uttamadatta of Mathura, does not refer to this aspect. Allan also simply mentions that "one of the British Museum coins of Uttamadatta is countermarked with a symbol that appears as the type of a coin of the Audumbara Mahādeva."[122] We also tried to trace out the restruck inscription *Bhagavata Mahādeva* on that coin of Uttamadatta but we did not succed in finding it.

The silver coins of Mahadeva are held by Jai Prakash as the 'commemorative issues.'[123] He also goes on to postulate "Their general similarity to the coins of Dharaghosha indicates that these issues were not much removed in time from him. We feel that these pieces were issued by Dharaghosha to commemoratc his victory over the Indo-Greeks. And since Dharaghosha is said to have initiated the money of Apollodotus, it maybe justified to think that the same Indo-Greek king had to suffer a political humiliation sometime towards the close of his reigin."[124] But these coins do not resemble those of Dharaghosha except that both of them have a combined trident battle-axe. Moreover, this symbol was not confined to these coins alone. Hence, the proposal that these silver coins bearing the name of Mahādeva were minted by the Audumbara chief Dharaghosha is unacceptable. Again Dharaghosha very likely was not the contemporary of Apollodotus. This Indo-Greek King ruled, in the opinion of Narain, "from 115 to 95 B.C.[125] When I have suggested elsewhere that Dharaghosha flourished in the few earlier decades of the first century B.C. Hence the humilation of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus is quite out of question.

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40. *JNSI*, XXXII, pp. 17-18.
41. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 65.
42. *JNSI*, XXXII, (II), pp. 151-3.
43. *The Audumbaras*, p. 23.
44. *JNSI*, XXXII (ii), p, 153.
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46. Ibid, p. 167.
47. He translates the legends *Yaudheya-bhāgavata-svāmino*-Brahmaṇya (*sa* or *sya*) and *Bhāgavato-svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or *sa*) *Kumarasya* (or sa) as 'of Brahmanya, the divine lord of the Yaudheyas' and 'of Kumara the divine lord Brahmanya deva,' respectively (*BMC, AI*, pp. CXLIX-CL).
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104. *BMC*, *AI*, pp. 267-70, pl. XXXIX 11-19.
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PART FOUR

Literature, Religion, and Philosophy

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Yoga and Literary Criticism

Dr. S. K. Prasad
Department of English, Magadh University

On the pubiication of my book on the literary criticism of Sri Aurobindo some months back, a quite pertinent question was raised by a distinguished educationist in our country, the ex-chairman of U.G.C. Dr. George Jacob : What is the relationship between yoga and literary criticism?

The present paper is just a preliminary attempt to answer this question.

Literary criticism is usually taken to be an analytical, intellectual activity designed to appreciate and evaluate literary works such as poems, fiction, plays, etc. This is its practical aspect. And insofar as this kind of activity has also engaged itself in investigating and formulating such basic literary problems as, what is literature? what is poetry? what is fiction or drama or criticism itself? what are their functions and utilities in life? etc., literary criticism may be also taken to have a good deal of theoretical importance. If yoga has anything to do with literary criticism, it should have a bearing on both its aspects.

By his own example Sri Aurobindo has shown us how it is so. Indeed, he who happened to be the author of a book like *The Future Poetry* and a writer of such letters as came to be collected under the titles: *Letters of Sri Aurobindo*, third series; *Letters on Savitri* and *Life-Literature-Yoga* could not have helped evolving into a great literary critic, both theoretical and practical, just as he could not help being born 'a poet and politician,' whatever else the world may call him and remember him by.

One who is familiar with the life and works of Sri Aurobindo now knows that there was nothing like 'chance' or 'accident' in his life. Every one of his activities had a distinct place and role to play and everything was of a piece with the other. That is to say, there was a sense of wholeness and totality about him and his activities and his overall personality was a glowing picture of complete integration and synthesis. We know that through a series of endless experiments and experiences and as a result of the dynamic and complex action of the Divine Grace upon him, he succeeded in working out what he called Integral Yoga and realizing it in him-

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self to the farthest and deepest possible extent. Naturally, therefore, whatever he did or wrote or said had upon it the distinct impact of this yogic activity and realization. In simple language, this means that everything for him was yoga. There was nothing, he did or wrote or (even) said which was not yogic in character, purpose and effect. If so, how could his specific literary activity such as writing poetry, plays, essays, journalistic articles and treatises be outside the scope of yoga? No doubt, when he began to practise yoga consciously in the early years of this century, his poetry and plays, essays and articles and letters came to be increasingly, infallibly, charged with yogic content and quality, truth and power, consciousness and peace, beauty and harmony. But what is to be noted is that such were the ways of Providence with him that he came to develop a yogic outlook, a yogic way of seeing, feeling and thinking from birth, as it were, or at least from the time he came to develop what is known as an awareness and consciousness of things and people. That is to say, he was a born yogi and even his juvenalia are a distinct proof of it. As such, if one makes an attempt sincerely, one can trace a distinct line of yogic, not to speak of artistic and creative, development from his *Songs to Myrtilla*, the earliest collection of his poems, to *Savitri*, a legend and a symbol, his poetic magnum opus, over which he spent almost the whole of his creative, even actual, life.

This being so, critical activity of the literary kind or literary criticism which is an important part of the literary activity of man, could never fall outside the scope of Integral Yoga with him. Literary criticism with a man like Sri Aurobindo was, therefore, not a thing apart from his yogic life and activity, but was a vital and purposeful part of it.

As a matter of fact, with certain kinds of activity and professions such as those of a philosopher or scientist or inventor or poet or literary critic, the general yogic qualities and characteristics are of utmost value and importance. Whatever our understanding of yoga or whatever the brand or kind of yoga we practise, it does not need to be overemphasized that yoga develops in man or confers upon him a kind of energy, peace and poise, cheerfulness and confidence which are otherwise difficult to attain.

It is quite evident that we need these qualities not only for better and happier and higher living, but also for better, more balanced, nobler feeling and thinking. Literary criticism being essentially an intellectual formulation of our experience of literature as well as of life, particularly as reflected in literature, it is obvious that the more we are established in yogic energy and equipoise, concentration and contemplation upon the literary object or problem under consideration, the better and more unerring literary critics we are bound to be. But as yoga is something more

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than mere peaeful and energetic concentration and contemplation, and brings about an increasingly intuitive and illuminative, inspired and revealed sense of identity with the object of contemplation, it is no less evident that with its help and under its increasing impact we shall gain a better and deeper and, therefore, truer insight into literature, poetry, drama and fiction than we are able to get otherwise. A more penetrating critical sense and discrimination, a deeper intuitive and illumined critical vision is likely to develop in us. With the help of yogic consciousness and powers we are sure to give a better account of ourselves as critics, as we are sure to become better men with greater and deeper knowledge of things and activities, motives, and impulsions, modes, techniques and utilities, etc.

Yoga also develops in us a kind of objectivity, detachment and disinterestedness, that is to say, that basic freedom in one's consciousness from the usual material interests and considerations of life, from one's narrow personal and petty likes and dislikes, preferences and prejudices, fads and fancies, from the physical and emotional reactions of the lower vital nature to which we are all subject. The kind of impersonality of outlook and discernment and judgement and the quality of 'negative capability,' which have been taken to be essential, particularly in modern times, for good and true literary critics are things which are really yogic in character and will, therefore, develop more easily in that literary critic who is well-established in yoga.

Above all, yoga leads one to the very source of things, to creation itself. It leads one to the ultimate truth of things. It does not matter by which name we call it — God or the Divine or the Absolute Brahman or some power or God or Goddess of inspiration or creative force. This means that if a literary critic practises yoga, he will gradually and increasingly learn to reach, in his consciousness, both the ultimate source and the intermediate stages and processes of literary creation. He will also have a better knowledge of the working of the various planes and powers of creative inspiration. All this subtle and complex knowledge will enable him to do his work as a literary critic much better and more unerringly than he can do otherwise; to stretch the point further, his evaluation and judgement will be almost infallible and his voice the accent and authority of finality.

Much, no doubt, will depend upon the kind of yoga one practises. Some basic qualities are, of course, achievable in every kind of yogic discipline. A brief reference to this has been made above. But it is only when one practises what Sri Aurobindo has called the Integral or Purna Yoga that one can expect to get the best and maximum possible results and benefits, for here all the deveolped and evolved parts of our being

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that is to say, our body, our senses, our mind, our heart, and above all our psychic being or the soul or the spark of the Divine Reality in us, are brought into a harmonious and integral play. In this broad-based and large-circuiting Yoga, the psychic being is increasingly brought not only to the forefront but allowed to take precedence over everything else to mould, purify, elevate, fulfil and enrich, and dynamically lead and govern, the mind, the vital and the physical. It goes deep down into the subconscious regions of our being and takes up even the inconscient which is the most hard, recalcitrant, obdurate and unregenerate part of our being. It is self-evident that we cannot achieve what is known as perfection of thinking, feeling and doing as well as perfection of expression and creation, including literary and critical expression, unless we take to this kind of yoga which has a dynamic bearing upon the totality of our life and nature, consciousness and personality.

Since Sri Aurobindo has practised this kind of Yoga and made the fullest possible use of it in all his works and activities, including those of creative and critical literature, I have no hesitation in saying that he presents before us the picture of an ideal and a supremely great literary critic. Consider, for example, a statement of this kind:

> The voice of poetry comes from a region above us, a plane of our being above and beyond our personal intelligence, a supermind which sees things in their innermost and largest truth by a spiritual identity and with a lustrous effulgency and rapture and its native language is a revelatory, inspired, intuitive word, limpid or subtly vibrant or densely packed with the glory of this ecstasy and lustre. (*The Future Poetry*, p. 392-93)

We have known for long that the source of poetry is somewhere beyond our petty limited external self. But what exactly is its nature and where is it properly situated, what is the nature, quality and form of its expression, are things which are hinted at in this passage alone and this is true of not only mystical and spiritual poetry but of all poetry, even the most secular and material kind. And this has been possible because it is a critic, surcharged with yogic consciousness and knowledge, seeing and thinking, and equipped with a most yogically serene and self-assured poise of expession and communication, contemplating the origin, content and style of poetry with utmost disinterestedness and impersonality, who is putting forward a vision and truth of poetry and not merely a so-called critical view or opinion or statement about poetry. This, therefore, is a very good example of how Integral Yoga can make its contribution to literary criticism in its theoretical aspect.

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Let us now consider a critical observation of another kind. Sri Aurobindo was once asked by one of has correspondents to express his views on 'Art for Art's sake.' His answer was quite lengthy as he sought to discuss all possible aspects of it, without any prejudice, without any pre-conceived notion, without any kind of excited emotion or debating passion in the argument. It is not possible to quote the passage in full. But the following will do:

> What...is meant by this slogan and what is the real issue behind it? Is it meant, as I think it was when the slogan first came into use that the technique, the artistry is all in all? The contention would then be that it does not matter what you write or paint or sculpt or what music you make or about what you make so long as it is beautiful writing, competent painting, good sculpture, fine music. It is very evidently true in a certain sense,...in this sense that whatever is perfectly expressed or represented under the conditions of a given art proves itself by that very fact to be legitimate material for the artist's labour. But that free admission cannot be confined to all objects, however common or deemed to be vulgar,...it can give a right of citizenship in the domain of art to a moral theme or thesis, a philosophic conclusion, a social experiment...still you may say that at least the object of the artist must be art only,—even if he treats ethical, social or political questions, he must not make it his main object to wing with the enthusiasm of aesthetic creation a moral, social or political aim. But if in doing it he satisfies the conditions of his art, shows a perfect technique and in it beauty, power, perfection, why not? The moralist, preacher, philosopher, social or political enthusiast is often doubled with an artist — as shining proofs and examples there are Plato and Shelley, to go no farther. Only, you can say of him on the basis of this theory that as a work of art his creation should be judged by its success of craftsmanship and not by its contents .....
>
> But then ... one does not write merely to use beautiful words or paint for the sole sake of line and colour; there is something that one is trying through these means to express or to discover. What is that something? The first answer would be—it is the creation, it is the discovery of Beauty. whatever is capable of being manifested as Beauty is the material of the artist. But there is not only physical beauty in the world — there is the moral, intellectual, spiritual beauty also. Still one might say that "Art for Art's sake" means that only what is aesthetically beautiful must be avoided... But here, again, what after all is Beauty? How much is it in the thing itself and how much in the consciousness that perceives it? Is not the eye of the artist constantly catching some element of aesthetic

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value in the plain, the ugly, the repellent and triumphantly conveying it through his material?....

There is a certain state of Yogic consciousness in which all things become beautiful to the eye of the seer, simply because they spiritually are ... of the hidden Divine. What a thing is to the exterior sense may not be, often is not, beautiful for the ordinary aesthetic vision, but the Yogin sees in the something More which the external eye does not see, he sees the self and spirit ... And so from this point of view of a realized supreme harmony all is or can be subject-matter for the artist, because in all he can discover and reveal the Beauty that is everywhere ... Art is discovery and revelation of Beauty, and we can say nothing more by way of prohibition or limiting rule.

But there is one thing more that can be said. ... In the Yogin's vison of universal beauty, all becomes beautiful, but all is not reduced to a single level. There are gradations, there is a hierarchy in this All-Beauty ... All is the Divine, but some things are more divine than others. In the artist's vision too there are or can be gradations, a hierarchy of values ... or, to put it otherwise, there are not only aesthetic values, but life-values, mind-values, soul-values that enter into art." (letter dated 17.4.1933 : Letters on Poetry, Literature and Art, 1972, pp. 330-334.)

Summing up the whole issue Sri Aurobindo concludes by saying:

If we take these three elements as making the whole Art, perfection of expressive form, discovery of beauty, revelation of the soul and essence of things and the powers of creative consciousness and Ananda of which they are vehicles, then we shall get perhaps a solution which includes the two sides of the controversy and reconciles their difference. Art for Art's sake certainly; Art as a perfect form and discovery of Beauty : but also Art for the soul's sake. the spirit's sake and the expression of all that the soul, the spirit wants to seize through the medium of beauty. In that self-expression there are grades and hierarchies, widenings and steps that lead to the summits. And not only to enlarge Art towards the widest wideness but to ascend with it to the heights that climb towards the Highest is and must be part both of our aesthetic and our spiritual endeavour. (Ibid. pp. 334-35)

We see here that as a literary critic Sri Aurobindo is not only eoncerned with revealing a supreme vision of truth about art or literature in an intuitively and creatively inspired and revealed language of utmost serenity and expressive power, as in the small felicitous and compendious passage,

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quoted before. On the contrary, here he is engaged in a sort of discussion, much as a literary critic does often get involed with about a well-known artistic problem. But here, too, the yogic qualities of calm confidence, cheerful artistry and skill, a step-by-step unfolding of the different aspects of the question, integrality of approach, reconciliation of opposites and extremes, detachment and disinterestedness, catholic understanding and a sort of spiritual, divine impersonality — a beautiful play of the synthetic mind of a high spiritual order — are unmistakably evident. It is not the product of the usual kind of loud, assertive, forceful, single track intellect and analytical reasoning faculty with which we are familiar in the domain of litarary criticism of the past and the present. Rather, a quite different kind of critically communicative consciousness and understanding is at work — a kind which comes naturally and easily to a practitioner of Integral Yoga.

The following gem-like bits of practical criticism are no less yogically illuminating and revealing. It is only a yogi of an integral truth-vision and truth-knowledge who can traverse and bring home to us the various layers of poetic inspiration and creation.

'I saw them walking in an air of glory', (Vaughan) and Aurobindo's comment: something of the Illumined mind, something of the Poetic Intelligence dilluting the full sovereignty of the higher expression.

> I saw Eternity the other night
> Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
> All calm as it was bright (Vaughan)

Aurobindo's comment: a mixture of the 'Illumined mind with something from Overmind'

> Solitary thinkings such as dodge
> Conception to the very bourne of heaven,
> Then leave the naked brain (Keats's *Endymion*)

And his comment: 'a combination of the Higher Mind and the Illumined Mind.'

Indeed, there can be a very fruitfully intimate relationship between yoga and literary criticism. The merely materially interested or a purely vital being or the man of intellect, of mere brain-power or even of emotional and intellectual imagination is yet to realize that a completely quiet and silent mind which is the gift of true yoga is most conducive to both creative and critical expressions and activities.

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Of course, Sri Aurobindo today is a supreme example of yogic or spiritual, poet and literary critic. His many lyrical poems as well as his magnum opus *Savitri* and his principal work of literary criticism, *The Future Poetry*, besides several letters of this kind, notably those on *Savitri* and Overhead poetry are some of the highlights of his creative and critical literary gifts and performance. But there are others in the Ashram,—Sri Nolini Kant Gupta and Sri K.D. Sethna, for example—who have actually shown in their literary writings how yoga can be effectively and convincingly combined with the dual activities of creative poetry and literary criticism. True, in the European and American literatures, the thing has not been consciously pursued. But the examples of Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley, Hopkins, even Yeats and Eliot to a certain extent, Abbe Henri Bremond, Jacques Maritain, Emerson, Whitman may be cited as fairly good specimens in this direction. Nevertheless, while the East—notably India —has already achieved much in the domain of yogic, spiritual literature, both creative and critical, Europe and America have yet to make a conscious, systematic beginning. Quite a number of European and American literary critics have so for made a good and fruitful use of such non-literary disciplines as those of history, biography, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, even economics and political science, not to speak of both Freudian and Bergsonian schools of psychology and psychoanalysis, semantics and linguistics and it must be said to their credit that literary critics today have gained enormously in depth, intensity, richness of meaning and fullness of understanding of both literary problems and enquiries and individual works of literature in all important domains, i.e., poetry, plays and fiction, even literary criticism itself. But it is now time that our literary critics, like our creative artists, turned to yoga, particularly Integral Yoga in a conscious, steady manner and found for themselves how this science of sciences and arts of art (i.e., yoga) can enlarge, enlighten, deepen, elevate and magnificently illumine their profession and practice of the art of literary criticism. Here they find Sri Aurobindo most helpful.

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The *Ramayana* and its Impact in South-East Asia

G. K. Sharotri

The *Ramayana* of Valmiki is an immortal epic of great literary value. It has had a profound influence on the life and thought of the people, not only of India but also of the neighbouring countries. It has undoubtedly influenced the thought and action of people throughout the ages. Its universal popularity has been immense. Dramatists and artists have borrowed plots and themes from it. Poets have written again and again about it. Sculptors, painters not only in India but in far-off lands, such as Cambodia and Indonesia, were inspired by the *Ramayana* to produce works of great beauty and charm. In a Sanskrit sloka a child is blessed by saying, 'As long as the Ganga flows and Kurukshetra exists, as long as the earth is firmly set, as long as the Ramakatha endures, so long may the child live.' The story of the *Ramayana* is very simple but its theme is truly great and its style very elegant. A number of dramatic and dance traditions have evolved from the theme of this epic in various countries of South-East Asia. Truly speaking, the Ramayana has not only been a great source of inspiration to people in the past but continues to inspire and influence them even today.

This poem, 'the career of Rama' is one of the two great Sanskrit epics of ancient India, composed by Valmiki in the ancient kingdom of Kosala which is situated to the north-east of the Ganges and corresponds very nearly to modern Ayodhya. As it exists today the Ramayana consists of about 24,000 couplets composed in the simple epic metre, known as sloka, consisting of two hemistichs of sixteen syllables with an iambic cadence. The *Ramayana* has always been referred to as adi-kavya (the first epic) and its author as the adi-kavi (the first poet). This indisputably establishes Valmiki as the man who produced an epic which excelled in length and beauty the ancient epic poetry of the bards. He earned the distinction of writing this great work in his own inimitable style by refining and polishing the slokas and yet retaining its content faithfully. The style of

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Valmiki's poetic embellishments is so pure and limpid that his work was widely imitated in the corresponding era, and became the source of later ornate poetry both in India and in the neighbouring countries. Thus, it supplied the subject of Kalidasa's epic, the *Raghuvamsa* or the family of Raghu, as well as of two of the plays of the great dramatist, Bhavabhuti. During the Dussehra festival the story of the *Ramayana* is depicted through folk-theatre in northern India and touches the important episodes in Rama's life and ends with the burning of Ravana's effigy. Millions of people throng to see these performances year after year; these performances are popularly known as Ramlilas.

In this story Rama, the central character of the *Ramaynna* symbolizes mankind's struggle against the forces of evil. Rama is depicted as an epitome of incarnate beauty and goodness. Through the ages, from the age of the Rishis to this day, everybody is enamoured of the beauty and sublimity of the character. Narada tells Valmiki that prince Rama 'is like the ocean in gravity, like the Himalayas in fortitude, like the god Vishnu in might, like the moon in beauty, like Mother Earth in forbearance, like the fire of destruction in anger, like Kubera in generosity, and in devotion to truth like righteonsness or Dharma itself.' From the beginning of the Christian era Rama has been divinized as an incarnation of Vishnu. This concept however underwent radical changes with the rise of the Bhakti movement when different versions acquired religious colour. With this he became the supreme God and it began to be believed that He visits the earth to save mankind from the forces of darkness.

In the middle ages, this Sanskrit epic was translated into the spoken languages of India, beginning with the Tamil version in the twelfth century, followed by adaptations and its rendering in the vernaculars all over the country. The greatest medieaval poet of India Tulsi Das (1532-1623) based his religio-philosophic poem in Hindi entitled *Ram Charit Manas*, (a tale of the doings of Rama), on the *Ramayana* which on account of its lofty standard of purity and virtue, is like the Bible to the North Indians. Probably no work of world literature, secular in its origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of a people as the *Ramayana*. The nobility and magnanimity of Rama's character, the conjugal devotion and fidelity of Sita, the sincerity and sacrifice of Lakshmana and Bharata and the devotion of Hanuman have, for great many centuries, exercised a far-reaching moralizing effect among Indians who hold these characters as paragons to be imitated. This work is also available in three English translations by Grouse, Hill, and Atkins. Atkins has done it verse-by-verse. A verse-by-verse translation in Russian was done by A. Baramikhav.

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The *Ramayana* is equally sacred to a South Indian. In every temple of South India Rama's presence is indicated by a set of large stone feet carved on a raised platform. The greatness of the *Ramayana* theme as propounded by the adi-kavi Valmiki, its Jaina and Buddhistic versions, which became available during the earlier centuries of the Christian era, and its later version by the great Tamil poet Kamban was universally recongnized in the South. Kamban's epic written while he was at the court of Emperor Chola who had founded an empire in South-East Asia, bore the stamp of his genius and has remained unsurpassed in literary merit, though many imitators have tried to give their own versions of his great work. The Ramakatha is equally fascinating to a young bridegroom as to a child in his make-believe world. A pilgrimage by childless parents to Rameswaram is a must, at least once in their lifetime as it is believed that such a couple would have a child after a visit. And a child is thrilled to hear again and again the story of the squirrel who received a pat from Rama for helping in bringing stones for the construction of Setubandha; or that the moon in the sky is the same which Rama wanted his mother Kaushalya to get for him to play with.

The *Ramayana* has also been the major vehicle of India's cultural contacts with South-East Asia. Ayudhya in Thailand and Jogjakarta in Indonesia have their origin in the *Ramayanas* Ayodhya. Near Jogjakarta is the river Seraju named after the Sarju river here.

In Burma, the Rama play is taken from the Siamese and is based on the Dasaratha Jataka. In the eighteenth century, to celebrate their victory, the Siamese Rama was produced in the Burmese court for the first time. The story is said to have so captivated the people that it was re-written as a romance, *Rama-yagana*, by their renowned poet U-Toe.

In Thailand too, the influence of the *Ramayana* has been strong and keenly felt. The temple of the Emerald Buddha has cloisters with murals depicting scenes from the *Ramayana*. The paintings of Rama are numerous and the *Nang* or leather puppet-show features the ancient story. In classical dance, *Khon*, the dancers use masks and the musicians recite the meaning of the play in a chorus. The plays are divided into episodes as in Kathakali.

One of the interesting features is that of representing the *Ramayana* through sculptural panels in the South-East Asian countries. At Prambanan in Java, the entire story of the *Ramayana* is carved in stone. Some of the notable sculptures depict the friendship of Sugriva and Rama, the might of Rama and his capacity to dry the ocean and the burning of Lanka by Hanuman. This is a fine specimen of the harmonious admixture of Indian and Javanese art. Most of the themes of dance dramas and shadow plays,

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the *wajang wong* and the *wajang kulit* are taken from episodes in the *Ramayana*. In Bali, the Indian epic is equally familiar. One of the dances in Bali, is the *Ketjāk*, in which the dancers sit in circles, massed together and tell the story of the *Ramayana* beginning with the kidnapping of Sita by Ravana.

At Angkor in Cambodia in the great temple of Baphuon erected by Udayadityavarman II, scenes of the *Ramayana* are depicted on the walls in bas-relief. Similarly, one can witness numerous scenes from the *Ramayana* in the twelfth century temple at Angkorwat. These carvings are stretched together and cover the distance of a mile in area. To quote Henri Parmentier, who describes one of the panels, 'the last panel that of the northern section of the west gallery, is the triumph of the sculptor, it represents the struggle of monkeys, allies of Rama, against the giant-soldiers of Ravana, all in a fantastic tangle and varied with supreme talent. The monkeys fight naked against the armed giants and tear them to pieces. In the centre is Rama on the shoulders of Hanuman; further on stands the ten-headed Ravana on a chariot drawn by curious-shaped monsters.'

In Malaysia, the long descriptive poem *Syair Agung* is based on the story of the *Ramayana* where king Agung and his two cousins, Halam and Cahaya are the prototypes of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita respectively. Even after the Islamization of Malayasia, the traditions of the *Ramayana* continued to exist, though secularized. With a bit of local color and influence the *Ramayana* shadow play *wyang-siam* is very popular in Malaysia even today.

The *Lava Ramayana* of Laos known as '*Pha Lak Pha Lam*' contains a local version of the *Ramayana* and reflects the values, customs and characteristics of the Laotian people. In Laos, the *Ramayana* theme is to be found in five forms — the dance, drama, songs, paintings and sculptures. Valmiki's *Ramayana* has undergone great changes in Loas to suit local conditions. There is a major difference in the values of friendship and enmity. Friendship is always permanent and enmity only transitory in the Vientiene version. These values reflect the basics of the Laotian society where people are very easy-going, friendly and non-violent. The mistake Indians, especially the anglicized ones, make is to regard the *Ramayana* as a self-enclosed national product. But the *Lava Ramayana* is characteristic of the Laotian people and their genius, nobody else's. According to Mrs. Ratnam, Ravana is the central figure in the Vientiene epic and Sita is his daughter. The whole story is based on the punishment of Ravana for his weaknesses.

In China, *K'ang-Seng-Hui* is the earliest version of the *Ramayana*. Its Jataka form has been rendered into Chinese and dates back to A.D. 251. Another Chinese translation of *Nidana* of Dasaratha appeared in A.D. 472

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by Kokeya. The *Ramayana* also found its way to Khotan in Central Asia at the end of the ninth century.

In the twelfth century A.D., Tairanoyasuyori described the *Ramayana* in Japan in the famous *Hobutshusu*.

The oldest manuscript of Valmiki's *Ramayana* is available in Nepal on a palmleaf dated A.D. 1075.

The *Ramayana* in Sri Lanka is to be found in an interesting folk version practised in the occult rite called the *Kankariya* from the version of Panduvasadeva, the second Sinhalese king of Ceylon in the fifth century B.C.

Another Buddhist version of the *Ramayana* is in vogue in Ceylon where Sita, Rama and Lakshmana are sister and brothers, and Sita is married to both of them.

In a nutshell, the theme of the *Ramayana* enthralled, influenced and inspired people of various castes and creeds not only in India but in most of the South-East Asian countries. Thus, the *Ramayana* became a common cultural heritage reflecting the local conditions, the joys and sorrows of the people, standards of values and relations between the different sections of society. This great epic became a truly religious scripture and a harbinger of comfort and ecstasy to millions of people, holding up high standards of morality. To quote Dr. V. Raghvan, an eminent authority on the *Ramayana*, 'Rama stands for truth, for virtue and valour, and none of the innumerable versions denies this essential value of the *Ramayana*. It is true that many such stories and new episodes have been added in the different versions of Ramayana especially in South East Asia and in some of them some of the major deviations from the Central Ramayana plot of Valmiki occur. But Rama is always the central figure around whom all the other characters revolve and the message of the triumph of good over evil.' The many-splendoured *Ramayana* has acquired the status of a national epic wherever it has travelled adding to it the local variations, typical local color and richness.

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Rasa and the Tragic Spirit

Dr. Shrikrishna Mishra
Reader, L. N. Mithila University, Darbhanga

Just as Tragedy is the best type of poetry the West is believed to have produced, Rasa is the essence of the greatest poems and dramas in India. Is there any common ground between these two types of poetry, or do they represent two totally different views? The answer given is that finally the teachings of the greatest poets do meet at a point and the difference if at all, is only one of degree—in the linguistic and racial differences.

Is there any common ground between Rasa and the tragic spirit, between the essence of the highest dramatic art of the West and that of India? The answer needs to be elaborated further. Rene Wellek, one of the most well known modern critics, speaks of the necessity of finding a common denominator. He says : 'Whatever the difficulties into which a conception of Universal literary history may run, it is important to think of literature without regard to linguistic distinctions. The great argument for 'comparative' or 'general' literature or just 'literature' is the obvious falsity of the idea of a self-enclosed national literature.' *(Theory of Literature*, p. 49). Allardyce Nicoll, a discerning critic and historian of Western drama, says that the future critic has to do for world drama what Aristotle did for the drama of Athens. 'It is in this direction...that we should look, and for any one launching himself on a survey of this critical thought the comparative method is almost a necessity.' (*The Theory of Drama*, p. 24). He even speaks of the Sanskrit drama and the importance of Rasa, which he translates as 'impressions.' In one sense Rasas are the final impressions. Though he speaks very summarily of Sanskrit criticism, he is correct in his summing up that 'this system of critical approach is in essential agreement with that of those who emphasize as all-important the 'idea' or 'impression' received from witnessing a dramatic work of art.' (Ibid., p. 57)

Summarizing the nature of all dramatic art the French Critic, Brunetiere says : 'The general law of the theatre is defined by the action of a will conscious of itself; and the dramatic species are distinguished by the nature of the obstacles encountered by the will.' William Archer's trans-

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lation of a summary of Brunetiere's views quoted by Nicoll is as follows :

> Drama is a representation of the will of man in conflict with the mysterious powers or natural forces which limit or belittle us; it is one of us thrown living upon the stage there to struggle against fatality, against social law, against one of his fellow mortals, against himself if need be, against the ambitions, the interests, the prejudices, the folly, the malevolence of those around him. (A Nicoll : *Theory of Drama*, p. 29)

Thus according to Nicoll, Brunetiere finds the action of the human will the prime characteristic of the drama.

Abhinavagupta, India's greatest critic, thinks that all poetry is dramatic in nature. In this he is supported by the work of Valmiki who is not only the first epic poet of the world but also the world's greatest poet. The story of the *Ramayana* offers a fine illustration of the will of Rama conquering the malevolence of his step-mother who believes that her interests would suffer if Rama were coronated.

The will of the hero in conflict with something antagonistic is really a characteristic of drama. But I do not agree with Brunetiere's view that the dramatic species are distinguished only by the nature of the obstacles encountered by this will. I should like to add that the way in which this conflict is resolved (by the will) also determines the nature of the drama. Indian dramatic literature is an illustration of this statement. But before I come to this point I should like to refute I.A. Richards' view of tragedy.

Richards says that 'Tragedy is perhaps the most general all-accepting, all-ordering experience known.' (*Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 247). We would say that it is a characteristic of all great poetry. The *Ramayana* of Valmiki has this width of experience. It is an all-ordering experience, no doubt, but it cannot be said to be 'all-accepting' which is not a characteristic of great poetry.

> Richards says that 'It is essential to recognize that in the full tragic experience there is no suppression. The mind does not shy away from anything, it does not protect itself with any illusion, it stands uncomforted, unintimidated, alone and self-reliant. The test of its success is whether it can f ce what is before it and respond to it without any of the innumerable subterfuges by which it ordinarily dodges the full development of experience. Suppressions and sublimations alike are devices by which we endeavour to avoid issues which might bewilder us. The essence of Tragedy is that it forces us to live for a moment without them. When we succeed we find, as usual, that there is no difficulty; the

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difficulty came from the suppressions and sublimations. The joy which is so strangely the heart of the experience is not an indication that 'all's right with the World' or that 'somewhere, somehow. there is justice;' it is an indication that all is right here and now in the nervous system. Because Tragedy is the experience which most invites these subterfuges, it is the greatest and the rarest thing in literature, for the vast majority of works which pass by that name are of a different order. Tragedy is only possible to a mind which is for the moment agnostic or Manichean. The least touch of any theology which has a compensating Heaven to offer the tragic hero is fatal. That is why *Romeo and Juliet* is not a Tragedy in the sense in which *King Lear* is.' 'It is the relation between the two sets of impulses, pity and Terror, which gives its specific character to Tragedy, and from that relation the peculiar poise of the tragic experience springs.' (Ibid., pp. 245-7).

All this has been said by Richards to show that Tragedy best illustrates the 'balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities' which Coleridge considered a characteristic of Imagination to suit his thesis of free and unmitigated experience, — not unlike Freud's worked-off inhibitions, for restoring mental health through poetry. But as a matter of fact this is an unnatural twisting and torturing of the Coleridgean theory of Imagination done by Richards to suit his psychological theory of poetry.

Coleridge, who thought of education as God teaching Himself through various shapes of Nature (*Frost at Midnight*, lines 59-64), advised 'Ignore thyself and strive to know thy God;' and he must shudder at such an agnostic and Manichean use of his optimistic and spiritual philosophy of poetry. Coleridge's own application of his theory of reconciliation of opposites may be seen in his explanation of Shakespeare's genius in the fifteenth chapter of *Biographia Literaria.* He speaks of the opposites to be reconciled in poetry variously as 'depth and energy of thought,' 'the creative power and the intellectual energy,' the predominant passion and the images or associated thoughts; unity and multitude; simultaneousness and succession, human or intellectual life and nature.

The essence of Tragedy, according to Richards, is to live fully without suppressions or sublimations. But one common lesson that all tragedies teach us is that living fully without any suppression and suffering, at the same time, from a tragic weakness brings a colossal loss to the tragic hero himself and to the persons in contact with him. That such a brave and imaginative general as Macbeth, 'valour's minion,' 'worthy gentleman,' could not be of any use to himself, his country or his king, simply because he was not able to control his ambition, is the essential tragic fact. It

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rouses pity in us when we realize that we all have something of the hero's tragic weakness, that not only destroys his good antagonist but also renders the good in him useless. This act of destruction strikes terror in our hearts. The tragic hero, as a matter of fact, is incapable of full development or sublimation because he obeys the evil rather than the good in himself. His inner weakness is an obstacle to his development and is therefore tragic. The hero realizes his error only after it has performed its work of destruction. But it has to be remembered that the greatest tragedies like those of Shakespeare, for example, do not end with the note of destruction or the triumph of evil. They end with the restoration of the natural moral order. That the natural moral order is restored only after the destruction caused by evil is complete is the sum and substance of tragedy. A distinction has to be made between the tragic fact and the valuable effect conveyed by Tragedy. This valuable transferable effect is the note of peace by the restoration of the natural order. That Nature's Law or *Dharma* cannot tolerate its violation at any time or place is what Tragedy teaches us. The centre of Tragedy is always the tragic hero. Good elements for the time being become passive or subordinate, and the evil ones active and predominant. The development of the plot-structure of a Tragedy is really the development of the hero's tragic weakness and the inner and outer conflicts it leads to. That is the essential technique of Tragedy. The hero realizes his mistake only at the end when it is too late; but he does realize it. The plot is wound up only after that — after the disturbance caused by the hero's fatal mistake is exposed and the natural order restored. Richards is wrong to conclude that the agnostic or the Manichean attitude is essential and the theological harmful for the tragic experience. All is right here and now in the nervous system of the reader only by a realization that all was not right in the nervous system of the tragic hero, that his action showed a serious lack of wisdom, and that he realized it only when many good lives including his own had been destroyed.

The central feeling of Tragedy is the impression of waste, as Bradley pointed out about the Shakespearean tragedy. 'What a piece of work is man,' we cry; so much more beautiful and so much more terrible than we knew.' (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 23). Poetic justice is in flagrant contradiction with the facts of life and finds no place in the greatest tragedies. But we also find that villainy never remains victorious in the end. Bradley, the great Shakespearean critic, emphatically points out that the ultimate power in the tragic world is a moral order (Ibid., p. 33). The ultimate power which shows itself disturbed by the evil in the hero, the tragic weakness in him, and reacts against it, must have a nature alien to it. (Ibid, p. 35).

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Both Coleridge and Abhinavagupta, the greatest critics of England and India respectively, equated God with the self-evident self-consciousness present everywhere at every moment above time and space and the centre of everything. The whole Universe is the choral echo of the Eternal I AM (*Biographia Literaria* II, 218). Tragedy does not prove the absence of a divine order. The tragic weakness is the evil that explodes the good in the tragic hero, and others around him are also damagingly affected. In tragic life, Meredith pointed out, passions spin the plot and we are betrayed by what is false within. But that only shows that evil is not the ruling power in the universe. It only shows that the totally good alone can develop fully. Even a little impurity in a person goes against his full development. That the good in the orbit of evil, of the hero's tragic weakness, are destroyed only shows the temporary triumph of evil, which is nullified by the destruction of the tragic hero and the restoration of the natural moral order. An ordinary man's life is a life of suppressions and compromises. The tragic hero's is a consistently developed life. But in the process of development, his weakness outstrips the good in him and renders his development a self-defeating game.

The point I wish to emphasize is that it is not the unmitigated, unsuppressed nature of the experience that makes tragedy valuable as Richards contends. In that case freedom would be equated with mental licence or mithyacara of the *Bhagawad Gita*. Just as billingsgate is not satire, mental indulgence is not Tragedy. The valuable effect of Tragedy lies in its disciplining our emotions and not letting them loose, even though mentally, in a theatre. What we learn from *Macbeth* is not to abandon ourselves to an unmitigated ambition but to be away from it and to be always on the watch so that our dormant ambition may not overtake us unawares, grow out of proportion and overpower our goodness in a weak moment.

Discipline always requires tagging to a stable post It is obeying a stable principle, which, as both Abhinavagupta and Coleridge pointed out, is no other than Conscience or the Infinite Eternal self-consciousness behind our psyche. Morality is nothing other than following this essential infinite nature of ours in thought, feeling and action. Duty is the 'Stern Daughter of the Voice of God' as Wordsworth says, and God resides in the heart of man, as the *Gita* says. The value of poetry lies in making the reader listen to this inner divine voice. The poet makes him listen to it in so subtle and sweet a manner that the reader is lured and offers himself to be educated. Tragedy performs the task in the negative way, by arousing terror in our heart at the violation of the natural moral law by the tragic hero. It rouses pity in us only to realize this terror. Unless we sympathize

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with the tragic hero we cannot realize the terrible nature of the tragic weakness. The reader or the spectator himself suffers from the weakness the tragic hero suffers from, but it does not grow to tragic proportions in his case. In a tragedy he finds his animality, folly or ignorance or weakness or error of judgement depicted only to be exposed. He finds all his selfish, indulgent deeds described only to realize their unwise nature and insignificance, and be disillusioned. He understands that a life of attachment is beset with snares; that it is foolishly limiting his true self, stealing from his own nature all his natural self.

The emphasis on this natural self, the *Svabhava* is an emphasis on a positive, stable, universal, infinite, eternal nature of human beings that both Coleridge and Abhinavagupta emphasize in life and literature. The Shakespearean Tragedy is perhaps the supreme poetic expression showing the importance of this infinite, eternal nature of man in a negative way. But that is not the last word in poetic expression. If Tragedy shows what ought not to be done, there is also a positive way of poetic expression, which shows what ought to be done. What moralists and religious teachers, saints and prophets do is done by poets also. To preach the sameness of value in poetry and life as Richards does and to separate ethics and religion from poetry would be either a self contradiction or a misunderstanding of religion and ethics. If a poet is a teacher of mankind, he should not only show where man errs, as is done in Tragedy, but also point out the right way of living. There is no agnosticism, no pessimism, no scepticism in life, provided we understand the right way of living, the substantial unity behind life's manifold variety, the truth of the universal behind the falsity of the particulars, the self-sufficiency of our true self and the meaninglessness of our hankerings if, in short, we know the meaning of detached living. That shows mental balance or mental health positively. Poetry as Rasa is poetry of this good living.

What I emphasize here is that it would be wrong to suppose that tragedy and poetry as Rasa represent two world-views contradicting each other. The ultimate truth of life and nature cannot be other than one and the same for all, though it may be analyzed in different ways according to the genius of a race, country or an individual.

Every country and every race develops its poetry according to its own characteristic genius. The story of the *Ramayana* mignt have been written in the West in a tragic way with Ravana as the hero. Valmiki, however, chose Rama, the man par excellence, the *Purushottama*, for his hero. Unlike a tragic hero, he succeeds in solving the crisis created by Kaikeyi by a non-grudging obedience to his father. This is due to the perfection of his character, which shows his perfect intelligence in realizing his self-

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sufficiency. He was neither eager to have the crown nor reluctant to go to the forest. There was no suppression of sorrow or anger or hatred or fear, for they had not been felt by Rama. If at all Rama was sad, he was sad for his truthful father, who, he knew, had been cheated by his beloved wife, Kaikeyi, to whom his father could not refuse, because of the promise he had made her. Rama's mind was completely unprejudiced and never allowed any misunderstanding to grow between him and Bharata, for whom his mother had played the foul game that brought misery to the royal family as well as to the kingdom. Bharata and Rama met at Pancavati as prisoners of a situation for which neither of them was responsible. They were caught in a snare of circumstances created by an ignorant narrow-minded ambitious mother in a family of large-hearted persons. Kaikeyi's mistake had tragic potentialities but it was not allowed to develop in a tragic way. The rift in the family was avoided by the self-sacrifice not only of Dasaratha, Rama and Bharata but also of everyone in the family other than Kaikeyi.

Here lies the difference between Tragedy and the poetry of the Rasa type. The tragic character behaves as he should not; the hero in the Rasa poetry sets an ideal for others. The tragic hero fails to solve the problem created chiefly by his own narrow-minded, unintelligent, selfish response to a difficult situation, the *dhirodatta* hero of a poem of the Rasa variety solves the most difficult problems of life easily, because he is very intelligent and knows the self-sufficiency of his true nature. He has no hankerings. He is indeed a superman and owing to his unselfishness, knows the art of solving even the most difficult problems easily.

Rama is most misunderstood as a lover. Bhavabhuti's play, *Uttara Ramacarita*, the best love-drama in Sanskrit or perhaps in any language, probably owes its conception to such a realization by the poet. To read anything Othello-like in Rama's behaviour towards his beloved wife is to misread his character. His banishing Sita after the conquest is generally misunderstood. As a matter of fact, that was Rama's greatest sacrifice, in a life which was full of sacrifices. It was tantamount to banishing his own self, his joy, his love — a sacrifice greater than renouncing the crown or accepting an exiled life in the forest. Rama's life was a life of sacrifices, but he never demurred or shirked his duty. All this was possible for Rama because of his clear understanding that the essence of good living is to live for others. Rama made life sublime. The Hindu critics therefore say that poetry teaches us to live like Rama, the paragon of virtue, and unlike Ravana, the king who with a 'forest of wives' stole one more and that most unwittily of Rama, the bravest among warriors, and brought himself and his relatives and his kingdom to ruin. His mis-

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take was not only his enormous sexual lust but it lay also in his underestimating Rama's powers and Sita's deep love for her husband.

The positive presentation of an ideal way of living, of how men ought to behave, is the height of poetry according to Hindu critics. Man should live to attain the four aims of life — Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksa. This is their concept of the full development of life. It is based on a constant reflection that life is the Infinite Eternal self-consciousness, that knows no death; that all concrete manifestations are its limitations, that these limitations do not last and are bound to perish; that the secret of perfect living lies in sacrifice, selflessness and detachment; that one should live in the world as the lotus-leaves in water, as the *Bhagawad Gita* puts it so aptly. This is imitating the Divine, who is simultaneously immanent and transcendent. Sanskrit poetry at its best depicts this ideal living. 'Make the ideal real' is its eternal message. It is salvation in this life that Sanskrit poetry aims at. Liberation in this life means that one's activities are guided by the infinite self and not by the finite mind. Liberation is not a passivity. It is constant selfless activity for the good of others.

While the ultimate goal of the Sanskrit poetry is to experience the infinite eternal peace of self-realization, Shakespearean Tragedy aims at a poetic experience of peace. The ultimate goal is similar, if not the same. The difference is that of presentation.

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Gandhi's Impact on Hindi Literature

Professor Nagendra
University of Delhi

Gandhi emerged on the Indian scene in his full glory in 1920-21 at the time of the Satyagraha movement. The Gandhian era in Indian History can be demarcated from 1921 to 1935, or even up to 1947, if a broader view is taken. In Indian Literatures, however, there is hardly such a thing as a Gandhian era except in Gujarati. In Hindi it is curiously analogous with the Romantic period, i.e., the *Chhayavada* era. Some historians have called it the Gandhi-Ravindra era on the basis of the two main streams of literary activity, viz., the National-Cultural stream and the Romantic-Metaphysical trend. But this name, though not unjustified on factual grounds, has not been accepted.

Gandhi has exercised his influence on Hindi Literature directly as well as indirectly. The media of his direct impact are: (i) Personality and personal achievements, (ii) Moral principles and (iii) Socio-political doctrines and programmes. His indirect impact can be fruitfully traced in (i) the re-orientation of the values of life and literature and (ii) the reactions and negations both in life and in literature.

Direct Impact

The poetry inspired by Gandhi's epic personality is large in volume. The austere, sublime elements in his personality — the power gathered by a relentless discipline of the senses, renunciation, truth, self-sacrifice, socialization of the ego, sublimation of the libido and other forms of penance — were an irresistible source of inspiration to every sensitive poet of the age. With the exception of two, viz., Jaya Sankara Prasad and Nirala, the greatest of Hindi poets, Maithilisharan, Pant, Mahadevi, Siyaram Sharan Gupta, Makhanlal Chaturvedi, Navin, Dinkar, Bachchan, Bhavani Prasad Misra, besides a number of other significant poets of at least two generations have composed hundreds of poems — short lyrics as well as longer odes some of which are works of real artistic merit — under the impact of his unique personality. A few epics and some narratives have also been

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written with elaborate details e.g., *Gandhi Gaurava* (Gokul Chandra Sharma), *Sevagram* (Sohan Lal Dwivedi), *Jana-nayak* (Mitra) but they do not really do justice to the subject. He appears in person in the monumental work '*Lokayatan*' by Sumitra Nandan Pant, but here too, despite the hints of a promise, the expected heights are not reached and the promise remains unfulfilled. Gandhi's martyrdom was really the most powerful epic event of modern history. Rabindranath Tagore has written about the epic from in one of his articles:

> In the same way when a mighty personality springs up in the poet's mind, when a Great Man occupies his imagination, the greatness of human character shines vividly before his mental eye — then, inspired by his noble ideas, the poet builds up a temple of language to enshrine His Idol. The foundations of this temple rest in the abyss of the earth and its dome rises through the clouds higher up in the sky. Drawn by the holy lustre of this Idol, thus enshrined, people of all lands and all ages assemble there to offer their prayers. And, that is called the Epic.

Judged by this standard, I am convinced that the modern world has not produced a greater epic-character than Gandhi and a greater epic-theme than his martyrdom. But such an epic is yet to be written in Hindi. A special genius is required to project Gandhi's personality into art, which is different from the concept of the traditional epic hero — the Elegant-Sublime. The rugged and austere elements in Gandhi's personality call for a greater genius to convert them into art than the personal graces of the traditional hero. The beautiful in the accepted sense becomes irrelevant in his context; those who have tried to stitch silken patches to his Khadi loin-cloth have failed miserably. The natural halo with which Buddha was born was missing here, at least for the average artist. The classical critic lays emphasis on the dignity of the theme — its vast dimensions, horizontal as well as vertical, duly controlled by moral values; the romantic critic insists on its Supernatural grandeur. The Gandhian theme contains both in abundance; but his identification with the common man has divested it of the conventional elements of romance, and the artist has to dive deep into his personality to discover this grandeur. Besides, a number of biographical sketches in prose, several dramas and some works of fiction by notable writers have been directly based on his life, e.g., *Mritunjaya* by Lakshmi Naryana Mishra and *Rama se Gandhi* by Seth Govind Das who later wrote a full saga entitled, *Gandhi-Yuga-Purana*. These works have their own merits, but they fall short of the theme.

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Gandhi's elaborate expositions of his theories of Truth and Nonviolence are echoed, sometimes verbatim, by a large number of characters in Hindi fiction and drama. Prem Chand almost till the end of his career was so full of him that a number of his immortal heroes — Prem Shankar of *Premasharama* and Surdas of *Rangabhumi* and even Hori of *Godan* — speak the language of Gandhi throughout. Isa of the famous drama by Ugra is a prototype of Gandhi. Rajyashri of Prasad, who possibly resisted Gandhi's influence — like Buddha's influence — most consciously on account of his deep-rooted faith in the Shavite philosophy of Ananda, is deeply soaked in the Gandhian ideals of nonviolence.

Similarly Gandhi's various practical programmes which he ultimately summed up in the *Sarvodaya* are discussed, described and woven into the plot-structures of hundreds of novels, short-stories, dramas, and narrative poems. Even the classical themes have been invested with them. The citizens of Ayodhya in *Saket*, the great epic of Maithilisharan Gupta stage a regular 'Satyagraha' when Rama proceeds to serve his term of exile. 'Sharaddha', Manu's spouse, in *Kamayani* works at the spinning instrument and condemns violence. The problems of the untouchables, the uplift of women, rural reforms, the revival of cottage industries—almost all the eighteen items of his Sarvodya programme--have been incorporated directly in numerous works of Hindi literature. To name only a few, Maithilisharan's verse-drama *Anagha* deals with the principle of nonviolence, Rama Naresh Tripathi's poetic narratives, *Pathika* and *Svapna*, resound with the heroic slogans of the National Movement; Hari Krishna Premi's dramas like *Svapna-bhanga* and *Raksha-Bandhan* underline the need for Hindu-Muslim unity; Siyarama Sharan's writings both in verse and prose are centred round women's emancipation, Harijan-uplift, nonviolence etc.; and Maithilisharan Gupta's long autobiographical poem *Ajit* presents a brief history of our struggle for independence. It is not always that these programmes have added to the merit of the works—on the contrary, quite often they have adversely affected their artistic organism, but their impact has been undeniably irresistible.

Gandhi rendered invaluable service to Hindi language by declaring it the national language of India. This was naturally in conformity with his concept of the Indian nation and as such his Hindi was a broad-based language —Hindustani — drawirg freely from all relevant sources and reflecting various elements of India's composite culture. This conception on the one hand, gave birth to an effective style of Hindi which was developed by writers like Prem Chand to its proper artistic maturity and, on the other hand, gave rise to the Hindi-Hindustani controversy abetted by the unnatural efforts of some political enthusiasts who did not understand the proper requirements

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of a cultural medium. Actually, something was wrong with the basic concept itself, wherein the claims of the communities were given preference over the requirements of the regions in which different communities used common languages based on Sanskrit. Thus the 'broad basis' was narrowed down to cover only a small section of the Indian population living in the north-west regions ignoring the rest of the country where Sanskrit alone had been, and was, the uniting link. This controversy did retard the natural progress of Hindi for sometime and the Hindi writers ultimately parted ways with Gandhi on this point. Yet our indebtedness to Gandhi cannot be over-estimated; no other power could have given Hindi the status of a link language for such a vast country with a variety of fully developed languages—and this status not only contributed to the growth of the Hindi languages but also exercised a deep influence on the development of its literature as well.

Indirect Impact

Gandhi's indirect impact was not only more profound and subtle, but could also reconcile better with the spirit of art. His pronounced attitude towards art was so much in conflict with the aesthetic ideal or the cult of the Beautiful that neither the Gandhian way nor his view of life could produce great or fine art directly. He was definitely a puritan and his views on art were predictably utilitarian. He said in the plain language of a reformer very much the same things that Ruskin or Tolstoy had said in their capacity as art critic or artist. What I mean is that whereas the moral attitude of Ruskin or Tolstoy towards art was motivated by a deeper artistic sensibility, Gandhi's approach was that of a practical humanist for whom art had no justification for its existence unless it contributed directly to human welfare. Here he talks in a simple and flat language without those deeper implications of which he is so capable in the context of his theories of Truth and Nonviolence. Obviously, therefore, the direct expressions or expositions of his ways and views, even at their best, have failed to attain artistic grandeur; and therefore the more sophisticated litterateurs have turned to Rabindranath or to Aurobindo, in spite of their adoration of Gandhi. In the eternal trio of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, which sums up the basic concepts of Metaphysics as well as Aesthetics, Gandhi laid his emphasis on the True. The Good also found its proper place in his system because being a socio-political leader he could not underestimate the moral values and when he said that the Good is identical with the True he meant it almost in the ordinary sense. But when he identified the Beautiful with the True,[1] it was a one-way traffic, because for him the Beautiful was not always the True i.e., there were so

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many forms of the Beautiful which were not acceptable to him. My contention is that his concept of Beauty was not as complete as his concept of Truth. As against the ecstatic outburst of the artist that 'Beauty is Truth and Truth is Beauty;' the apostle of Truth proclaimed that Truth alone is Beauty and failed to concede that Beauty is also Truth essentially. That was possibly the natural limitation of a recluse who had drawn his original inspiration from the philosophy of self-negation as propounded by the Jains, or by the Saints of the medieval ages, who believed in an Absolute God divorced of all attributes. For him literature was *Atmabhivyakti*, an expression of the self, but he used this word in a more serious and literal sense, in the sense of the 'Pure self' or the 'moral Personality,' as against the commonly accepted meaning—namely the psycho-physical personality of the author. This identification of the personal virtues with the artistic virtues of a writer made it difficult for him to judge art in its proper perspective,[1] and this accounts to a great extent for his failure to inspire art directly by his ways and views.

Gandhi's real contribution lies, however, in the re-orientation of the values of life and literature. For example, he gave a new meaning to Truth which was either defined as an objective reality verifiable by perception and reason, or as a subjective entity whereby it was an agreeable experience conducive to the sublimation of emotion. In other words, it was either a piece of solid wood as the positivist would see it, or a piece of jelly as the sentimentalist would imagine it.

By relating it to intution, he gave it a subtler and deeper meaning, and it became a dynamic experience instead of a static concept. By infusing the human element, he imparted warmth to it. Truth for him was God, i.e., it was synonymous with the eternal spirit which pervades the universe, the animate as well as the inanimate world. It was an indivisible and complete entity in which all the parts were organized into a whole. This view of the universe as an organic whole — this acceptance of life in its totality — exercised a profound influence on contemporary literature. The Sarvodaya is the philosphy of the same universal and total development. Prem Chand's broad vision and Maithilisharana Gupta's cosmopolitan view of Hindu-life reflect it. The emergence of many a life-size character endowed with tremendous moral strength in contemporary Hindi literature can be attributed to this impact. The relentless adherence to Truth which Gandhi propounded in his writings and practised in his life imbued fortitude with a new meaning. The definition of valour was revised. It ceased to be a feat of adventure. He interpreted it as the negation of fear which came from a deep-rooted faith in Truth. The heroic sentiment in poetry assumed a new dimension. It lay not in the release of physical energy but in

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the capacity to resist the onslaught of physical power.

Similarly, his original interpretation of Ahimsa or Nonviolence as a positive attitude rather than a negative concept, not as mere resistance from violence but an urge to share the suffering of others, exercised a far-reaching effect on our literature by reviving the humane values of life. Here also he lifted nonviolence to a spiritual plane. It was a mode of self-purification which ultimately purified the atmosphere. It was a philosophy of suffering, a process of melting the ego which enriched and refined the element of pathos in literature. Hindi Literature of this and even the later period contains tragic elements of an extremely sophisticated nature. So far as I have been able to understand, Gandhi had an indomitable ego and his uncompromising will was a projection thereof; but, in, principle, he believed religiously that salvation lies in the effacement of the ego or in its complete merger with humanity. His long public life was, therefore, a contiunous effort — painful by and large — to achieve this goal. This spiritual struggle of a powerful personality is deeply reflected in Indian Literature, and a number of Hindi classics have adopted this theme in strangely different ways. Quite a number of the major characters such as Skandgupta, Chanakya and Devasena in Prasad, Hori, Vinay and Prem-Shanker in Prem Chand, and Yashodhara in Maithilisharana Gupta, project this struggle in their own way—even a character like Shekhar of an anti-Gandhian author Ajneya caught the infection.

Most of the love themes of that period, in poetry as well as in prose, throb with the pangs of spiritual pain. Love ceases to be a gratification of the impulses, and becomes a mode of sublimation and purification of the emotions. In an author like Siyaram Sharana Gupta, the process of sublimation is simple, there are no complexes or complications; it is a straight process normally within the rules of social morality. But in a novelist like Jainendra with a sharper and subtler intellect, it becomes very complex. A new definition of conjugal morality emerges from his subtle analysis of sexual attitudes with a fine distinction between the urges of the mind and the body. There is enormous suffering in his novels, mostly at the sexual level. His major characters, mostly women, are constantly curbing their strong sexual instincts to observe the rules of conjugal morality, and quite often even when they fail at the physical plane, they persist in doing so at the psychic level. By introducing the theory of penance into the portrayal of sexual life, he gave a new dimension to the Gandhian impact. I have little doubt that Gandhi would have rejected quite a few of the crucial situations in Jainendra's novels, yet I cannot deny that they are inspired by Gandhian interpretations. There is a galaxy of such women characters in Hindi as also in other modern Indian languages whose appeal is based

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primarily on the suffering they endure during the process of sublimation.

Gandhi's personality has been rightly described as an epitome of contradictions. His definitions of Truth and Nonviolence contain glaring contradictions. Truth is a permanent and indivisible whole, yet it is dynamic and Gandhi asserted that his life was a series of experiments with Truth. Nonviolence is a positive attitude in spite of its negative denotation, it can reconcile itself on occasions with acts of violence. He fought all his life for the material well-being of his country-men, and still decried material prosperity. He lived and died a Hindu but preached the unity of all religions; would swear by an Absolute God and yet insisted on collective prayers to invoke His Mercy; drew his plans and programmes in the most rational manner but took decisions by intuition; believed in the system of *Varnashrama*, and yet condemned the caste system in principle and practice both; lived the life of a recluse, but never disowned family relations; strongly commended marriage, but preached celebacy. He was a staunch socialist and yet a friend of the capitalists, he fought for democracy, but would not mind if it was headed by a king. These contradictions made him an extremely complex and, for many, a mysterious character. But they were the contradictions of India's social and cultural life in that period of resurgence, and with his most sensitive soul and comprehensive intellect, which he had identified with the collective consciousness of his countrymen, he imbibed them into his personality. His true greatness, however, lay in his capacity for resolving these contradictions and effecting a harmony in the discordant trends in Indian life. These contradictions of the age and the heroic struggle to resolve them by the man who symbolized the age, have made a profound impact on Indian Literature in general and on our own literature in particular. Actually, the process of artistic creation is also very much the same. Our great artists also, specially those with an idealistic approach, were facing the same challenge of resolving these contradictions into artistic unity. In this way, there was a deep relation between Gandhi's performance on the socio-political plane, and the creative writers' performance on the artistic plane. Gandhi provided them not only inspiration but also an example; revealed to them a psychic process or methodology. This was his unique contribution to Indian Literature which will remain unsurpassed till a greater Indian than Gandhi is born in our country.

Thus, Gandhi revitalized the inner and permanent values of life against the material values which were infiltrating into Indian culture and literature. True, they had existed before him as well, but they had lost their meaning. He gave them a new meaning and re-orientation according to the needs of the times. He focussed his attention on contemporary problems, but solved them according to the eternal principles of truth and morality.

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Truth is a spiritual experience and not a material fact; love is real, and hatred unreal; peace is the natural condition of human existence and conflict is a neurosis; a man is essentially humane, and faith in a higher spirit and in humanity is the ultimate principle of life: all these were well-known concepts but Gandhi made them living experiences convertible into art by genuine artists.

The Gandhian ways and views were not free from controversy. They provoked violent opposition and sharp reactions. There are enough writings in Hindi in which Gandhi is caricatured in a most unkind manner and his theories and practices ridiculed. Our well-known communist writer Yashpal who had written a whole book entitled *Gandhivadaki Shava-pariksha*— 'the post-mortem of Gandhism' — quite early in the century before Gandhism was actually dead, took up the theme once again with renewed bitterness after partition in his '*Jhutha Sach*' — 'The False Truth' — and used all his artistic talent to prove that what Gandhi had tried throughout to define as Truth proved to be false in his own life time, and the people again paid very heavily for his experiments. This novel is a powerful work of Hindi fiction; but it would be difficult to deny that some of its power has been drawn from its opponent as well. Another great work written in defiance of the Gandhian cult is *Parashurama Ki Pratiksha* by Dinakara. Dinakara had always been in the rightist fold, and composed some of his most inspired poems on Gandhi; but he had always found it difficult to accept the theory of non-violence as Siyarama Sharana Gupta and Jainendra had done. He had already expressed grave doubts about the cult of 'no war' in *Kurukshetra*, but after India's defeat against the Chinese aggression, he lost his patience and came out with most violent invectives, not against Gandhi whom he extolled as the bravest man of his times, but against the followers of Gandhi who had not understood him fully. Although Dinakara had given his own interpretation of Gandhi's theory by underlining those sentences wherein Gandhi accepts the necessity of war as the last weapon of self-defence against aggression, yet his brutal outbursts against the policy of peace and non-violence could not be accommodated within the frame-work of Gandhian principles. Here also the reaction had gained momentum from the strength of Gandhi's own convictions. Thus the negative impact also produced significant results.

For obvious reasons, Gandhi's impact has been more patent on the content than on the form of literature. Except in Gujarati literature, wherein he made organised efforts for the development of prose, his influence on literary style and technique in general, was not quite marked. But it was there. For example, his prose style with a rare quality to express the most

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intricate thought in a direct sentence cast its effect on the writers of reflective prose. They learnt from his writings how an effective style could be developed without indulging in flourishes and conceits only by the sincerity of expression. Gandhi's thinking which, as I have shown in the last paragaph, involved quite often a process of resolving sharp contradictions, necessitated the cultivation of an 'oblique' style, as a matter of course — depending primarily on the suggestive powers of the words, on connotation rather than denotation, on irony and paradox which flowed in without effort. Thus Gandhi's style, like his thought, is a unique combination of the direct and the oblique and his power lies *in presenting the oblique in a direct way*. Both these qualities were imbibed consciously or otherwise by the writers of his age — the more imaginative writers cultivated the oblique qualities, whereas the more reflective ones drew upon the directness of his expression. In the matter of literary forms, a few points strike me straight away. Gandhi's confessions in his autobiography affected not only the art of biography in Hindi but also the art of fiction indirectly. In a number of novels written in the autobiograbhical style, there are secret reminiscences of Gandhi's confessions. So also his usual method of introspection, which characterizes most of his works, quietly helped in developing this technique of introspection in the novel; and his principle of 'change of heart' placed at the disposal of the story writer both in fiction and in drama a new device for directing and controlling the movements of a plot. In making these points, I am not under-estimating the impact of psychology and psycho-analysis, my purpose is only to draw attention to another force nearer home which was working imperceptibly.

Summing up my observations in the end, I would reiterate that Gandhi's indirect influence has been distinctly more significant than his direct influence on Indian life as well as on literature. In life, those who participated in his programmes and claimed to follow him, deliberately did not, generally, get the best out of him: they often made use of their contacts with him for material gains. The best fruits were reaped by those who lived their life in an atmosphere charged with Gandhian ideals. Similarly, in literature as those who wrote epics on his life or incorporated in their works his socio-political theories and programmes gained only temporary publicity. His real impact was felt by the other writers of the age who pursued their artistic activites independently, responding and reacting to Gandhian ideas and ideals in the course of their psychic life. Such writers got the best out of him, because they did not portray or discuss Gandhi as a political power, or as a code of socio-political conduct, but imbibed him in the form of life-values.

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The Concluding Ten Lines of the Gita

Harihar Jha

The Gita is in the form of a dialogue within a dialogue — the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna in the midst of tension and turmoil of a battlefield framed within that between Dhritarastra and Sanjay, the narrator. Dhritarastra, however, does not say little after initiating the dialogue; he only patiently listens to what Sanjay says. What passed between Arjuna and Krishna, and particularly the cosmic vision vouchsafed to Arjuna, has become for Sanjay a traumatic and transforming experience. It is, in fact, the impact of that experience which makes him present the whole thing in the way he does. The dramatic structure, which characterizes all poetry at the highest level, enables the philosopher poet who composed the Gita to objectily and thereby universalize a sublime but an essentially ineffable, subjective experience. The concluding ten lines suddenly shift the focus of our attention from Krishna and Arjun to Sanjay, the narrator, himself. They reveal, as if in a retrospective flash what Sanjay has already become under the impact of the experience even before he reproduces, in reply to Dhritarastra's pointed question, what has passed between Arjun and Krishna in the battlefield. Sanjay, in other words is not a casual narrator but a committed and convinced one like the Ancient Mariner of Coleridge. No wonder that Sanjay's own account of a first-hand, tremendous experience becomes at a deeper lence, without our being aware of it, an analysis and evaluation of a sublime, poetic experience itself.

The keynote of the entire passage is Sanjay's sense of wonder, exaltation and exhilaration, and it is struck in the second line itself with the key words, अद्भुतम् and रोमहर्षणम् in order perhaps to underscore at the very outset the uniqueness and unprecedentedness of the experience he has undergone. The poet's endeavour throughout the passage is to make us feel what Sanjay has to come to feel in the depths of his being — that something rich and strange has happened to him, something, indeed, which has permanently added a new dimension to his personality. To this end the poet seems to be manipulating and modulating not only the meanings of the words used here but their sounds as well in the most effective but un-

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obtrusive manner. One of the obvious devices employed is repetition of some words. The word अद्भुतम् in the second line as well as in the fifth becomes अत्यद्भुतम् in the seventh line so as presumably to suggest Sanjay's increasing and deepening sense of awe and wonder wherever he recalls that thrilling experience. Significantly enough, the word संस्मृत्य (meaning 'recalling' or 'recollecting') is repeated four times although the prefix सम् in this word is in itself an indication of emphasis. The down-to-earth ponderousness of this word, too, is not without its significance. And, besides, remembrance causes Sanjay's hair to stand on end. The adjective रोमहर्षणम् (meaning 'hair-raising') is imperceptibly changed into a verb हृष्यामि in the sixth and the eighth lines. The ambiguity inherent in the word which has suggestion both of going and 'standing of hair on end' may pass unnoticed. Coming as it does in both the cases after संस्मृत्य and conjoined with the adverbs मुहुर्मुहु : and पुन: पुन: (both meaning 'again and again') the word हृष्यामि tends to make Sanjay's assertion about the overwhelming impact of the experience not only emphatic but also authentic.

The first line of the passage ends with a 'Visarg' महात्मन : which may be connected to both वासुदेवस्य and पार्थस्य at the same time or to either of them separately (a fine example of ambiguity indeed), for Vasudeva is already 'a Great Soul' and now Partha has also become one because of Vasudeva's impassioned exhortation to him on the battlefield. The four lines that follow, all ending with 'halant' म् (रोमहर्षणम्, परम्, स्वयम् and अद्भुतम्) are sought to be balanced by the next four lines and ending with 'Visargas' (मुहुर्मुहु:, हरे:, पुन: पुन: and धनुर्धर:). The juxtaposition of 'halant' म् and 'Visargas' does not appear to be an accidental one. For the placing of a labial-like म् at the end of four lines in succession may be intended to suggest Sanjay's fumbling for adequate words to express himself, while the 'visargas' at the ends of four lines that follow may be indicative of his growing sense of release at what, in effect, still remains only a partial success in self-expression. Finding that he cannot go beyond the most 'liberating' word available to him at the moment, namely धनुर्धर:, he feels compelled to close his lips with the realization that the experience in question is too elusive and unutterable to be fully expressed in words. The ending of the last line with a double fullfledged म (and not a half or 'halant' one) is indicative of the closure of the lips. This, however, does not mean the end of the matter. For the experience remains reverberating within even after he has stopped speaking. The use of 'refs' (रेफ) towards the end of the penultimate line (पार्थो धनुर्धर :) and their preponderance in the last one (श्री विजयो मुि र्ध्रुवा नीतिर्मनिर्मम) produce the desired onomatopoeic effects. After all, Sanjay

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has to speak with an eye on the ears of his blind listener, King Dhritarastra. Hence the stress on the sound-value of words as such at many places in the Gita, including the lines referred to above.

Verbal analysis may bring to light other subtleties of poetic art and flashes of intuitive insight. While, for instance, with the possible exception of the first word all others in the first line are distinct, the second line begining with a heavy compound word involving the jumbling up of three म in the middle (संवाद मिमम श्रौनम द्रुनम्) as if, when it comes to giving utterance to his experience, Sanjay's tongue gets stuck up. In the next two lines, however, the preponderance of open vowels (व्यास प्रसादात्, योगेश्वरात्, कृष्णात् and साक्षात्) may be indicative of a sudden 'loosening' of his tongue in his effort to refer to the uplifting and expanding effects of the Cosmic Vision on him. In the line that follows the movement of the verse is slowed down and his tongue again seems to be faltering and floundering. (राजन्संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य संवाद मिममद्भुतम्). Another point to be noted in this passage in that Krishna is referred to by three of his other names all with their own historical and emotional associations (वासुदेव, केशव and हरि). The word Krishna is used twice and both the times it is preceded by yogeshwar which means 'Lord of Yoga.' Sanjay's stress on this particular epithet of Krishna is not without its significance. It is the Yogeshwar in Krishna which enabled him to assume different roles in life and which, in particular, enabled him to manifest himself in all the effulgence of his divine form before the astonished eyes of Arjuna and possibly of Sanjay also. The haunting nature of the awe-inspiring vision is thus unconciously hinted at by Sanjay. And in order to clinch the matter on, possibly, to confirm Dhritarastra's impression, Sanjay's tone, towards the end of the passage, becomes self-assertive and authoritative. The experience he has undergone has transformed his whole being. He may close his lips because he cannot or need not speak anything more but his courage of conviction about the worthwhileness and intrinsic value of the experience remains unshaken.

The Gita, after all, is a philosophical poem par excellence. One of the secrets of its irresistible, universal appeal is that it presents an all-embracing philosophy of life in the form of a sublime poetic vision. If division into eighteen chapters, with a colophon at the end of each to sum up the thought-content of that chapter, has tended to distract the reader's attention from the organic unity underlying it. It should be borne in mind that the Gita is more than the sum of its parts; it is an organic whole and it should be approached as such. Though an integral part of an organic whole, the concluding ten lines are not without their textual beauty.

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The Fundamentals of *Vedānta*

Dr. S. P. Singh
Head of the Department of Philosophy, Magadh University

The different schools of *Vedānta* derive their doctrine from the Triple texts of the *Upanisads*, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, and the *Vedānta Sutras*. These texts, called *Prasthānā Trayi*, are not merely confined to an historical past, but are perennially alive and have a message for all ages. Out of these texts the *Upaniṣads* are the fundamental source ante-dating the other two. The *Upaniṣads* constitute the concluding portion of the *Vedas* and are, therefore, described as *Vedānta*. They also represent the quintessence of the *Vedas* and in them *Vedic* speculation reached its acme. They embody spiritual visions and are called *Śruiti* because they are Revelations of Truth the ṛṣis saw and heard. They form the foundation of the entire body of later Indian speculation, including Buddhism and Jainism. It is in this sense that the Spanish writer Mascaro describes the *Upaniṣads* as the 'Himalayas of the Soul.' They are called *Upaniṣads* because they contain secret doctrines (*guhya-ādeśah*). Śaṁkara thinks they are so termed because they destroy ignorance and lead to Brahman.

There are more than two hundred *Upaniṣads*, of which ten are accepted as authoritative. The founders of the various schools of *Vedānta* have commented on these. They are *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māndūkya*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Chāndogya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. These *Upaniṣads* differ in their length and method of exposition. Some are in verse and some in prose. Yet others combine elements of both.

The knowledge of the Real is declared in the *Upaniṣads* to be comprehensive of all. It is called *parā-vidyā* — the supreme knowledge. The aim is to know That by knowing which all other things become known, what was unheard is heard and what was unperceived is perceived. The divine wisdom of the *Upaniṣdas* is further described as the Infinite *Bhūmā*. The Infinite is happiness. And as there is no happiness in the finite, one must aspire to realize the Infinite. The Real is not a worldly object. Its knowledge and realization dispels all our doubts and raises us to the realm of unexcellable bliss — *ananta-ānanda* — from which there is no return to the world again. The *Īśa* asks the question: "What delusion, what sorrow, can

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there be to him who has the vision of unity?" Having studied all the available sciences in the world Narada asks Sanatkumāra for instructions which will end all sorrow — *tarati śokam*. The knowledge of the Real enables us to overcome our sorrow and sins; it frees us from all fear and secures for us eternal bliss. The *Upaniṣads* declare the quest of the Infinite as the supreme end of life. "It is the soul of truth, the anchor of life, the delight of the mind and the fullness of peace and eternity."

The *Upaniṣdas* look at knowledge as the chief means of realization of Brahman. They regard ritual and performance of ceremonies unsafe methods for attaining the Highest. The *Muṇḍaka* declares:

> Unsafe are the boats of sacrifice to go to the farthest shore. Imagining that ritual and charity are the final good, the unwise see not the path supreme. Indeed they have in high heaven the reward for their pious actions; but thence they fall and come to earth or even down to lower regions. These men abiding in the midst of ignorance, but thinking themselves wise and learned, aimlessly go hither and thither, like blind led by blind.

The Absolute is described in the *Upaniṣads* as unconditional existence (*sat*) and unexcellable bliss (*ānanda*) and pure knowledge (*cit*) which cannot be known directly like any finite object through the methods of discursive reason. It is beyond the reach of words and cannot be comprehended by the mind. Though it cannot be known by reason, it can be realized by spiritual experience. It illumines all that is there in the world. The discriminating students of spiritual life find that no finite pleasure can give them knowledge of the Infinite. Naciketas in the *Kathopaniṣad* turns down the glittering offers of Yama — woman, wealth, and long life as transient and trifling — for the knowledge of the Infinite. Maitreyi exclaims, 'of what use is the wealth that cannot secure for immortality.' The knowledge of the Infinite is sought for its excellence and for its power to end all sorrow.

In the *Upaniṣads*, we find that there are at least two different ways of looking at the Infinite. One of them regards Reality as *niṣprapañca*, and describes the Brahman as homogeneous non-composite Consciousness, and as Perfection without a second. The other, describes the Brahman as *saprapañca* and posits the Infinite as the Cosmic Principal. It is not easy to build a consistent philosophical system. In many passages the nature of the Brahman is painted in beautiful colours, and in others we read that the nature of the Brahman is beyond the ken of words and understanding. Sometimes we come across long passages explaining how the world has been created by Brahman, only to be told later that there is no world

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besides Brahman, and all that we perceive is merely an illusion. However, it is the wonderful genius of Śaṁkara which finds a way out of this difficulty and builds a consistent system out of such inconsistent material.

As we just said we find different kinds of descriptions, sometimes contradictory, about the nature of Brahman. He is the all-pervading *akāśa*, the *puruṣa* in the sun, the *puruṣa* in the eye; his head is the heaven, his eyes the sun and the moon, his breath is the wind, his footstool, the earth; he is infinitely great as the soul of the universe and infinitely small as the soul in us; he is the personal God — Īśvara — distributing rewards and punishments according to the deeds of man. These numerous descriptions are collected by Śamkara under the head, the *Saguna vidyā of Brahman*. These are the different approaches, he says, not by way of knowledge but by way of worshipping, each having its particular fruits.

In sharp contrast to *saguṇa vidyā* is the *nirguṇa vidyā* of the *Ātman*. Śaṁkara takes it to be the fundamental message of the *Upaniṣads*. Its main tenet is the absolute inaccessibility of Reality to human thoughts and words — the truth of the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad: Yato Vāco nivartante, aprāpya manasa saha*. It is to this *nirguna Brahman* that the celebrated formula of *neti-neti* occuring so often in the *Bṛahadāraṇyaka* applies. Whatever attempts you make to know the Ātman, whatever description you give of him, I always say: 'na iti' 'na iti' it is not so, it is not so. Therefore the wise Bahva, when asked by the king Vashkalin, to explain the Brahman kept silent. And when the king repeated his request again and again, the ṛṣi replied, 'I tell it to you, but you do not understand it—*śānto, yam ātmā*,—this Ātmā is silence.' And yet the *Atman*, the only Reality which is not unattainable to us, is not even far from us. We have it in ourselves as our deepest entity and we may come to the Atman, not by knowledge, but by *anubhava*, by becoming one with the Reality. There is a great difference between knowledge, in which subject and object are distinct from each other, and *anubhava*, where differences of subject and object dissolve. He who by *anubhava* comes to the great realization—I am Brahman (*aham brahmāsmi*), attains the highest truth.

The nature of Reality and Existence in the *Upaniṣads* led the later day thinkers to expound two contradictory theories, both supported by *śuriti*. Here again the expedient of Śaṁkara is very clever and worthy of praise. If we ask, Why has God created the world? the answers are generally not satisfactory. For his own glorification? How may we attribute to him so much variety for his particular amusement (*Lilā*)? But he was an eternity without this plaything! For the love of mankind? How may he love a thing before it exists, and how may it be called love when millions are created for misery and eternal pain. Śaṁkara first answers this question

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from the *saguna vidyā* point of view and says that the unceasing creation of the world is a moral necessity. Man is like a plant. He grows, flourishes and in the end he dies. But just as the plant, when dying, leaves behind it the seed from which a new plant may grow so a man, in death, leaves his *karma* (his good and bad deeds), which must be rewarded and punished in another life. No life can be the first, because it is the fruit of previous actions, nor the last, for its actions must be expiated in the following life. The *saṁsāra*, then, is without beginning and without end, and the new creation of the world, after every absorption into Brahman, is a moral necessity.

But Śaṁkara knows that this answer, at best, can only be a working hypothesis and not the final one. His critical mind goes a step further to the *nisprapañca* current of thought in the *Upaniṣads* and says that ultimately the *saṁsāra* is not the absolute Truth either. It is just mythical representation of Truth which is unattainable by our intellect—mythical because it encloses in space and time what is really spaceless and timeless, and therefore beyond the reach of our understanding. So the *saṁsāra* is just so far from the Truth, as *saguṇa vidyā* is from *nirguṇa vidyā*. The first represents a lower more elementary viewpoint and suits people who are incapable of grasping the impersonal Truth. It can also be said to be *vyāvaharika* because it explains the world as we see it. The *nirguṇa vidyā* is a step higher. It goes beyond *saṁsāra* and tries to explain *Parmārtha* which is the Absolute Truth.

According to *nirguṇa vidyā* there is no manifold world, only Brahman, and what we consider as the world is merely an illusion *(māyā)*, like a a mirage which disappears when we approach it, and no more to be feared than the rope which we mistook in the dark for a snake. The *Vedānta* adopts many similes to explain the illusive character of this world, but the best is, perhaps, when Gaurpāda and Śaṁkara both compare life to a long dream. While dreaming a man does not doubt the reality of the dream, but this reality disappears at the moment of waking to give place to a truer reality, of which he was not aware while dreaming. Likewise this life is a dream. Nobody has explained this idea better than Śaṁkara.

All is illusion, but Śaṁkara makes one exception — the Ātman. And the Ātman, he asserts, cannot be illusive, for he who would deny it, even in denying it, posits its reality. Anticipating Descartes, 'cogito ergo sum,' Śaṁkara hits upon a great truth, that the reality of our Ātman cannot be doubted. But the question is: What is the relation between the individual soul and the highest soul ? Śaṁkara forsees here the possible deviations of the later philosophers like Rāmānuja, Madhava and Vallabha and refutes them. He shows that the *Jiva* cannot be a part of Brahman (Rāmānuja),

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because Brahman is without parts; neither different from Brahman (Madhava), for Brahman is one without a second, nor a metamorphose of Brahman (Vallabha), for Brahman is unchangeable. The conclusion is that the *Jiva* is the same as Brahman. This is the main message of the *Upaniṣads*. It is supported by logic and proved by anubhava. The highest achievement of man is his realization, I am Brahman '*aham brahma asmi*.' The Brahman is hidden in me, says Śaṁkara, as the fire is hidden in the world, and will appear only after the final deliverance. The cause of this concealment of our real nature is our *ajñāna* (ignorance).

Advaita Vedānta is undoubtedly the most consistent philosophy developed out of Upanisadic thought, but modern scholars differ from Śaṁkara in their interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*. They all hold to monism but are not ready to subscribe to the view that the world is an illusion. They explain the nature of Brahman in a different way. They declare that the Infinite does not exclude the finite. All this is Brahman and the world is the moving image of eternity. The poet Tagore declares that the world is a manifestation of the Infinite. It is a *Lila-vāda* and not *Māyā-vāda*. The Infinite is a rich harmonious system which contains all. The logical difficulties of synthesizing contradictions made Śaṁkara describe the Infinite as devoid of all determinations. Modern commentators declare that there is a special logic of the Infinite. In the words of Sri Aurobindo 'the logic of the Infinite is the magic of the finite.' Dr. Radhakrishnan has done a great deal in establishing the positive interpretations of the nature of the Infinite in the *Upaniṣads*. In his profound introduction to the text of the English translation, he describes the Infinite not as an abstract formal principle but as an active universal consciousness. 'It is the spiritual spring which breaks, blossoms and differentiates itself into a number of finite centres.'

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Upanisadic Influence on Buddhist Tāntrism

Dr. Shivnarain Joshi

It is true that Tāntrism, in the form of a school or sect, developed in the hands of the Mahāvānist Siddhas, nevertheless it is wrong to believe that there was no Tāntric tradition before Buddhism. No certain date is ascribed to the beginnings of Tāntrism. Some scholars believe that Tāntric usages and popular formulas were current and practised in a much earlier age—they belonged to a type of thought that is primitive and among primitive peoples it varied little in the course of centuries.[1] But in its present form Tāntrism flourished during the sixth and seventh centuries or even later. It is evident from the anti-conventional and radical practices of Tāntrics that Tāntrism was basically a revolt against the sophistry and hypocrisy of the time-honoured Brahmanical tradition by the neglected lower class or the despised members of the upper class. Prof. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya writes in his monumental work *Lokāyata*, that Tāntrism, in its more original form, had really been intimately associated with those castes and professions that were despised for many centuries.[2]

The antiquity of Tāntric thought, then, can be traced back to Vedic literature and even earlier. Though Tāntrism is fundamentally an anti-Vedic tradition, its rudimentary form can be seen in the famous *Devi-sukta* of *Rgveda*. In *Grihyasutra* we find a more developed form of Tāntric thought. In fact Tāntrism is an independent and parallel tradition to the Vedic religion and in this respect, its antiquity goes back to the Vedas. In this reference the classification of Tāntrism as Buddhist Tantra and Hindu Tantra becomes superfluous and insignificant. The original Tāntrism, when based on Buddhist metaphysical principles is known as Buddhist Tāntrism, and when it associated itself with Hindu philosophy it was classified as Hindu Tāntrism. Prof. Dasgupta has rightly remarked in his work, *Obscure Religious Cults as background of Bengali Literature* that, 'Tantrism is neither Budhist nor Hindu in origin it seems to be a religious undercurrent originally independent of any abstruse metaphysical, flowing on from an obscure point of time in the religious history of India.'[3]

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So when we talk about Buddhist Tāntrism we simply mean the Tāntric thought of Siddhas which is an outgrowth of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism. The main purport of the present paper, then, is to show that the so-called Buddhist Tāntrism is closely related to and has been influenced by the Upaniṣadic metaphysical speculation. Before going on to prove this thesis, it will be proper to present the basic tenets of Buddhist Tāntrism.

Basic Principles of Buddhist Tantrism

Buddhist Tāntrism is mainly an offshoot of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism. In the course time Mahāyāna was subdivided into *Pāramitā-naya* and *Mantra-naya* schools. This *Mantra-naya* school seems to be the source of Buddhist Tāntrism from which its different sub-schools viz., *Vajrayāna, Kālcakrayāna, Sahajayāna*, etc., arose in due course of time. Originally Tāntric practices were observed either for the attainment of mundane prosperity or as a malefic for enemies. But later when the Tāntras had been rooted firmly in the philosophical speculations their aim shifted to the attainment of perfect knowledge.

The aim of *Vajrayāna* is to realize the true of self which in fact is *Vajra* or immutable, indestructible voidness or *Śūnyatā*. The term *Vajra* is used in the sense of perfect voidness or *Śunyata Vajra*; like the Upaniṣadic Brahman, is everything, i.e., God is of the nature of *Vajra*. The meditator is *Vajra*; the mantras are *Vajra* and the Sādhaka is instructed to realize *Vajra* as the innermost self of all things.

Sahajayāna is an offshoot of *Vajrayāna*. The adherents of the *Sahajayāna* school insist on *Sahaja-paddati* or on a fairly informal way of doing Sādhanā, and oppose formalities and rigorous disciplines like fasting, bathing, constructing images, performing rites and rituals prescribed by the *Vajarayānist Sādhanā-paddati*. In this sense *Sahajiyās* are the most unconventional Tāntrists and resemble the Zen method of meditation which flourished in China. Sahajiyas believe that hard discipline and formal practices hinder the realization of the ultimate innate nature (Sahaja) of the self and of Dharmas. A sadhaks should free himself, his nature, from all sorts of conventionalities, so that it may be realized in its proper, natural way.

Kālacakrayāna is another important branch of Buddhistic Tāntrism which according to Waddell, flourished in the tenth century A.D. and has been influenced by Yogic practices. Prof. S.B. Dasgupta is of the opinion that *Kālacakrayāna* is a phase of *Vajrayāna* with a predominance of the terrible gods and goddesses whom Waddell has styled as the "demonical Buddhas."[4] M.M. Harprasad Śāstri defines *Kālacakrayāna* as a vehicle

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for protection against the wheel of destruction by equating *Kāla* with time, death or destruction, and *Kālacakra* as the wheel of destruction. The school lays stress on the control of vital winds i.e., *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*. It is the aim of a sādhaka to keep himself above the influence of the whirl of time. Kāla or time in all its phases (minutes, hours, days etc.), has been described here with reference to the functions of the vital wind spread through the whole nervous system. The process of controlling time is nothing but the control of the vital wind in the nerves through Yogic practices.

In an another way *Kāla* is identified with the immutable and ultimate principle i.e. *Dharma-dhātu*. *Cakra* is the unitary principle of the three kinds of existence which are the manifestations of *Kāla*. Moreover, every syllable of the word *Kālacakra* has been indicated by a particular meaning. The syllable 'Ka' stands for unruffled causality, 'La' signifies the final absorption of things, while 'ca' indicates the unsteady mind and 'Kra' stands for continuous process. *Kūla*, then, is the unmanifested or potential state of causality which is identical with *śūnyatā* or pure-consciousness, or the principle of *Prajñā*. *Cakra* is causality in process or the state of manifestation. It is also the principle of *Upāya*. In this sense *Kālacakra* is an unified principle of *Prajñā* and *upāya*. The above description of *Kālacakra* resembles that of *Vajra-sattva*.

Now we come to our main thesis that besides the influence of the Mahāyānist philosophical doctrine like *śūnyata* and momentariness, Buddhist Tāntrism is indebted to the Upaniṣads for borrowing the concepts of the non-dual and absolutes nature of Reality, the positive nature of Nirvāṇa and the identity of self and Reality which are almost absent in Buddhism. It is true that we find a tacit assumption of absolutism in Nāgārjuna's philosophy, but that absolutism is different from the Upaniṣadic and Tāntric absolutism. Moreover Nāgārjuna also borrowed the idea of absolute from the Upaniṣads since it is quite incompatable to the conventional doctrine of momentariness in Buddhism. The following are the main Upaniṣadic doctrines taken by the siddhas in their Tāntrism.

Substantial Nature of Reality

The Upaniṣads, unlike Buddhism describe Reality as the eternal, unchangeable, self-sufficient, absolute substance which is the source of all beings, whether animate or inanimate. We read in the Upaniṣads that *Sat* or Being alone was there (Chānd up 6-2-1-). This *Sat* or Being is the origin and ground of all the varied objects (*sanmūlāh somyemāh prajāh sadāyatanāh satpratiṣṭhāh* (Chānd up 6-8-4). This *Sat* or Being is not other than Brahman or the highest reality who has been identified

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with Infinite Bliss, the source of all creation. A very beautiful passage has appeared in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* where Infinite Bliss has been depicted as the ultimate source of everything — Bliss (Ānanda) is Brahman; from Bliss are born beings, by Bliss, when born, they live and finally they return into Bliss. We find a strikingly similar account in *Advya-Vajrasamgrah* where, like Upaniṣads, the ultimate reality *Vajrasattva* has been identified with *Mahāsukha*. *Mahāsukha* is described as all pervading and the source of all beings. *Vajra* means *śūnyatā* or pure Beingness, and by *Sattva* is meant pure knowledge. *Vajrasattva* who is an absolute unity of *śūnyatā* or Beingness and pure knowledge is not different from *Vijñānghana* of the Upaniṣads, who is also pure knowledge or consciousness. *Satyam jñānam anantam Brahma* also shows that Brahman is pure Being and infinite knowledge. *Advyavajrasaṁgrah*, too, identifies pure knowledge with bliss and states that pure knowledge is impossible without bliss (*Sukhābhāvaena bodhih syāt matā yā sukharūpinī*). In *Subhāṣita-saṁgrah* it is stated that *Mahāsukha* or infinite bliss (like Ānanda) is the root cause of all beings from which they proceed further. In *Hevajra* Tantra, *Sukha* has been described as all pervading and the quintessence of all objects which is non-different from objects and cannot be realized without the objective world.

In the above mentioned description of *Vajrasattva*, found in Buddhist Tantra, the Mahāyānist concept of void has been identified with the Upaniṣadic concept of the unchanging, pure conscious, blissful Absolute. *Advayavajra* states that, 'The void (Śūnyatā) is called *Vajra*, because it is firm, sound, cannot be burned, cannot be destroyed.'[5] The indeterminate nature of Ultimate Reality has been depicted skilfully by Siddha Tilopa. He says that the Reality is colourless, formless, and pervades all forms in the form of void. He is not higher, not lower, not short, not long, not red, not green, not yellow, not black. He is colourless; even then He pervades all colours all forms.[6] Now compare the proclamation of *Yājñayavalkya*, 'This indestructible (Brahman) is not gross, not subtle, not long, not white, not red, not viscid, not shadow, not air, not ether' etc.[7]

Mahāsukha the root cause and source of all beings, has been described as transcendental reality. It tanscends everything, it is devoid of all conceptualization, and is beyond the duality of knower and known. In *Prajñopāya vihiścaya-siddhi* it is said that after the realization of Truth which is the unity of *Prajñā* (Pure knowledge) and *Upāya* (phenomenal world), all kinds of experience cease i.e., there remains neither thinker, nor thought, nor seer, nor seen, etc. The truth is beyond the reach of the senses, mind and intellect. A similar account of transcendental reality

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can be seen in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* where *yājñavalkya* describes the unknowability of the highest Truth. He says that one cannot see the seer of sight, cannot hear the hearer of hearing, cannot think the thinker of thought, cannot know the knower of knowing. How can Truth be known, which transcends the duality of subject and object through sense-perception or discursive thought. In Buddhist Tāntrism the highest Truth is called by various terms. It has also been termed as *Yuganaddha* which is the absorption of *Srinvrti* and *Paramārtha*. In the state of *Yuganaddha* there is neither affirmation nor denial, neither existence nor non-existence, neither remembering nor non-remembering, neither affection nor non-affection, neither cause nor the effect etc. It is a synthesis of all these dualities. Transcendental or *Para Brahman* like *Yuganaddha*, transcends the objects of the world and, at the same time, being the underlying principle of the phenomenal world it is non-different from it.

The Immanence of Reality

The concept of personal being is not altogether foreign to Buddhism. We are quite familiar with the Mahāyānist concept of Boddhisattva who incarnates for the welfare of embodied selves, and who is adorned in the form of Lord and Protector of all beings. But the idea of the immanence of eternal and unchanging Reality under the changing phenomena as advocated by Siddhas, is certainly an influence of the Upaniṣadic idea of the immanence of *Apara Brahman* who is said to be residing in all beings in the form of their inmost self. The Siddhas proclaim that *Vajrasattva* is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent supreme Lord who is beyond origin and destruction and resides in all beings in the form of a stream of consciousness or *Cittadhārā*.[8] This immanence of the Eternral Brahman has been depicted beautifully by a passage from *Mundaka Upaniṣad* according to which Immortal Brahman is in front, the Brahman is behind, Brahman is to the right and to the left, below and above, Brahman is all pervading, Brahman is this all.[9] Just as a piece of salt placed in a vessel full of water dissolves and becomes one with water, in the same manner Brahman is inextricably mixed with the whole creation as their self.[10] To realize Brahman is to realize the self as Brahman. Siddhas also say that to realize *Vajrasattva* as the self of all things is to realize *Vajrasttva* itself : realization of *Vajrasattva* as the self of all things is known *Svadhidaivata-yoga* in Buddhist Tantras. Prof. Dasgupta writes, 'This realisation of the self as the highest being is the realisation of the self as god (devata), and the process is technically called the *Svādhi-daivata-yoga*.'[11] This *Svādhidaivata-yoga* may be compared with the passage of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* according to which knowledge of a clod of clay reveals everything else

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that is made of clay, similarly with the knowledge of Brahman as the self of all things, everything else is known.[12]

The Concept of Non-duality

Buddhist Tāntrism unlike the Mahāyānist's is realistic in holding the indispensability of the phenomenal world in the realization of the highest truth. *Prajñā śūnyatā* is perfect knowledge. *Upāya* or *Karuṇā* represents the variegated phenomenal world. *Prajñā* is the principle of suchness or oneness which underlies the whole objective world. But *Prajñā* the highest wisdom, is passive. *Upāya* on the other hand is active principle which, when associated with *Prajñā* guides men to moral activities so that they might be liberated from worldly suffering. When both *Prajñā* and *Upāya* are separated nirvāṇa is not possible. *Vajrasattva* the Ultimate Reality is the union or non-duality of both *Prajñā and Upāya* or in other words, it is the union of pure knowledge of suchness and variegated phenomenality. *Upāya* does not have its own substantiality consequently, it stands nowhere when unassociated with *Prajñā* or suchness, the underlying principle of variegated phenomena. *Prajñā* is not different from Absolute Indeterminate Brahman who is pure existence devoid of all qualities, and underlies, the objective manifoldness. Just as *Upāya* or the phenomenal world as opposed to *Prajñā* is bondage even so *Prajñā* as opposed to *Upāya* is also bondage. The non-duality of *Prajñopāya* is the final state which is free from all duality like subjectivity-objectivity, reality and unreality, etc. *Prajñopāya*, like *Para Brahman*, transcends all kinds of duality or opposites. We read in the Upaniṣad that in him (Brahman), there is no variety, whoever sees variety in him goes from death to death.[13] Siddha Tillopāda, like *Yajñāvalkya*, saya that where the mind and vacuity enter into the bliss arising out of this communion, the objects of the senses are not perceived at all.[14] The non-duality of Bṛahman and the world and Brahman and *Jiva* has been the main teaching of the Upaniṣadic seers and it is interesting to note that the same sort of non-duality or *samarastā* has also been advocated by Buddhist Siddhas, giving almost similar examples as those which are given in the Upaniṣadas We are told in *Mundakopaniṣda* that whoever knows Brahman becomes even Brahman. (*Brahma veda Brahmaiva bhavati* 3.2.9.). Buddhist tantras also proclaim that the sādhaka who realizes *Vajrasattva* himself becomes *Vajrasattva*.[15]

Siddhas while establishing non-duality also advocate the falsity of this manifold phenomenal world. We are informed in *Guhyasmājantra* all phenomena are non-dual, they only appear in dual shape (*advajāh sarvadharmās tu dvayabhāvena laksitāh*). The phenomenal world is nothing but the reflection of *mayā* just as the moon is reflected in water (*jim jalehin*

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sasi disaicchāā tim bhava padihāsai saal vimāā).[16] Proclaiming the unreality of the variegated objective world Siddha Būsukupā says that this world has neither origin nor end. Know it as appearance. One who mistakes the rope for a snake is eaten up by this world. Indeed, the world is false like the reflection in a mirror, like a barren woman's son, like the sky-lotus, etc.[17] The quintessence of all these examples is that the world has no substantial reality and cannot exist by itself independent of the Ultimate Reality, which is the underlying unitary principle. Siddha Sarah says that just as waves, originating from the river and also merging into the river are not different from it; in the same manner *Bhava* or the world is only a wave of the Ultimate Reality (*Param Tattva*) which emerges from it and finally dissolves into it. The proclamation of Sarah is strikingly similar to *Tajjalān* of the *Chāndogya Upnniṣad* meaning that from Brahman the world proceeds, it (the world) merges into Brahman and it is maintained by Brahman.

The term *Yuganadha* has also been used frequently for the state of non-duality in Buddhist Tantras. It is the ubiquitous state of reality which is beyond all notions of duality such as subject (*Grāhaka)*, object (*Grāhya)*, affirmation and denial, existence and non-existence, cause and effect, purity and impurity, etc. *Yuganadha* then is the principle of perfect synthesis and non-dual truth *(Advya Tattva)*.

Closely associated with the concept of *Yunganadha* or the metaphysical concept of non-duality is the concept of *Samarasa* which is an epistemic approach to realize unity among the many-ness of phenomena. In Hevajra Tantra *Samarasa* has been explained as oneness of all variegated objects involved in the cycle of existence. *Samarasa* is the identification of *Pinda* or self with the *Brahmānda* or the universe. The universe is originated from the self and is pervaded by the self. All existence, therefore, should be realized as non-different from the self. Hevajra Tantra says that the whole universe is non-different from the self and is pervaded by the self *(mad-bhavam jagat sarvaṁ mad-bhāvaṁ bhuvantrayaṁ mayā vyāptamidan sarvaṁ māyaṁ dṛśyate jagat)*. The idea of *Samarasa*, too, originally belonged to the Upaniṣads and not to Buddhism. The Upanisads say that in the beginning Atman was alone. He desired for another. He split his body into two — husband and wife. He is this name of this form... He (self) entered this world... The self verily is the place of all beings... so a person who thus knows finds fame and perfection.[18]

Positive character of Nirvana

We do not find the absolute character of Nirvāṇa in early Buddhism. Though Nagarjuna has given an absolutist colour to Nirvāṇa it is not a positive state but is devoid of both pleasure and pain. The blissful

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character of Nivāṇa is totally foreign to Buddhism. It seems quite certain that the concept of *Mahāsukha* in Buddhist Tantras has been borrowed from the Upaniṣads since *Mahāsukha* is not only a positive state of liberation but like *Ananda* has also been regarded as the ultimate source of all being. According to *Acintya-dvaya-karmo-padesa*, Lord Sri-Mahāsukha has created this world of difference from his non-dual nature *(ekaloti svabhāvena jagad-ākāra nirmitam. Sri-mahāsukha-nāthena advayā-kārā-bhedatah)*.[19] We have already seen how *Ananda* has been described as the source of all beings in *Taittriya Upanisad* (3.6). *Sukha* is further identified with Buddha and has been described as infinite, omnipresent, ommiscient, spontaneous flow of the highest bliss (*anantam vyāpakam sarvajñāna prabhāvatah; Svacchanda-paramā-nanda advyam buddha sa tsukham)*.

Advyavajra Saṁgrah conspicuously identifies Nirvāna with *sukha* or without bliss there is no enlightenment for enlightenment is bliss itself *(Sukhābhāvena bodhi syāt matāyā sukharūpiṇī)*.[20] Similarly, *Panca krama* describes Nirvāna as incessant bliss. Nirvāna in *guhyasiddhi* has been regarded as the abode of both Bhukti (enjoyment) and *Mukti* (liberation). This *Mahāsukha* or bliss of Nirvāna should not, however, be confused with sensuous pleasure. It is beyond and above the greatest of all momentary worldly pleasures. According to Subhāṣita samgrah *mahāsukha* transcends all kinds of thought constructions and is an absolutely pure emotion of bliss in which all activities of the mind are absolutely lost.[21] *Jñānasiddhi* has also regarded *mahāsukha* as the most excellent of all pleasures. Advyavaira samgrah describes *mahāsukha* as infinite, the most gratifying the most sublime and conducive to enlightenment.

The above citations of identification of *mahasukha* with Nirvāna, on the one hand, with ultimate reality on the other, is sufficient evidence to prove that the notion of such identification which is a characteristic feature of the Upaniṣads has been borrowed from there by the Siddhas.

In conclusion, we may say that insofar as the description of phenomenality is concerned the Siddhas applied the doctrines of momentariness and *śūnyatā*, borrowed from Mahāyāna Buddhism; but in describing the nature of Ultimate Reality and the state of Nirvaṇa, they followed the absolutistic metaphysics of the Upaniṣads. When they use the term *Śūnyatā* with reference to Ultimate Reality, they do not use it in the sense of voidness but show its transcendental and indefinable nature as *Para Brahman* is often described. The positive description of *Śūnyatā* as eternal, unchanging, omniscient, omnipresent and non-dual, and its identification with infinite bliss emphatically proves its close affinity with *Para Brahman* of the Upanisads. Lastly, we have deliberately omitted a description of the

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ritualistic practices of Buddhist Tantras since these would not have been relevant to the theme of the present paper.

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Gandhi's Quest for Truth

Dr. Bhupendra Nath
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

The quest for Truth has engaged the attention of man since the dawn of civilization. The ancient Indians discovered that in ignorance (*Avidya*) lay the root of all evils, and found the supreme ideal in the realization of enlightenment by achieving knowledge of the Truth. In ancient Greece, intellectual curiosity started a tradition of scholarship committed to the intellectual pursuit of knowledge and truth and as a result in the Western tradition the intellect became the chief instrument. Philosophers and scientists, who were engaged in the quest for Truth, kept their cognitive enquiry unrelated to their ethical personality. A good intellectual capacity was considered sufficient for the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of ethical purity was not regarded as essential. The intellectual man was not necessarily an ethical man. Mahatma Gandhi, following his own ancient tradition, declared the quest for Truth as the chief aim of life. But, unlike Western thinkers, Gandhi saw the way to the realization of Truth not merely through intellectual exploration but in a total effort of reason, heart, and will. Gandhi's life is a story of his experiments with Truth, but it is not a tale of a scholar's intellectual journey. It is a story which reveals a complete personality, wholly involved in trying to achieve Truth. According to Gandhi, before one embarks upon an experiment with Truth, some strict preliminary discipline is necessary to purify one's character. As Gandhi puts it, 'Unless you impose on yourself the five vows, you may not embark on the experiment at all.'[1] Purification of character is an essential prerequisite for any advance on the path of knowledge. An insight into the nature of Truth grows along with the purification and development of character. Gandhi prescribes the five vows (*Panch Mahavartas*)—*Ahimsa* (nonviolence), *Satya* (truthfulness), *Asteya* (non-stealing), *Aprigraha* (non-possession) *Brahmacharya* (continence)—as essential for the growth of a healthy personality and only with such a personality can one go ahead in his quest for truth.

For achieving a view of the real nature of Truth, Gandhi insists on puri-

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fication and cultivation of the whole personality, leading to self-realization. And for him a realization of the self and achievement of a view of the real nature of truth are simultaneous processes which ultimately converge. Each successful experiment with Truth means going a step closer to self-realization. A journey towards Truth is also a progress in the path of self-realization. To be able to know the Truth implies also a view of the inner reality which is the Ultimate Principle. Truth is Reality whose character is invested by Gandhi with a spiritual significance. Truth thus gains an ontological status. By Truth Gandhi does not mean merely a conception or a world-view, a picture of the Reality. Truth *is* Reality itself. Truth thus occupies a key position in Gandhian metaphysics. The entire outlook of Gandhi—religious, sociological, or political—is rooted in his conception of Truth which he accepts as the supreme Reality.

The discovery of Truth, according to Gandhi, should be the immediate as well as the ultimate goal of all human endeavours. Truth here, however has not only a limited epistemological meaning, but is understood in its widest sense as signifying the ultimate Reality. Reality revealed as Truth is the same divine Reality which is apprehended in religious consciousness as God. Gandhi asserts that God is God because He is Truth. Gandhi says 'though God may be God, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give fullest description, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth.'[2] By saying that God is Truth, Gandhi does not merely add Truth as one among the many attributes of God. According to him, Truth is not an attribute What he asserts is that God is not different from Truth. Truth is the very essence of Divinity. And the relationship between God and Truth is unlike that which subsists between a substance and its attributes. Here both refer to an identical substance, which is the fundamental Reality. Truth itself is a Divine principle and this, Gandhi, calls God. Thus, after years of 'a continuous and relentless search after Truth,'[3] Gandhi came to the conclusion that Truth is God.

By identifying Truth with God, Gandhi puts forward a convincing reason for accepting God's reality. Here he steals a march over even professional theologians and philosophers who failed to provide any equally sound basis for affirming God in spite to their intricate proof in support. A denial of everything may be possible, but Truth possesses self-impelling force to command universal acceptance. The world has known denials of God, but denial of Truth is self-contradictory. Hence a view of God which identifies God with Truth, becomes as invincible as Truth itself. The God thus conceived cannot be denied even by an atheist. An atheist denies God because he does not see any Truth in it. It is an atheist's

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quest for Truth which makes him deny God, he fails to discern any truth in the idea of God. Thus even an atheist accepts the ideal of truth and makes it the touchstone for his affirmations or denials. If he is told that what he calls Truth is God, he cannot deny God without recanting Truth. Gandhi thus presents an idea of God which can be offered for acceptance to both theists and atheists. Referring to an atheist Gandhi says, 'I recall the name of Charles Bradlaugh who delighted to call himself an atheist, but knowing as I do something of him, I would never regard him as an atheist. I would call him a God-fearing man.'[4] The idea of God as identical with Truth becomes so wide that it brings even atheists within its fold.

By conceiving God as Truth, Gandhi prepares the ground for a universal religion. According to him the worship of God is the same as the service to Truth. God-realization means a realization of Truth and all religions preach the ideal of this realization. He maintains that every religion is in the process of the realization of this ideal and that different religions have achieved different stages of this realization. As none of the religions has yet fully achieved this ideal, only some aspects of it, Gandhi believes that Truth can be advanced only by the continued and sustained effort of the seeker. By our religious endeavour we move forward in the realization of a fuller view of Truth. As different religions are different paths to the realization of Truth, aspects of Truth which have been discovered through one path may be yet unrealized by those who are moving through other paths. Thus each religion may have some elements which other religions may have missed. Although there may be special messages in all religions, a seeker will discover all that religions complement each other. This will create an attitude of reverence for all religions. Gandhi, therefore, remarks, 'The very insistence on Truth has taught me to appreciate the beauty of compromise.'[5] As all religions are in the process of realizing the ideal of Truth, Gandhi concedes that there must be some errors in each religion as some aspects of Truth remain unrealized. 'If we had attained the full vision of Truth,' says Gandhi, 'we would no longer be mere seekers, but have become one with God, for Truth is God.'[6] Freedom from all errors and ignorance would imply an end of the journey and there would not be any further seeking. The true seeker, however, always endeavours to move forward incessantly in his quest for Truth and, as Gandhi remarks, 'The goal ever recedes from us.'[7] The ideal of Truth is conceived by Gandhi as so inexhaustibly rich that a seeker will always find new avenues for progress. As the seeker moves forward, the ideal always recedes farther to ensure his eternal progress. An ideal which can be fully actualized will be too poor. Gandhi believes that no religion can claim to have

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realized Truth fully. Nor should any religion be condemned, because all religions help in the progressive realization of Truth. Gandhi declares, 'we have not realized religion in its perfection, even as we have not realized God. Religion of our conception, being thus imperfect, is always subject to a process of evolution and re-interpretation. Progress towards Truth, towards God, is possible only because of such evolution.'[8] As all religions are at different stages of evolution we must be prepared to concede some shortcomings in our own religion, and should also develop an attitude of tolerance towards what appears to us as imperfections of others' religions. As every religion has uncovered at least some aspects of Truth, Gandhi preaches reverence for all the religions. A seeker of Truth must sympathetically look towards other religions to find there those aspects of Truth which he fails to find in his own religion. He will then have a truer understanding of religion and will recognize all religions as alternatives pointing towards the same ideal of Truth or God. Such a view of religion leaves no scope for sectarianism, fanaticism or communalism, which are, in Gandhi's opinion, false ramifications of religion. He once wrote, 'If I were to know, after my death, that what I stood for had degenerated into sectarianism, I should be deeply pained.'[9] Gandhi stood for a mutual understanding among seekers belonging to different religious orders. He believes that religion essentially had only one meaning and function and that was to enkindle in the seekers' hearts a quest for the progressive realization of Truth.

By preaching a universalistic view of religion and God, Gandhi provided an ideological basis for a non-violent political movement which involved a multitude of people drawn from a vast area. Gandhi does not believe that politics should be kept independent of religion. He says, 'I still hold the view that I cannot conceive politics as divorced from religion.'[10] The religion about which Gandhi talks is based on an idea of God which takes its stand on a view of Truth commanding universal appeal. It is a false religion which derives its sustenance from a blind faith in certain dogmas or rituals. It is a simple faith in the supremacy of Truth which leads to true religion. Truth is invested with a divine significance and assumes a spiritual meaning. Such a view of Truth is no longer a cold concept of logic or epistemology. It is deified and made the object of worship. The highest religious virtue, according to Gandhi, consists in the service of Truth. He remarks, 'The pursuit of truth is true *bhakti* (devotion).'[11] A religion which demands nothing more than the worship of Truth becomes so broad-based that it can accommodate persons belonging to all religious orders. In a political movement of the vast magnitude which Gandhi was called upon to lead, he needed a religion which could act as a strong

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integrating force for people drawn from diverse areas and religions. The religion which can lend dynamism in bringing about a socio-political revolution can not be sectarian dogmatism. It must be a religion of universal appeal which should be commonly acceptable to all. Gandhi propounded such a view of religion which could bring people of divergent faiths and temperaments under a common leadership, and this provided the necessary condition for all of them to work in a common political struggle. Gandhi adopted nonviolence as the method of political struggle. This method of nonviolence can be practised by a satyagrahi — the nonviolent fighter — only if he has a firm faith in the reality of God. He says, 'Non-violence is a power which can be weilded equally by all — children, youngmen, women or grown-up people — provided they have a living faith in the God of love and have therefore equal love for all mankind.'[12] A satyagrahi, according to Gandhi, must be able to overcome hatred and cultivate fearlessness. He must learn to return love for hatred and remain fearless even in dangerous circumstances. A firm faith in God alone can provide him the necessary strength and courage to march forward on the path of nonviolence. God is emancipated from sectarian or communal claims and becomes the source of inspiration to all. The key to such a view of God and religion was discovered by Gandhi through his conception of Truth.

When Gandhi appeared on the Indian scene, he was burdened with a gigantic task of providing leadership to the country in its historic struggle for social and political emancipation. It was not an easy task to provide leadership in a vast country where people were committed to numerous divergent ideologies and religions. To bring such heterogenous people under a common flag, it was essential to forge some basic understanding among them by evolving a socio-religious and political philosophy which could be acceptable to all. Gandhi had thus to discharge a dual function. On the one hand, he had to work as a philosopher-theoretician of a revolution and, on the other hand, he had to act as the active political leader of the revolution. To fulfil the first task Gandhi had to engage himself in the search of a true ideology for the revolution. The search for a ideology, ultimately, led him to the conclusion that Truth itself is the ideal. By propounding a comprehensive conception of Truth, Gandhi found the key for the solution of all the ideological and practical problems which were to be encountered in the course of a revolutionary movement. The view of Truth becomes pivotal in Gandhi's system and sheds light on all the aspects of his thoughts and deeds.

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The Concept of Immortality— An Analytic Approach

Dr. U. N. Jha
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

The word 'immortality' has a multitude of synonyms like resurrection, reincarnation, future life, eternal life, survival of soul after physical death and many others. There are distinctions between any two of these synonyms, and when these concepts are used loosely without considering their distinct shades of meaning, the result is bound to be one of confusion. In this paper I take the concept of the Soul's survival of death, consider some of the arguments and suggest reservations for the use of the word 'immortality'.

First I shall dispose of some of the persuasions, most often advanced, in favour of the belief in immortality. These persuasions are often misused to mean dialectics which they are not because they lack logical vigour. Of them the most popular arguments for immortality are based on scientific reasoning. It is suggested that if nothing of the physical energy is lost beyond recovery, the soul-substance too, must not be thought of as having undergone dissolution at the instance of death. Matter undergoes change. The change may be homogeneous or heterogeneous. Physical form may change into chemical, and chemical into electrical and so on, but the energy maintains its quantitative identity throughout without any increase or decrease. The sum total of energy remains constant. So on the analogy of the conservation of energy, the soul-substance may also not be regarded as something evanescent. But the argument is, at best, analogical. As analogy the argument is splendid and may even be convincing if there is some weight in the points of agreement. However, when I pause to look for the fundamental points of agreement between physical energy on the one hand, and soul-substance on the other, I find only ambiguity and a measure of bewilderment. The two phenomena are poles apart. The points of agreement, I imagine, are decidedly superficial. On the contrary disagreements appear to be more fundamental and, therefore, more striking. The analogy which is made most of here breaks down with slight stretching.

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Another argument which seems to have been supplied from psychology remains, at most, a persuasion. It fails to have the dignity, of a rational argument. There is one thing very peculiar about our cognitive enterprise. The self has a unique capacity of trancending spatio-temporal limitations. This capacity may be noticed in the act of memory, thought and imagination. In memory, we peep into the images of the past by overstepping the limitations of the present. Our thought is not essentially confined to the particular 'here' and the particular 'now.' We may or may not, begin with what is given. Our thought forces its way to the past and to the future by transcending the present. In the act of imagination some content is formed anew and this is distinct from what is, or has been, experienced. In all such mental acts the self, whatever be its status, is cognized to have a unique and inexplicable capacity of transcendence. Now if the self can trancend the present, it can also be thought of as surviving death. Granted, that the self survives death but another more serious problem arises—how does the self retain its specific quality after its separation from the physiological structure is accomplished by the phenomenon of death. Even the time-honoured hypothesis of the subtle body accompanying the soul in its onward journey is of little avail. This subtle body is incapable of carrying out the task philosophers have imposed on it.

What about those persuasions which are available to us from the wide variety of scriptural sources and metaphysical anthologies? They are too numerous to be treated separately. What I find peculiar about the metaphysical arguments is that the self is treated as an independent entity and this entity is believed to be immortal. For example, the soul-substance in Platonic thought is conceived to be a partless simple structure whose very essence is divine. The soul has kinship with Ideas but it exists here in the world with the body as its vehicle. The self being simple and partless (in structure) is above change and dissolution of the body. Granted that it is a simple partless substance, as Plato thought; granted to that it is pure consciousness, as Descartes would contend, granted also that it is indestructible as Leibnitz would say; but the self, an entity, independent of, and apart from the body, is not proved by metaphysicians. When the status of the disembodied independent self is open to doubt and distrust, its supposed immortality loses what is most vital to it.

The self is characterized as simple and it is thought to be immortal because it is whole. The soul is immortal as it has no parts, and is, therefore beyond the power of death. In my opinion, metaphysicians are guilty of oversimplifying death. Death is something more than mere dissolution, something more than breaking a thing into its parts. And it is this 'more' which metaphysicians have overlooked in their plea for immortality (of

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the self) on grounds of indivisibility and indestructibility.

Another point of demerit which McPherson exposes regarding the simplicity of the self-substance is worth mentioning. The meaning of simplicity here includes deathlessness, indestructibility, etc., and this is precisely what is sought to be proved. McPherson observes:

> ...to appeal to the soul's simplicity in proof of its immortality is to beg the question.[1]

Besides, we must not fail to see that the advocates of such a metaphysical argument first define the self and in defining also confine it, limit it, and in the same breath talk of its immortality. But we cannot transcribe actuality by defining it. Much of this traditional ado is silenced by David Hume whose analysis of the concept of empirical self brings home the idea that there is nothing like an independent soul-substance. Kant does not fail to recognize that the belief in the substantiality of the self is a relic of a worn-out metaphysic. The so-called self is simply a form of unity, and that too, only logical unity. When the very substantiality of the self is at stake, a belief in personal survival turns out to be still weaker. So the idea of continuance of personal identity has been the target of attack by the present day analyst theologians.

It is difficult even for the theists to defend the continuance of personal identity in any form. Some of the theists believe that the life of faith and obedience is conserved hereafter. Sometimes they talk of everlasting life and sometimes of the life of value-realization. Most often, insistence on the kind of life absorbed in the love of Christ, or on the life that partakes of the abundantly inexhaustible love of God, is a marked feature of the protagonists of immortality in Christian theism.

But it is difficult, thinks D.M. MacKinnon, to defend the belief in personal immortality. The belief is merely an expression of inward feeling. It is an expectation, a defence or consolation for the inevitability of impending death. When we look beneath the surface grammar of survival-assertion, the linguistic ineptness of this assertion becomes all too obvious. Let me assert, 'I survive.' In this assertion the 'I' is supposed to be some kind of entity, but it is not so. MacKinnon says that this 'I' is not related to the individual biography, in the way it is implied.[2] He observes:

> Whether we think of the survival or survivor, we are at once plunged into bewilderment...

In such an assertion we do not understand what exactly we are talking

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about. Any talk of survival would be significant if we could imagine some empirical situation relevant to the survival-claim. If it is impossible to plot the experience of which the survival-claim is an expression, then MacKinnon advises us to refrain from making such a claim. Linguistic appropriateness of the survival-claim may help us understand that what it speaks of is just an expectation and not a fact. MacKinnon thinks that such an understanding is a step towards getting rid of illusions:

> that the stumbling speech of those who speak of immortality and survival is expressive of an attempt to gain knowledge of fact without the discipline of experiment and reflective analysis.[3]

Antony Flew's analysis is more penetrating and more reflective. The hope for the continuance of personal identity is harboured not so much for the general assurance that all will be well, as for the consolation that you or I withstand death in some form. The talk of immortality will not be of any interest unless a person is supposed to survive death. Let us consider the function of person-words, 'You', 'I', etc., in the assertion, 'you survive' or 'I survive.' Whatever be the other functions of these words, it must be acknowledged that a person-word refers to a particular individual having specific traits or a constellation of certain qualities. Such a word refers to a certain person whom we can see or talk to. Death brings annihilation of body and annihilation of the specific constellation of traits of those it overtakes. When I expect that after my death, I shall have some supernomal experience or that, 'such things might happen to me' I overlook the most important fact that I shall not exist then. When the very personality becomes non existent at death, then to believe that one will have such and such experience is nothing more than accepting a fairy tale as history.[4] The talk of survival is absurd, according to Flew. Whatever is experienced is experienced in life. With death one ceases to experience anything. Flew finds Wittgenstein close to the heart of the matter, in his assertion that when we are dead nothing is experienced, not even emptiness; for there is no one to experience. The world does not change, rather, it eases for the dead and so the concept of immortality, at best, remains an expression of expectation without any experience to bolster it.

It is too much to expect the preservation of personality or the continuance of personal identity. The physiological structure dissolves and with this dissolution personality ceases to be. Memory, thinking, feeling, are all annihilated by death. We must therefore be constantly on our guard to use the word 'immortality' in the sense of conservation, or survival of

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personality beyond the grave or crematorium. But can death annihilate the values that a person realizes in his earthly span of life? Can death annihilate values that a person creates for society? A thing of value does not perish. Time cannot efface it, death cannot alter it. The contribution that any individual makes in any field, the addition that he makes to the common fund of human heritage continues to survive. And this contribution or value-realization, is all that the concept of immortality amounts to or be spoken of with any degree of credibility.

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The Cult of Jagannātha in Indian Culture

Haripada Chakraborti
Visva Bharati University

To trace the antiquity of Jagannātha is a Herculean task. The RC (×, 155, 3), *Ado Yaddāru plavate Sindhoḥ pāra apurusam, tadā rabhasva durhano tena gaccha parastavam*, refers to Dāru, and as Sāyaṇa of the fourteenth century A.D. explains it 'There exists on the sea-shore, in a far off place the image of a deity of the name Purusottama which is made of wood, floating as it were in the sea. O ye, by worshipping that wood indestructible, attain the supreme place of the Vaisnavite.' It is not unlikely that the Dārubrahma of Puri was so popular at his time that Sāyaṇa explained the in such a way. According to Sāyaṇa, in three hymns of the Ṛgveda, Daru may be accepted as the symbol of Brahman in its immutable aspect. (*Vṛkṣa iva in divi tiṣṭhatyeka*). Sāyaṇa suggests also that Brahman may be symbolized as a tree and the 'praṇava' as the symbol of Brahman. The worship of Dāru Brahman and Pranava might have been transformed into that of Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana which is still currrent in our day.

The Gitā also refers to the worship of Dārū (XV, 1). The Puruśā is described in the *Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad* (III), 19), as one who possesses neither hands nor legs, who has no eyes, but sees everything, no ears but hears all and who though unknowable, knows everything. (*Apādipādo Yavano grahītā, paśyatyachakṣu sa srootyakarnah*). Thus the Dāru-cult was gradually moulded into Puruṣa-cult, and this Upaniṣad describes the Puruṣa in such a way that it serves as the basis of the peculiar form of Jagannātha and his associates.

The Rāmāyana (Uttara, 108.28) refers to the worship of Jagannatha as the family duty of the Iksakus (*āradhaya Jagannātham kṣāku-kula-daivatam*). Indradyumna is believed traditionally to have worshipped Puruśot tama and is also heard of in the Mahābhārata (III, 198, 1). The Mahābhārata (III, 144, 22f) mentions the Vedī, which some scholars equate with Antarvedī, where the Lord Jagannātha is placed. The same Vedī is also

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referred to in the *Skadda Purāna* and *Taittirīya Samhita* (II, 6, 4, 3). The religion of Jagannātha is however, distinctly referred to as being revealed to Nārada by Jagannātha who is Nārāyana in persona (*iśo doarmo Jagannāthāt sāksāt Nārāyanāt nṛpaḥ*) in the Mahābhārata (Santi, 346, 10 & 11), though, of course, we are not definite how far this Jagannātha may be connected with the cult of Jagannātha we are concerned with.

The *Matsya* (XIII, 35 and XXII, 38) mentions 'Purusottama Ksetrā' in two places, but only with the deity Vimata, and it is strange that neither Jagannatha nor the king Indradyumna is heard of here. However, the deity Jagannātha and also the Ksetra are referred to in the Visnu (1, XV, 52), *Padma* (158-1-6), *Narada* (52, 41-93) *Brahma* (Ch 48) and and *Skanda Puranas* (Ch. XX, 35-36). The *Agni-Puranā* (Ch. 63) mentions the figures of Visṇu, Balabhadra, and Bhadra (Subhadra) along with those of Sudarṣana (Khakra) Pānchajanya (Conch) Ṣrù Pusti and others. The *Nitā drimahodaya* speaks of seven images of Puruṣottama Jagannātha, evidently indicating the images of the Puri temple. The *Padma Pnrana* (Patala-Khanda, Ch. 18) refers to the Lord Purusottma at the Nilgiri. The *Brahma Purana* (ch. 45, 71-76) gives for the first time the names of deities Samkarśana, Subhadra and Jagannātha and states how they were enshrined by the King Indradyumna. The same story of Indradyumna, in connection with the cult of Jagannātha, is also described in the *Nārada Purana* and in the Utkal Khaṇda of the *Skanda Purana* (Ch. s. 6, 7, 9 & 15). It is interesting to note that the *Padma Purana* paints Purusottam as the god of the Bhils. The *Skand Purana* presents him as the deity of the Śabaras under the leadership of Visvavasu; and it introduces us to the four images (Chaturdhā murti) in the Puri temple and also to the separate mantra for the worship of each deity.

Let us now enquire into the epigraphic evidences bearing on Vaiṣṇavism and the origin of the cult of Jagannātha. Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa was first patronized by the Māthara kings bearing the title 'Parama-daivata,' who had ruled in Kalinga centring round the Mahendra mountain, (Chicacok Plates, I-A, XIII, P 69 and Bobiliplates, E. 1. XXVII, M. 33-36 and inscriptions of Orissa, VI, P 213). The small temple at the top of this mountain has been ascribed to the Gupta period from the archaeological point of view and it might have contained an image of Viṣṇu in the shape of Mādhava or Narāyana, though, of course, there remains only a Linga there at present. The Śabaras dominated Kalinga in or around the Mahendra mountain before the rise of Śailodbhavas. There might have been some primitive god, made of wood, worshipped by the Śabaras of Pulindas even before the Māṭharas. The Śabaras were gradually Aryanized and took into their pantheon some Brahmanical gods and

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goddesses along with the Lord of Jagannātha. The ancient name of Jagannātha, still used in Śabara villages of Orissa is Jaganaels, made of wood. A palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Jārāśabar Vaṁśa Bibarani*, recently secured by Sri S.N. Rajguru, proves that the deity was originally worshipped by the Śabaras on the Mahendra mountains. The Śabaras used to worship and protect their supreme Lord Nilāmdhava, installed in the shape of a divine log (daru-brahma) on the top of the Mahendra mountain. The Māṭharas overpowered the Śabaras and accepted their deity as their own. Next came the Gaṅgas who were Śaivas and worshipped this god as Gokarneśvara (Śiva). The same deity was worshipped as 'Svayambhu' by the Śailodhavas, who were both Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas at the same time, as evidenced by the Banpur Plates of Madhyamarāja (Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I pt. II page 193) and by the Khurda Plates of Madhavarāja (Ibid, pages 167-68), in which the name of Bhagavān Mādhava has been used as a synonym for Viṣṇu. But we have no reliable data regarding the removal of Nārāyana Mādhava of Mahendragiri to Puri. The Bhaumakaras, were, again, Buddhists and to them Jagannātha was another form of Buddha. The C.P. records of Śubhakaradeva I, mention for the first time the names of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra. Probably the Bhaumakaras marked in Puruṣottam the insignia of the Lord Buddha, and adopted some rites and festivals from the Buddhist rituals.

The shape of Stambheśvari, worshipped by Tustikāra of circa the fourth-fifth century A.D., as evidenced by the C.P. grant (*J.A.S.B.*, VII, New series pages 43-47), resembles a wooden pillar corresponding to the Śabara image and it is quite likely that the aboriginal deities were gradually Aryanized and given Sanskrit names. Another local god Maṇināga, referred to in two C.P. records of the sixth-seventh century A.D. (*E.I.* XXVIII, page 331), came to be associated with Puruṣottama in course of time, probably after the fall of the Śailodbhavas and during the regime of the Bhaumakaras.

The Bhaumas (eigth-tenth century A.D.), of Tosali accepted Vaiṣṇavism as their state religion, and were succeeded by the Somavaṁśis of whom Mahaśivagupta Yayati II, a great conqueror of Karṇaṭa, Lāta, Gurjara, Kāñchī, Kalinga and Utkala (Sonepur grant, *JBORS*, II, pages 45-55) amassed huge wealth and spent it for building a temple for the family deity of the Vaiṣṇavas. This fact is confirmed by the *Mādalāpañji* which states that Yayati Keśari of the early part of the tenth century A.D. built the Jagannātha-temple. Rājarāja I, the Eastern Chalukya king of the eleventh century A.D., worshipped Sri Puruṣottama of Śrī Dhama, as stated in the Kālidindi grant (*E.I.*, XXIX, pages 63-64). The Jagannātha, as evidenced by the Yayati Keśari, was completed by Ananta Varman

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Choḍagānga, as evidenced by the inscription (*JASB*, LXV, pt. I, P. 229) which reports for the first time that Puruṣottama was the Lord of Three Worlds, that is, Viśvarūpa of the Gītā. The Maipar C.P. (*E.I.*, XXXV, pages 171-75) of the tenth century A.D. (according to Dr. D.C. Sircar), however, mentions Puruṣottama of the Oḍra country and hence we are definite about the worship of the deity of Jagannātha in much earlier times. Mention may be made of an earlier record of the seventh century A.D., according to Dr. Sircar, the Kailan C.P., of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta, Chief of Samataṭa (S.E. Bengal), which referes to Puruṣottama (Jagannātha) and also of the Neulpur Plate of Subhakāradeva I, of the eighth century A.D., which mentions the names of the grantees Puruṣottama Balabhadra and Haladhara. Thus it is quite clear that the deities of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra were popular at least in the seventh-eighth century A.D. This fact confirmed by Sanskrit plays, like *Anargharāghavm* (ninth or tenth century, according to S.K. De), and *Prabodha Chandrodaya* (eleventh century A.D., which refer to Puruṣottama and his temple.

Jaganṇātha is also mentioned in Tantric works like *Rudrayāmala* and *Brahmayāmala* which may be placed about the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. respectively, and also in *Tantra-yāmala* and *Kālikāpurāna* (*Jagannātham oḍradisam cha prapūjayat*),

It may be pointed out that Rāmānuja and other philosophers preached neo-Vaiṣṇavism (visioadvaita-vada) in South India and it is not unlikely that Choḍaganga was attracted to this new system and he assumed the title 'Parama-Vaiṣṇava' in A.D., 1118. We may infer that he built the Puri temple sometime after A.D. 1112, and during this period Vaiṣṇavism took new shape in Kalinga. Choḍaganga's son was anointed Yuvaraja in Śaka 1064 in the temple of Sarva-lokaikanātha. If Sarvā-lokaikanātha of the Ganga record is accepted as Jagannātha, we may infer that in A.D. 1172 the deities were installed in the temple, started by Yayāti-Keśari in the middle of the tenth century A.D. and completed by Choḍaganga at least before A.D. 1142, when his son was anointed there. Credit goes to Choḍaganga who served two purposes, political and religious, by building the temple of Jagannātha. The people of Kalinga were satisfied when their 'Rāṣṭadevatā' were enshrined, and they were also initiated into the new Vaiṣṇavism of Rāmānuja and others. Henceforth the Puruṣottama-cult gained more importānce, as proved by the record of Bhojavarmadeva of Puṇḍravardhana (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 20), which refers to the glory of Jagannātha by the expression 'vāgbrahmānanda-maho-dadhan.' The Jagannātha-cult was much more intensified by Aniyankabhima III, one of the Imperial Gangas who, being a devout Vaiṣṇava, reorganized the temple of Jagannātha and its administration by

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introducing the paṇḍā system and the system of Chattisāniyoga.

Some scholars think that the cult of Jagannātha was originally Jaina in character. The main figures of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha represent the trinity of the Jaina concepts—samyak-jnana, samyak-charitra and samyak drsti—and the spirit of tolerance, castelessness and Kaivalya concept, associated with the cult of Jagannātha are exclusively Jaina features. But Prof. K.C. Misra is justified in rejecting this theory and establishing his own that the origin of the Jagannātha-cult can not be traced either from Jainism or from Buddhism. (*The Cult of Jagannātha*, p. 88f). Rather the four figures correspond to four pādas of Brahman or to four mātrās of Praṇava of the Upaniṣadas and so they suggest their affinity with the Upaniṣadic religion.

The Jagannātha-cult gained its momentum during the regime of Pratāparudradeva when Śri Chaitanya came to Puri in A.D. 1509. Śrī Chaitanya first initiated Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma into the neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Gauda and then Pratāparudradeva. Next he met Ray Rāmānanda, governor of Rājāmahendrī on the bank of the Godāvarī and their dialogue, as portrayed in *Chaitanya-Charitamrta*, constitutes the essentials of Gaṇḍīrya Vaiṣṇavism, and it teaches us the importance of the Radha-cult enunciated earlier in the works of Jayadeva, Chaṇḍidāsa and Vidyāpati. Pratipārudradeva embraced this new path of 'Prema-dharma' and passed a strict order prescribing the singing of any song other than that of Jayadeva's *Gītagovindam*. Śrī Chaitanya was accepted as an embodiment of Radha and Kṛṣṇa and thus the new doctrine of Achintya-bhedābheda was incorporated in the cult of Puruṣottama. The Gaṇḍīrya Vaiṣṇavas explain the incomplete forms of the deities of the Jagannatha-temple. From the *Bṛhat-Bhāgavatāmṛtā* of Sanatana Goswami we learn that once the chief queens of Kṛṣṇa were listening to His Lila at Bṛndavaṇa, while Subhandrā guarded the gate against the intrusion of any male member. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma came there and wanted to go in, but were prevented by Subhadrā. But meanwhile the narration continued and was heard by Subhadrā, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma who were inspired by the 'mahābhāva,' and eight religious manifestations (sattvika-vikāra) appeared on their persons. Their bodily forms changed and the change reached its climax when they heard the Radhatattva. Nārada happened to be there and saw them in their mystic forms, with wide-open eyes and devoid of hands and feet, with Subhadrā between Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadrā. Nārada fell at their feet and they granted his prayer to appear in this from in Nīlāchala (Puri) before the people of Kalinga.

Of the three deities, Balabhadra and Jagannātha are known to us from earlier days since they formed the first two members of Chatur-byūha,

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but what about Subhadrā? The Māhābharata refers to Ekānamsā, associated with Kṛṣṇa and identified with the daughter of Yaśodā, who saved Kṛṣṇa and Balaramā from Kaṃsa. She was then Yogamāyā, a form of Śaktī or Durgā, and said to be sister of Kṛṣṇa. The central figure of Jagannātha temple is Subhadrā and not Ekānamsā. Mr. J.C. Ghosh tries to show that this trio represents only the superimposition of Vaiṣṇavism over Śaktism may be traced to two subsidiary deities of Vimata and Annapūrnā in the temple of Jagannātha. Ekānamsā is identified with Subhadrā *in the Hayaśirsa Pancharatra* (*c.* A.D. 800) which prescribes that she should be installed in the same way as Lakshmī. Some scholars quote the verse of the *Skanda Purana* '*Tasya śakti-svarūpayam bhagini strī pravartika*,' and consider Subhadrā as the wife and sister of Kṛṣṇa. But Prof. Misra is justfied in reading this verse as 'bhaginī sva-pravartikā' and regarding Subhadrā as the 'ādyā sakti' of Kṛṣṇa and not as his sister and wife. From the philosophical point of view Balabhadra stands for the Transcendent (Chit), Subhadra for the phenomenal Immanent Whole (Sat) and Jagannātha for the Absolute (Purusottama)—the Ultimate Bliss (Anand). Besides these, there is Sudarśana, a formless form, worshipped as a symbol. The Māhābhārata and the Purāṇas depict Kṛṣṇa as the Chakradhārī. Sudarśana is the symbol of the mystery of the cycle of change and reminds us how the eternal changes and how this phenomenal world proceeds from the changeless, the eternal. Philosophically the cult of Jagannātha may be interpreted in the light of the Gītā which makes a distinction between 'Kṣara' and 'Aksara,' and presents Kṛṣṇa as Acnintya-Puruṣottama ('*Yasmāt Kṣaram-atīto ham-aksarādapi chottamah/ato'smi loke vede cha prathitaḥ//*')—who is beyond both and comprehends both of them in a new form. Jagannātha is other than Pure Puruṣa (Balabhadra) and Parā Prakṛtī (Subhadrā), but not opposed to them, rather beyond both, i.e., Incomprehensible Absolute. Varāhamihira prescribes that Ekānamśā must be worshipped along with Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra, and be installed in between them. Thus this Ekānamśā came to be known later as Subhadrā and worshipped as Śaktī, Kātyāyanī and Bhubanesvari—the names of Durga.

Now it is clear that the Jagannātha cult attained universality because different religious preachers prescribed different modes of worship in different periods, and the present cult has been moulded out of a synthesis and integration of various modes of worship, Puranic with dhyānas and mantras, meant for Puranic dities and also vedic modes of Praṇava worship and the Tantric modes of Yantra and Vījamantra worship. Jagannātha was originally a Śabara deity and the Śabaras still play an important role in the fortnight immediately after the

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bathing festival when the Daitāpatis of Śabara origin take up the charge of worship, without rest or relaxation (anavasara). The Śabaras' influence at the outset of the car-festival is also of immense value. The dhyana of Jagannātha is performed according to Prapañcha-sāra-tanta. Pranava-nyāsa and mantra are variously used in the worship of three deities. The Tantric pañcha-makāra mode of worship is partly followed in the rituals of the Jagannātha temple, of course, in their pure sublimated forms of worshipping Jagannātha with the help of their substitutes. The Jagannātha-cult is thus an assimilation of various religious practices and we may trace the impact of various systems--bheda, abheda bhedābheda and Achintya-bhedābheda in its daily rituals. Hence Jagannātha is conceived as a deity of a All-Comprehensive nature in which all the sectarian religions of India, including even the non-Aryan cult, are merged, leading to the cosmopolitinism in the life and thoughts of the Indians as a whole: Sāyana's explanation of the *ṛc*, given before, shows how during his period the Hindus believed that a visit to Jagannātha led one to the final emancipation. The mahā prasāda i.e., the food offered to the deities of Jagannātha temple, is regarded by the believing Hindus as the silken-tie of brotherly love, because this prasada is meant for all, irrespective of caste and creed. All seasonal foods offered to the deity are made available to the people in general.

Even in political life the importance of this cult can not be gainsaid. The Rājās of Orissa regarded themselves as the representatives of the Supreme Lord Jagannātha, who was the real sovereign of the land. They depended on him for their political success. For instance, when Anañgabhīma III apprehended danger from the Muslims, who had already conquered Bengal, he announced that the kingdoms of Kalinga and Utkala were given over to Puruṣottama, and that he was there as the representative of of Jagannātha. This led to the growth of a sense of oneness, or common interest, among the Hindu kings, like the Chedis and Chālukyas, to stand against the Muslims. The Jagannātha-cult thus acted as a force for the political integration of the country.

Religious disputes are still settled by the Pandits on the Muktimaṇḍapa; and thus the Jagannatha cult exercises an immense influence on the religious and spiritual life of India. The Yātrās held in honour of Jagannātha have great influence on the social and cultural life of people. All social functions like marriage, upanayana, etc., are suspended during the period of śayana-yātrā, and they are resumed during the Utthāna ceremony of the Lord. Trees are planted all over India during the car festival. Even oaths are taken before Jagannātha for contracting any matrimonial alliance.

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The Pandās, or priests, of Jagannātha temple move throughout India to collect pilgrims for escorting them to visit the temple. This system has brought Orissa and her language and culture nearer to the rest of the people of India. Besides, the Jagannātha cult has inspired many poets and philosophes to write in Sanskrit and the modern Indian languages, for examples, Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, *Jagannātha Ballabha* and *Prabodhchandpodaya* in Sanskrit already mentioned before, and *Abhinava-Gitagovinda* in Sanskrit, the Oriya *Mahabharatha* of Sarala Dasa, and numerous works in modern Indian languages, specially in Oriya by the Pañchasakha philosophers who were five associates of Śrī Chaitanya. It may be noted that these philosophers preached the new path of devotion based upon knowledge and yoga in preference to the doctrine of emotional love and faith, as enunciated by the Gahdīyaiṣ Vaṇavas. The work known as *Jagannāthaṣṭaka* in Sanskrit is ascribed to Śankarāchārya and also, according to others, to Śrī Chaitanya. Briefly, this cult encouraged many literary and philosophical writings in subsequent centuries.

Another impact of this cult is its elaborate system of Yoga based on Haṭha-Yoga. Dīvākaradāsa conceives of the temple as a thousand-petalled lotus; and some philosophers find in the image of Jagannātha the union of Rādhā and Kṛsṇa. The Guruvāda is a corollory of the Yoga-system of this cult, and Jagannātha is accepted as the Guru of the universe.

From the list of mathas at Puri, available from the temple office and from elsewhere, it is evident that Puri is conspicuous for four types of mathas — the āśrama, the Rājañgita, the individual and sectarian and the caste-group types. Mathas were established here by eminent saints, or sects of India, religious or philosophical like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Gahḍiyās and others. Of all, the contributions of Śaṅkara and Śrī Chaitaya brought substantial innovations in the cult of Jagannātha. Each matha is allowed to serve the Lord independently. The Śankarāchārya of the Gobardhana maṭha of Puri still presides over the functṭon of decidíng all religious disputes. The priests of Jagannātha temple are still trained in the art of ritualistic worship in this matha. The prevalent spirit of the culture of Jagannātha was given greater strength by Śrī Chaitanya's ideal, expressed *Chanḍālo'pi dvija-śreṣṭho Haribhakti-parāyanaḥ*, which did away with all differences like caste barriers and the ideas of untouchability. Even Yavan Haridāsa was attracted to this cult and lived in Puri, a disciple of Śrī Chaitanya, muttering the name of Hari three lac times a day. Thus practically, the Jagannātha culture which assimilated various distinctions in caste and creed, sects and subsects, customs and traditions into one organic whole, represents the true spirit of our Indian culture. The Lord Jagannātha teaches us the golden lesson of unity amidst diversity.

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Whither are we Drifting? Our future Prospect

Dr. B. B. Lal
Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla

Beginning from the Stone Age, man has been constantly striving to improve his lot. His first concern was naturally food, followed by housing and clothing. But once be began to emerge out of these basic needs, his attention was drawn towards art and culture and all that constitutes a full life. But the story had another aspect as well. The agricultural explosion (viewed in the context of the population then) brought about a surplus which, in the course of time, resulted in an economic imbalance between the haves and the have-nots. Political systems often heightened this imbalance: the sky-scraping Pyramids of Egypt, meant for the dead Pharaohs, with adjacent slums for the living workers who gave the architecture shape, are a case in point. Specialization in the crafts also led, in some parts of the world, to a system where craftsmanship became hereditary, which in turn led to fossilization into castes. When mobility from one caste to another became difficult, in fact, forbidden through vested interests, social inequalities were born. In a long-range perspective our ills are largely due to economic and social inequalities, whether we look at the problem from the point of view of a given nation or of the world. The bigger fish—whether economically, politically or socially—has always been trying to eat the smaller one. The principle of 'live and let live,' so often preached, has seldom been lived up to. The priggish attitudinizing of the big, nations and individuals, is like the tusks of an elephant, for show, while the teeth meant for eating are always hidden.

But have we ever cared to look deep into the problem? Why are individuals so ambitious? Or, why are nations so aggressive? If we can successfully analyze and understand the motivational cause(s) of the former, we may perhaps, also get to the root of the latter. Individuals after all, constitute a nation, and it is their collective thinking that ultimately formulates the policy of the nation.

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If we observe and examine the behaviour of individuals, we find that, with rare exceptions, they are all propelled by a desire to have more and more, whether the object is wealth, power, fame or some similar thing. More often than not satiation never reached. Goaded by these desires, men can stoop to anything, whether it finally means to the murder of a brother for land in the countryside or the thorough undermining of an opponent on the political front. Political murders are also not unknown. Even the most recent history of the world shows that one desire or another, whether it is economic exploitation or the establishment of supremacy for the sake of supermacy has led nations to war and to the consequent large-scale destruction. And unfortunately, the means of destruction have now become so powerful—so fearfully imminent—that unless there are some checks and balances the human family faces a bleak future.

If some economically well-off nations are disinclined to aid the underdeveloped nations, one can only pity their lack of foresight. It is no mere philosophy but a hard fact of history that the wheel of destiny turns round and round. No nation has remained great for all times. If the past is any guide, Egypt, Greece and Rome should be good examples; and if the past is to be wantonly ignored, should we also not recall the catch phrase that 'the sun never sets on the British empire?' But hasn't it set? Or, hasn't the nation that emerged as the 'big brother' after the Second World War been shaken since?

Be that as it may, I have great faith in human wisdom. In fact, it is in-built in our very nature to learn from past experiences, avoiding the mistakes, to create a better and worthwhile future. Thus, there is nothing to despair. The glorious dawn of the twenty-first century is awaiting humanity when, it is hoped, science and technology will cease to become a Bhasmasura[1] and be harnessed to achieve the goal which, I repeat, has to be social and economic justice.

To come back to the behaviour of the individual. A while ago I stated that excessive desire for wealth, power and fame, can goad individuals to commit abominable acts which trigger off imbalances, confusion and chaos in society. If we have correctly identified the root cause, as we seem to have done, then the obvious question is: How can we eliminate or minimize the race for wealth, power, fame, etc.? And this leads us on to a subtler question: Why do such desires arise at all in human minds? and, are they controllable?

The foregoing questions take us to another realm which is often dubbed unrealistic but, to my mind, that alone seems to provide a solution. We have seen that (i) our troubles are due to social and economic imbalances,

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that (ii) these imbalances are created largely by the burning desires of individuals (and likewise of nations) to have more and more of wealth, power and fame, and that (iii) these desires arise in human minds. It may, then, very summarily be said that it is the human mind that requires to be doctored. It is not rewarding, as the horticulturist would point out, to water the leaves, branches or even the trunk of a tree. What is needed is the watering of the roots. Thus, if the minds of individuals can be trained to eschew—if not altogether, at least to a great extent—the desire for wealth, power, fame the resultant ills may not arise.

In sum, the question then is: Can the minds of individuals be so trained? It has not to be one *sthitaprajña* (a person with a balanced mind) of the Gītā but a society of *sthitaprajñas*. We have tried mass innoculation against small-pox and we seem to have succeeded in doing away with the disease. We are now trying hard to fight cancer. While it may be easy to fight the cancer occurring in a part of the body, would it be possible to do so in the case of the mind? And by 'mind' I do not mean the grey matter, but the thoughts—the abstract mind. The problem, therefore, is not a physical one but a metaphysical one. It relates to the quality of the mind. Can this be tackled at all? My answer is 'Hopefully, yes.' If it is possible to produce one *sthitaprajña*, it should not be impossible to produce many more. And many means a society, or, while many may not mean the whole of society, at least the many will be able to guide the course of action of society as a whole.

Now comes the most crucial question: How can a large section of society be turned into *sthitaprajñas?* That is to say, how can the people be taught to acquire perfectly balanced minds ? Just as there are therapies for the body experts in mental sciences all over the world have from time to time evolved techniques for mind-therapy as well. Many of these techniques are known and practised even today, and many more are being retrieved from being lost. I do not advocate any paticular technique, lest I should sound partisan. But let me make one thing absolutely clear that these techniques have nothing to do with any religion: they stand on their own, independent of any religion whatsoever. Thus, those of us who are allergic to the word 'religion' need not have any apprehension that they are being inducted into some religion. Far from it. The elementary techniques are as simple as forming the habit of observing one's own breath during inhalation and exhalation, or observing the sequence of one's own thoughts as they arise. And in neither of these cases does the question religion arise. There are other techniques as well.[2] Those who have practised such techniques assure us that it *is* possible to obtain mental equilibrium. To begin with,

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the duration may be short, but as one keeps on practising the technique, the duration becomes longer and longer until, in the long run, perfection or near-perfection may be achieved. An old Indian saying, '*Rasarī āvata ghāta para sila para hota nisāna*...,' reminds us that by its repeated action even a coir-rope makes deep dents on the stone-slab of a well.

In this context I would like to stress one more point. It is well known that fired clay cannot be re-moulded; and thus it may not be easy to re-orient the thinking of hardened sinners whether social, economic or political, though, of course, the possibility of a change cannot altogether be ruled out. But wet clay easily lends itself to be moulded in any desired shape. Thus, the citizens of tomorrow have to be given courses designed for mind-training today. The age-level of six to sixteen even up to twenty years would perhaps be the appropriate choice. While the responsibility for organizing this training lies with our educationists (with, of course, the assistance of experts in the subjects), the task of bringing it home to our politicians and administrators that such a course must be introduced on a large scale into the educational system lies with the intellectuals.

It is not unlikely—or perhaps, it is most likely—that what has been suggested may be regarded as purely fanciful by some, unrealistic by others, and fraught with practical difficulties even by those who may perhaps agree to the idea in principle. To all such kind critics my simple answer is that what was regarded as impossible yesterday has become possible today; there are hundreds of such examples and one need not recount them. Thus, what is apprehended to be impossible or improbable today may very well become possible and a fact of life tomorrow. Why should we lay down our arms even before the battle is launched?

In summing up, I will briefly go over the text again.

Humanity today cannot call itself happy; yet, all of us want to be so. The reasons for our unhappiness lie essentially in economic and social imbalances, whether amongst individuals or nations. These imbalances are the result of greed for wealth, power, and fame, both at the individual and the national level. The greed lies in our minds and thus if we can remedy this mental 'disease,' it should be possible to create a balance in one's own society as well as at the global level. In the ultimate analysis, therefore, it is the training of the minds of individuals, and consequently of the nations that should receive foremost attention. There are known ways of doing it : only we will have to give this task a priority as high as that given today to science and technology. There is absolutely no conflict between the two. A man is not just muscle and bone. He has a mind too. While science and technology fulfil the needs of the body, the techniques relating to the mind have created, and can create

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balanced minds. If this is ignored and the rat race for wealth, power and fame allowed to continue, one can clearly see on the horizon the demon of disaster waiting to devour us. The choice is ours !

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1. A demon in Hindu mythology, who had acquired the power to destroy anybody he liked.
2. It may perhaps be worthwhile to clarify that the reference here is not to Yogic *āsanas*, which are essentially meant for physical well-being.

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Metaphysics and Poetry

Dr. S. K. Verma
Department of Philosophy, Magadh University

Credit goes to the Logical Positivists for settling the issue that metaphysics cannot be accepted as a scientific enterprise. But it would be too much to conclude with them that it deals only with pseudo-problems. Man's problems are not confined to science alone. There are some human problems which are larger than the scientific ones. Hence their confession that metaphysics possesses emotional significance.[1] In this sense metaphysics appears to be neither scientific nor unscientific but non-scientific. If we accept metaphysics as non-scientific we have to accept that it does not describe any actual state-of-affairs. As it does not describe any actual state-of-affairs so the question of truth and falsity does not arise. Further, any non-scientific statement lacks sufficient reasoning. In this sense any non-assertive sentence, expressive of feeling, attitude, emotion of an individual, is non-scientific. For example, if someone says, 'I like a cactus,' obviously, his is not a matter-of-fact statement like 'The rose is red'. Again, no amount of argument would be sufficient to justify his stand completely. Similarly, it is generally held that a poet does not intend to describe actual incidents or to offer scientific proofs. The poet as an artist creates his own imaginary world with the help of his vision and imagination.

A poem should be equal to :
Not true.
.....
A poem should not mean :
But be [2]

Hence, if metaphysics is a non-scientific branch of study, can it be identified with poetry ?

Is Metaphysics a piece of Poetry ?

Both metaphysics and poetry possess emotional significance. In both the cases, the psychological factors loom large for their creative expres-

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sion. Like a metaphysical construction a poem does not convey a cognitive or factual statement. For a poet, the twinkling stars of the sky is much more than the gaseous objects of a certain mass, position and energy. They represent, for him, the light in darkness, the evidence of order, splendour, harmony which can only be intuitively comprehended. The resemblance has led many philosophers to conclude that metaphysics is a kind of poetry. But resemblance never means identity. Therefore, frustrated by the inner discrepancies of the two, they have come to maintain that the metaphysician is a 'misplaced poet,' who consciously or unconsciously does not like to label his work as poetry.[3] The English mathematician and scientist Karl Pearson states :

> The metaphysician is a poet, often a very great one, but unfortunately he is not known to be a poet, because he strives to clothe his poetry in the language of reason.....[4]

True, metaphysics is akin to poetry but it is not identical with poetry. I shall try to make this point clear in the following discussions.

Emotion as the Key-note of Poetry

Since the inception of poetry, the predominance of the emotional element has been regarded as its essential characteristic. Indeed, it is the hallmark which distinguishes poetry from other discourses. For Aristotle, poetry has its roots in the natural pleasure of learning by means of imitation.[5] Much later in the seventeenth century Dryden wrote :

> Delight is the chief, if not the only end of poesy; instruction can be admitted but in the second place; for poesy only instructs as it delights[6]

The often quoted following definition of poetry by Wordsworth sufficiently vindicates our assertion :

> Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings ; it takes its origin from emotion...[7]

Inspite of other points of disagreement with Wordsworthian romanticism, in recent times Thomas Hardy also maintains :

> The poet takes note of nothing that he cannot feel emotionally.[8]

Thus, emotion is the key-characteristic to a poetic enterprise. But how is a poetic emotion expressed ? A poet 'invents persons and characters and

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brings them together in a dramatic situation; around them he evokes, assembles and controls emotional attitudes of various kinds; and so he leads us, through anticipation, discord and suspense, to the final reconciliation in a harmonious balance of feelings."[9] In the performance of this task the imaginative faculty of a poet gets a sufficient load. For example, *Hamlet* is an imaginative product of Shakespeare's mind in which his emotional complexes have been expressed.

Difference between Metaphysics and Poetry

Can we regard emotion as the key-note of metaphysics also? Is metaphysics too the overflow of emotions? Is its construction merely designed by the imaginative faculty of the metaphysician? Obviously we cannot identify the works of Bradley with that of Shakespeare, because the former justifies his vision with the help of reasoning, arguments and logic which the latter lacks. Although the reasoning and arguments remain subordinate to the vision, yet they are indispensable. Mere imagination and fancy cannot stir an individual to the very depth of his personality which a metaphysician aims to furnish. In this sense a philosophical work has been regarded as the poem of the intellect or intellectual poetry. Making a distinction between metaphysics and poetry, Collingwood writes about the former :

> What is expressed in it is not emotions, desires, feelings as such but those which a thinking mind experiences in its search for knowledge, and it expresses these only because the experience of them is an integral part of the search and the search is thought itself.

But the poetic flow of imagery should not be confused with the dreamers or the madman's free flow of imagery. Whereas the poet is conscious of his imagery and is not deceived by it, the madman or the dreamer is unable to distinguish the fact from fancy. A metaphysician, guided by his emotional urge for a world-view, takes note of the facts of science, logic and commonsense and applies his reasoning to justify that the world-view is not like a poet's imagery or fancy.

The next point of distlnction between metaphysics and poetry is that the latter is personal. A piece of poetry does not require any intellectual justification. A poem, as a work of art, has no ulterior purpose. Art for art's sake. Or, "All art is useless." Or, as Whistler said in his 'Ten O'clock Lecture' Art is :

> Selfishly occupied with her own perfection only—*having no desire to*

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teach—seeking and finding the beautiful in all conditions and in all times.[12]

But what is true of poetry cannot be said to be true of metaphysics too. Since the time of Aristotle upto the present age when a metaphysician has advanced a world-view, he has also a desire and conviction that others too should participate with him in his vision. He advances arguments to contradict other's vision and to establish his own. For example, Descartes brushed aside all his previous philosophies calling them full of uncertainty, and advocated his own vision of rationalism taking recourse to the logic of universality and necessity. In the same way, for making vocal his claims of Empiricism Locke styled himself as 'an under-labourer engaged in clearing the rubbish on the road to knowledge.' An Idealist, a materialist, or a neutralist does not simply state his world-view he also attempts to show the adequacy of his favoured vision. Contrary to the metaphysicians, the lyrical poets do not try to refute in their poems the statement made in a poem by some other lyrical poet. A poet, as an artist, has no desire to teach, his composition is for himself.

Thirdly, unlike a poet, a metaphysician picks up his root-metaphor from his favoured field of enquiry and extends it to the universe. In a metaphysical scheme, the root-metaphor must be shown to be 'applicable' and 'adequate' with regard to our total experience. The 'forms' of Plato, the 'home' of Aristotle, the 'clearness' and distinctness of Descartes, the 'a-prori' concept of Kant do not remain confined to the regional field of inquiry rather they serve the purpose of a philosopher to explain to the whole universe. But can he say anything about the universe, from the Chidiock Tichhourne's use of metaphor in the following?

My prime of years is but frost of cares
My feast of joy is but a dish of pain.[13]

Obviously, a poet does not desire to extend the use of his metaphor beyond the things described. The basis of his figurative comparison is not abstract logic but only imagination.[14]

Why, then is metaphysics confused with poetry? It may be owing to the fact that there are metaphysical expressions in poetry. Nietzsche spoke somewhere of a 'being' imagining he was 'the animalization of God.' This phrase has been claimed to be a poetic expression.[15] In the East, most of the hymns of the Vedas are both philosophical and poetical. 'Among the early, Arabs, poetry was the magical utterance.'[16] Here the term 'magic' stands for the means by which man comes into communication with his

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creator and with the essence of all created things, and by means of which he may find himself in unison with the whole of the created world.[17] Of course, this sort of poetry indicates a kind of world-view, a type of metaphysics. But it does not mean that metaphysics is poetry. For, a poet is also a man, and as such he has some sort of attitude towards the world which he may express in his poetry. Even a scientist, a physician, a lawyer as a man cannot refrain himself from having a world-view. But are they really metaphysicians? Metaphysics is something more than a world-view. It also speaks of the grounds which support the vision of a metaphysician. Hence, we may conclude that metaphysics is not poetry.

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16. Ibid. p. 423.
17. Ibid. 423.

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PART FIVE

Politics & International Relations

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Early Congress and Growth of Public Opinion

Dr. Somnath Roy
Department of History, Magadh University

The Indian National Congress, in its first session held at Bombay in December 1885 passed several resolutions advocating various administrative and constitutional reforms — the most important being Resolution III, on the reform and expansion of the Imperial and Local Legislative Councils. The consensus of the Congress was that the 25 years old Indian Councils' Act of 1861 was to be amended. The Act of 1861 provided for the nomination of non-officials, including Indians, to the Imperial Legislative Council and the three local legislatures of Bombay, Bengal and Madras. The nominated members had to work under certain limitations. The Imperial Legislative Council could not consider any matter other than that brought before it. The Budget could not be discussed and no interpellation was allowed. Charles Wood had categorically stated that the Imperial Legislature under the Act of 1861 must not become an Anglo-Indian House of Commons.[1] What was true of the Imperial Legislature was also true of the other three local Legislative Councils. The first Congress, therefore, felt the necessity of reconstituting the legislative bodies by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members, and held that all budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration. Their members were to be empowered to interpellate the Executive with regard to all branches of administration. The resolution made no mention of the exact proportion of the elected members, but in moving the resolution, K.T. Telang observed that in order to give the principle of election a fair scope, at least one-half of each Council should be elected.[2] Nominated non-official members in the opinion of the Congress served no effective purpose. Owing to the limited powers enjoyed by the nominated members the public mind was not well disposed toward them. Even Bankim Chandra Chatterjee made them an object of ridicule in some of his skits. Muchiram Goor, a man of no education, amassed a huge fortune by unfair means and began to move in the high society of Calcutta.

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He became a member of the British Indian Association and paid regular visits to Belvedere, the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. And after a time the Lieutenant-Governor appointed him an additional member of the Bengal Legislative Council.[3] Here Bankim Chandra does not spare even the British Indian Association and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It may be pointed out that both K.T. Telang, the proposer, and S. Subramania Iyer, the seconder, of Resolution III in the Congress of 1885, were members of the Bombay and Madras Legislative Councils, respectively. They were not unaware of the limitations of the non-official members. As Iyer observed these non-official members were not allowed to feel any responsibility — even if some of them tried to assume it, no opportunity was given them to render themselves useful. In his opinion the functions of these Councils were limited to registering the decrees of the executive government and stamp them with legislative sanction.[4]

Although the Resolution was silent about the electoral body, Telang gave some idea of it. The municipal corporations of Presidency towns, the Chambers of Commerce, and the universities in his opinion might be asked to return one or more members. For the proper representation of the districts, well-established political associations of those places and various local boards might be utilized.[5] None of the delegates who spoke on the resolution suggested the introduction of the principle of direct election to Legislative Councils.

From then, the Indian National Congress passed resolutions every year on the reconstitution of legislative bodies in India. When the British Parliament passed the Indian Councils' Act in 1892, some of the demands of the Congress in this respect were fulfilled. It must not be assumed, however, that a Congress resolution passed seven times in seven years could move the British Parliament so easily. The British Parliament usually moved at a snail's pace in matters relating to India. The fact is the Congress leaders, on returning home after attending the Congress sessions, did not sit idle. Throughout the year they organized various public meetings in their home towns and districts, supporting the important resolutions of the Congress. In those days there were no Provincial Congress Committees, but most of the delegates to the Congress were members of various provincial and local organizations, such as, the Indian Association, Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. A number of Congress leaders were, moreover, owners or editors of some of the leading newspapers of the country. These Congressmen through their newspapers and also through various provincial Sabhas and Samitis mobilized public opinion in favour of Congress demands. Speaking in

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the second session of the Congress, held in Calcutta in in 1886, Ghanasham Nilkanth observed that Resolution III of the Congress of 1885, was subsequently placed before, and adopted by all the associations throughout the country when, literally, hundreds of public meetings held in different parts of the country declared it to represent correctly the views of the entire nation.[6] One newspaper also pointed out that 'in a movement of this sort, the middle and upper classes should from the very beginning, move in association with the masses.'[7] The Government of India, and the Secretary of State for India, were bombarded with petitions, memorials and letters from different parts of the country supporting the Congress Resolution. The Government of India as well as the Home Government thus realized that a new India had emerged in 1880's — exactly half a century after the declaration of Lord Bentinck's famous Resolution, of 7 March 1835, on the introduction of English education in the country. The reform of the Legislative Councils could no more be delayed. Macaulay's prediction proved correct.[8]

In the following pages we give a list of public meetings held in the country in this connection which throws an interesting light on the nature and extent of public opinion in India, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As the list indicates, the meetings were held mostly in urban centres, and in the localities not very far away from the railroads. The largest number of petitions and memorials were received from the Bengal Presidency. Although Bihar and Orissa were then parts of the Bengal Presidency, only five memorials were submitted from these two provinces to the Secretary of State for India. Only one petition was submitted from Assam and that too from the Bengali speaking district of Sylhet which now forms a part of Bangladesh. Likewise only one petition was received from Khundwa, in C.P. (Madhya Pradesh). Three gentlemen submitted memorials from the Bombay Presidency, one of them being Gopal Rao Hari Deshmukh, or Lokhitavadi, an eminent political thinker of the last century. As regards the petitions from the Madras Presidency, more than half were received from Madras proper, that is, modern Tamil Nadu. The Andhra region did not lag far behind. It appears from the list that the most politically conscious areas were those where English education had made considerable headway during the previous half a century. Submission of these petitions and memorials was not entirely fruitless. In his letter, dated the 4 April, 1889, the Secretary of State asked the Government of India to inform 'the memorialists that their representations will receive my careful attention.'[9]

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List of Memorials and other representations submitted from the Bengal Presidency :[10]

1. Letter from the Secretary to the Indian Association, Calcutta, dated 25 January, 1889 and enclosure.
2. Letter from the Secretary to the Mymensingh Association, dated 8 April, 1887 and enclosure.
3. Memorial from the inhabitants of Serampore in Bengal.
4. ,, ,, ,, ,, Rungpore.
5. ,, ,, ,, ,, Julpigoree.
6. ,, ,, ,, ,, Mymensingh.
7. ,, ,, ,, ,, Senhati.
8. ,, ,, ,, ,, Hazareebagh.
9. ,, ,, ,, ,, Khoolna.
10. ,, ,, ,, ,, Makhalpur (Hooghly).
11. ,, ,, ,, ,, Kishorigunj (Mymensingh).
12. ,, ,, ,, ,, Nilphamari (Rungpore).
13. ,, ,, ,, ,, of Contai (Midnapur).
14. ,, ,, ,, ,, Noakhally.
15. ,, ,, ,, ,, Ranaghat and the neighbourhood.
16. ,, ,, ,, ,, Chittagong.
17. ,, ,, ,, ,, Basubati (Khoolna).
18. ,, ,, ,, ,, Sampur (Howrah).
19. ,, ,, ,, ,, Karapara (Khoolna).
20. ,, ,, ,, ,, Fureedpore.
21. ,, ,, ,, ,, Narail.
22. ,, ,, ,, ,, Narail Rajbati and its adjacent villages.
23. ,, ,, ,, ,, Sherpur (Mymensingh).
24. ,, ,, ,, ,, Bagirhat and its adjoining villages.
25. ,, ,, ,, ,, Barisaul.
26. ,, ,, ,, ,, Magurah (Jessore).
27. ,, ,, ,, ,, Rampurhat.
28. ,, ,, ,, ,, Maheshwarpasha (Khoolna).
29. ,, ,, ,, ,, Chandrakona.
30. ,, ,, ,, ,, Howrah and the adjacent townships.
31. ,, ,, ,, ,, Midnapur.
32. ,, ,, ,, ,, Aknapur and the adjoinning villages.

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33. ,, ,, ,, ,, Furidpur adopted at a meeting held at Goalundo.
34. ,, ,, ,, ,, Tangail (Mymensingh).
35. ,, ,, ,, ,, Kanpur and the adjoining villages.
36. ,, ,, ,, ,, Muktagacha and its neighbouring villages.
37. ,, ,, ,, ,, Jangipara, Krishnagar and neighbouring villages.
38. ,, ,, ,, ,, Banibon and the adjoinining villages.
39. ,, ,, ,, ,, Joyrampur.
40. ,, ,, ,, ,, Chowki Bhanga in Furidpur.
41. Memorial from the members of the Nagarbari Hitakari Savah.
42 ,, ,, ,, ,, Tangail Association.
43. ,, ,, ,, ,, Murshidabad Association.
44. Resolutions passed at a Public Meeting held at Goalundo.
45. Letter from the Chairman of the Branch Indian Association, Singhur, dated 20 May, 1887 and enclosure.
46. ,, ,, ,, ,, The meeting held at Jayrampur dated 19 May, 1887 and enclosure
47. ,, ,, ,, The meeting held at Ranaghat, dated 24 May, 1887 and enclosure.
48. ,, ,, ,, ,, Russapagla Improvement Association, dated 24 May, 1887 and enclosure.
49. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Arrah, dated 24 may, 1887, and enclosure.
50. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Baraha nagar, dated 26 May, 1887, and enclosure.
51. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Chittagong, dated 20 May, 1887, and enclosure.
52. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Chandrakona, dated 23 May, 1887, and enclosure.

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53. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Berhampur, dated 26 May, 1887, and enclosure.
54. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Bankipur, dated 27 May, 1887, and enclosure.
55. ,, ,, ,, ,, The general meeting held at Patna, dated 19 May, 1887, and enclosure.
56. ,, ,, ,, ,, The general meeting held at Pechkola, dated 26 May, 1887, and enclosure.
57. Memorial from the Members of the Netrakona Association.
58. ,, ,, ,, inhabitants of Tarap Gourangi.
59. ,, ,, ,, ,, Maheshpur.
60. ,, ,, ,, ,, Pingna and its adjacent villages in Mymen Singh.
61. ,, ,, ,, Members of the Orissa Association.
62. Letter from the Chairman of the General Meeting held at Chinsurah dated 29 May, 1887, and enclosure.
63. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Santipur, dated 1 June, 1887, and enclosure.
64. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Maheshpur, dated 12 May, 1887, and enclosure.
65. ,, ,, ,, ,, The public meeting held at Arbalia on the 5th June, 1887, and enclosure.

List of Memorials etc. submitted from the Madras Presidency :[11]

1. Letter from the Chairman of the public meeting of the inhabitants of Vizianagram, dated 15 April, 1887, and enclosure.
2. Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Patriotic Association, Srirangam on the 22 May, 1887.
3. ,, ,, ,, ,, of the Hindu Brethren Association, Wallajahnuggar, North Arcot.
4. Proceedings of the general meeting held at Sholinghur, North Arcot.

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5. ,, ,, ,, ,, Wallajahnuggar, North Arcot.
6. ,, ,, a meeting of the Srirangam Club.
7. Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Triplicane Literary Society, Madras.
8. ,, ,, ,, ,, Gooty People's Association.
9. ,, ,, ,, ,, Kaveripak Akilajana Manoramya Sabha, Kaveripak.
10. ,, ,, ,, of the Surva Jana Suka Pripalana Sabha, Trichinopoly.
11. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Nellikuppam, South Arcot,
12. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Anantapur.
13. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Masulipatam.
14. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Nellore.
15. ,, ,, ,, ,, of the Berhampore Association.
16. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Conjeeveram, Chingleput District.
17. ,, ,, ,, ,, of the Guntur Mahajana Sabha Branch.
18. Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Vijayavada Sabha at Bezwada.
19. Resolutions adopted at a public meeting held in Sankaranainarkoil, Tinnevelly District.
20. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Bapatla (Kistna District)
21. Proceedings of a meeting of Tanjore Rate-payers Associatian.
22. ,, ,, ,, ,, Sudesa Dhurma Ratchani Sabha, Coimbatore.
23. ,, ,, ,, ,, of the Cuddalore Mahajana Sabha.
24. ,, ,. a public meeting held at Vizianagram.
25. ,, ,, ,, ,, held at Pallamcottah (Tinnevelly)
26. Letter from the Honorary Secretary, Yellamanchili Union Society, dated 1 July, 1887, and enclosure.

Memorials received from the Bombay Presidency :[12]

1. Rao Bahadur Gopal Rao Hari Deshmukh.
2. Rao Bahadur Bechardas Ambaidas, C.S,I.
3. Mr Thakorebhai Chunilal Chakavala.

Memorial received from the Central Provinces :[13]

1. Proceedings of public meeting held at Khundwa on the 15 May, 1887.

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Memorial received from Assam :[14]

1. Proceedings of a meeting held at Sylhet on March 30, 1887.

The survey of the activities of the early Congress leaders given above explodes the myth that the political movement launched by them was "confused in its aim."[15] No dispassionate historian can question the honesty of the founding fathers of the Congress. Toynbee made an astute observation said. "The Indian Congress Movement has been the mother of all the independence movements in all the Asian and African countries that, till recently, have been under the rule of West European colonial powers."[16]

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4. R.I.N.C., 1885, p. 23
5. Ibid, pp. 23-24
6. R.I.N.C., 1886, p. 70. Resolutions passed in such meetings were duly published in contemporary newspapers. For instance, a meeting was held on 29 August, 1886 at Uttarpara Public Library presided by Nabakumar Mukhherjee and addressed by Surendra nath Banerjee, in which resolutions were passed demanding that two-thirds of the members of the Bengal Legislative Council should be chosen by local bodies, such as, the municipalities and district boards, the Chambers of Commerce British Indian Association, Calcutta University etc.; that the Council should have the right of interpellation; that the budget should be laid before the Council. Copies of these resolutions were forwarded to the Viceroy. (*Bengalee*, 4 September 1886). Another meeting was held at Allahabad on 1 September, 1886 under the chair manship of Pandit Bishambharnath praying for the constitution of a legislative council for the North Western Provinces (modern Uttar Pradesh) on a representatives basis. (*Bengalee*, 11 September, 1886). A third meeting was held at Krishnagar on 26 September, 1886 which passed similar resolutions, copies of which were forwarded to the Viceroy. Surendranath Banerjea was present at the meeting. (*Bengalee*, 2 October, 1886); quoted in Somnath Roy, *Indian Politics and Constitutional Development : 19th Century*, pp. 190-91.
7. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 6 January, 1887.
8. In a highly significant speech in the House of Commons on 10 July 1833, Macaulay observed, "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European insti-

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tutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the prodets day in English history." A.C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents, I,* (3rd edn,) p. 260. The charge often levelled against Macaulay that the motivation behind the introduction of English education in India was to produce clerks for the British administration, is thus not substantiated by facts. On the contrary, diehard British imperialists felt that Macaulay and Bentinck committed a great blunder in introducing the Western system of education. As the Bombay Governor, Lord Reay, wrote in a secret note to Lord Dufferin, dated September, 1885, that, "University degrees should have been much more difficult of attainment than they are now." The policy of the Government to assist every college that gave higher education was thought to be an unwise policy "as their students might become an artillery for handing guns far more dangerous than the guns we have very wisely removed from the Native Army." *Dufferin Papers*, Reel 528 No. 309. It is interesting to note that Reay wrote this confidential document when the news of the first session of the Indian National Congress to be held in Poona in December, 1885, was already known to the public.

9, Home (*Public Proceedings*), May, 1889, No. 319A
10. Ibid, No. 320A
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid, 321A
13. Ibid, 323A
14. Ibid, 324A
15. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India, II*, p. 6.
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Patna Yuvak Sangh and India's Liberation

Dr. N. M. P. Srivastav
The Searchlight, *Patna*

The Patna Yuvak Sangh, founded by Manindra Narayon Roy[1] in 1927, played an important role in arousing political consciousness in young men. The main objective of the Yuvak Sangh was to preach armed revolt under the guise of social service and Swadesht. It is evident from available material that the Sangh also had the blessings of Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

According to Shatrughan Sharan Singh[2] the Patna Yuvak Sangh was founded to provide a cover to the dangerous underground activities of secret societies. However, the Patna Yuvak Sangh was not connected with any terrorist organization of any province. It was a Behari organization which worked to instil ideas of revolt in the minds of young men. In his reminiscences Manindra says, 'Neither I was a terrorist at any stage of my life nor the *Patna Yuvak Sangh* was any part of a terrorist organisation of any province. The whole thing was a concoction by the Police. At least they made a mistake and that was because I had a few personal friends in Bengal who were connected with the revolutionary movement, a few of whom might have made a feeble attempt to gain recruits at Patna. Some other terrorist groups of Bengal and U.P. also attempted simultaneously to gain recruits in Bihar and their agents naturally cast a covetous eye on the fine band of young men that had clustered around me in the *Yuvak Sangh*. On a comprehensive study of the few successful prosecutions in Bihar on charges of violent political deeds of a secret nature it will be found that those agents achieved much greater success among outsiders than among the regular member of my *Yuvak Sangh*.'[3]

Before the establishment of Patna Yuvak Sangh Manindra was a member of Swami Vivekanand Association, formed by Swami Jnanesh Warananda of Patna Ramkrishna Mission Ashram. Manindra wanted this organization to play an active role in political development. But Swami Abyaktananda, the monk-in-charge, scented danger to the institution if members of the association were diverted to political activities.

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Manindra was so impatient with his political inactivity that he decided to build a separate organization, and found favour with some of the senior members of the Vivekanand Boy's Association. Manindra then put his ideas before Phulan Prasad Varma who agreed to join the proposed organization together with other young men. Consequently, the Patna Yuvak Sangh was founded with Krishna Ballabh Sahay[4] as its first President.

Among the active members of the Sangh were Raja Rajeshwar Prasad, Jagat Nandan Sahay, Brajeshwar Prasad, Shatrughan Sharan Singh, Awadesh Kumar Slngh, Sibeshwar Prasad, Devendra Prasad, Sodan Kumar Roy, Bano Behari Basu, Jnanendra Nath Biswas and Braj Nandan Azad.

The Sangh had a library with a small collection of books on the national struggle. The members of the Sangh were asked to read those books. Encouraged by the Secretary of the Bihar branch of the All Indian Khadi Organisation, Lakshmi Narayan, the members of the Sangh took to spinning and hawking of khaddar in different muhallas of Patna.[5] The Commission, they earned on the sale, was a good source of income to the Sangh and also an additional incentive for the members. Later when Manindra became the Secretary of the Patna Town Congress Committee he included the celebration of national days with procession and public meetings in the itenerary of the Sangh.

The members of the Yuvak Sangh actively participated in boycotting the the Simon Commission which visited Patna on 12 December, 1928. The police atrocities prepared at Lahore and Lucknow and the sudden death of Lala Lajpat Rai on 17 November, 1928 had prepared the youth of Bihar for revolt. The Yuvak Sangh printed thousands of slogans such as, "Avenge Lalaji's death," "Long live revolution," "Down with British Imperialism," "Go back Simon," and "Live dangerously," and covered the walls of Patna with them. The slogan "Live dangerously," coined by Mohammad Alam, had a great impact on the young people. The members of the Sangh made banners with these slogans to be carried in processions.

Manindra says, 'By the evening of December 11, the huge congregations of people I saw whenever I went on my bicycle reminded me of the annual fair at Sonepur. I felt that no special effort was at all necessary on the part of the Town Congress Committee or the Yuvak Sangh to make a success of the next morning's demonstration. Even so much was our excitement that none of our active workers sleep in the night before the arrival of the Commission...Over 30,000 people from all districts of the Province and all walks of life waved black flags and inscribed placards and shouted in unison the slogan of the year—'Go Back Simon'.

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'Sir John Simon and his colleagues got yet another bit of the mind in India in rebellion and discovered to my great satisfaction the awakened sons of Bihar.'[6]

Manindra attended the Calcutta session of the Congress as a representative of *The Searchlight*. He also utilized the occasion to finalize an arrangement with Jnananjan Neogy for purchasing, on behalf of the Town Congress Committee, a magic lantern and a set of slides to illustrate the history of exploitation of India, with a view to preparing the people for revolt against the British Government.

The arrival of the magic lantern coincided with the National week in April and Dr. Rajendra Prasad delivered the inaugural address using the lantern slides.[7]

Manindra used to move from street to street in Patna, exhibiting through the magic lantern pictures of the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, the severed thumbs of the weavers of Dacca muslin and the poverty and exploitation of the Indian people by the English.[8] He made very effective use of this instrument of propaganda in arousing the consciousness of the people and in enlisting their support to the Congress. He says, 'I had planned to visit every mohalla, indeed, every lane at Patna and its suburbs. The leading Congressmen were not prepared to exert themselves to that extent and did not think it proper to instigate my young friends to leave their studies at night in order to address political meetings in different places. By the process of elimination I alone was left and since the programmes would have to be abandoned if I too did not agree, I had to assume the role of a public speaker in spite of the limitations of my speech.

'Inevitably my success upset the Government and they started deputing police short-hand reporters to take verbatim report of my speeches. The staff was later strengthened with the addition of a sub-Deputy Collector.'[9]

In 1929 Ram Briksha Benipuri and Ambika Kant Sinha set up a Patliputra Youth League in Patna City, at the residence of Rai Mahendra Prasad[10] with a special puja of Bharat Mata. On this occasion Kedar Nath Mishra 'Prabhat' and Jagannath Mishra Gaur 'Kamal' recited revolutionary poems. Like the members of the Patna Yuvak Sangh, the Patliputra Youth League also started popularizing khadi by selling it on the streets of Patna city. There was keen competition between those two organizations for the propagation of Swadeshi.

By September 1929 Patna Yuvak Sangh had established its branches throughout the state. A year back, at the time of the annual meeting of the Bihari Students Conference held at Motihari, a Bihar Youth League was found with Jnan Saha as its General Secretary. The Sangh themselves exhorted its members to wear khadi, to dissociate from communal

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organizations, to give up untouchability and to advocate complete independence for India.[11]

Later on, in its programmes the Yuvak Sangh also included military training for the youngmen. *The Searchlight* had reserved a special column to publish the day-to-day activities of the Yuvak Sangh. The Yuvak Sangh of Monghyr, Begusarai and Samastipur and the Tarun Bharat Sangh of Muzaffarpur did commendable work in arousing the political consciousness of young men. Kishori Prasanna Singh who was trained by Hindustani Seva Dal and Ramendra Nath Roy Choudhary who received training from the Bengal Volunteer Corp, began imparting military education to young men in Sitamarhi.[12] Likewise Karyanand Sharma at Monghyr and Bachan Prasad Singh at Bareja (Chapra) started giving military training to the young men.

The publication of a monthly magazine, *Yuvak*, from Patna in January 1929 by Ram Briksha Benipuri, Ganga Sharan Singg, Ambika Kant Sinha and Jagadish Narayan, revolutionized the minds of young men. It published the history of the youth-revolt in different countries, along with the social, economic and political exploitation of the Indians by the English. On the first page of the first issue of the *Yuvak* a poem — *Umang* — by Kedar Nath Mishra 'Prabhat' was published preaching armed revolution.[13]

In an article published in the *Yuvak*, Devbrat Shastri said that the condition of the country could not improve unless the administration was changed through a violent revolution.[14] Preaching fearlessness Ambika Kant Sinha, in his article 'Masti' asked the youngmen to think dangerously. If a youngman thought it necessary to recite *Bande Mataram* in a public meeting, he should shout it at the top of his voice even at the risk of expulsion from college. Undoubtedly, his studies would be discontinued but such achievement would be a real diploma in education.[15] Sheonarain Tandon asked the youngmen to take lessons from Lenin, Mussolini, Sun Yat-sen, Amanulla, Raza Khan and Kemal Pasha in reconstructing the country.[16]

The government took repressive measures to curb the movement. Earlier, in 1928, it arrested Jagat Narain Lal, editor of the *Mahavir* weekly, for writing revolutionary articles. His arrest followed a big strike in Patna as the yougmen considered his arrest unjustified.[17]

In April 1929 the Bengal Government proscribed a book *Kakori Shadayantra* by Manindra Narayon Ray which contained a journalistic account of the Kakori Conspiracy Case with the biographical sketches of the four leaders executed in that case. Manindra wrote, 'Not much notice had been taken of that case in Bihar and even the actual execution of the martyrs had gone almost unnoticed. But the Patna police made

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such a fuss over the seizures of the few copies of the book which had been sent to me by my publisher from Calcutta, and they simultaneously searched so many places in the town with such show of force at every place that the Kakori Case and its martyrs at once became the talk of the town and my humble self, as the author of the book, also began to shine in the reflected glory of martyrdom. The police thus greatly enhanced my notoriety at a time when I, too, had been trying rather desperately to be known by the people and to lead the younger among them to the path of extremist political action.'[18]

The seizing of a book *Bharat Men Angrej Raj*, by Sunder Lal, soon after its publication on 18 March, 1929, also had its impact in Bihar. In an editorial *The Searchlight* wrote, 'It is pin pricks and injustices like these that cost the Government more than anything else but, blinded by power, they have not the imagination to see things in their right perpective. But the more of it, the merrier for the people. We hope Mr. Saigal will proceed with this case and thoroughly expose the gross stupidity of the Government's action.'[19]

In June 1929, the Bihar government proscribed the 'Biplav' of the *Yuvak* issue and its copies were seized by raiding Yuvak Ashram. Its Editor, Ram Briksha Benipuri, was charged with sedition.

The arrest of Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt and the statement made by them had a far reaching impact on the minds of youngmen. For several days their statement was discussed from different angles at Yuvak Ashram.[20] In Patna the photographs of Sardar Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt along with a pamphlet by Jnan Saha, was on sale for one anna.

When the convicts in the Lahore Conspiracy took resort to hunger-strike for amenities prescribed under rules, the Yuvak Sangh planned a a protest meeting in August 1929. On the refusal of the Superintendent of Police to grant licence unconditionally the members of the Yuvak Sangh decided to take out a procession, even without licence, on the hope that the prospect of a lathi-charge by police would serve as an incentive for more people to join the rally. The district authorities approached Dr. Rajendra Prasad for mediation. A licence was granted after the leaders agreed to drop the word 'British' before 'Imperialism,' and the entire placard about avenging the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. Rajendra Prasad himself led the procession on the appointed day.[21]

As a result of the hunger-strike Jatin Das, a fellow-prisoner of Bhagat Singh in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, died on 13 September on the 62nd day of his fast. The Yuvak Sangh planned a second procession and meeting on 24 September to honour the memory of Jatin Das. But a day before the

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procession Manindra was arrested on a charge of sedition. Before he was taken to jail Rajendra Prasad blessed him and asked him not to worry about the success of the next day's procession: After about a week Manindra was released on bail. But a few days later, an Inspector of Police came from Calcutta with a warrant of arrest for another charge of sedition in respect of his proscribed book. In November Manindra was awarded two years' rigorous imprisonment and lodged in Bankipore jail.

When the dead body of Jatin was taken to Howrah, via Gaya junction, about two thousand people gathered there and demonstrated in sympathy. On this occasion demonstrations were held in every town of Bihar.[22]

On the occasion of the Lahore Congress the *Hindu Panch* of Calcutta brought out its 'Validan' issue which was also proscribed by the government. Commenting on this, Sheopujan Sahag said: 'After seizure 'Validan' issue became more popular and widespread.'[23]

The 'Validan' issue of *Hindu Panch* received more popularity in Bihar. It was divided into five parts—the first part dealt with the sacrifices of Prahlad, Shivi, Dadhichi, Ram, Krishna, Jatyu, Bhishma Pitamah, Harishchandra, Karna, Abhimanyu; the second part with Maharana Pratap, Shivaji, Sangram Singh, Lakshmi Bai, Padmini, Durgavati, Panna, Tatiya Tope, Guru Arjundeo, Tej Bhadur, Guru Govind Singh, Nana Saheb, Maharaj Land Kumar; the third part with those of Upendranath Bandopadhyaya, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Jatin Mukherjee, Ullaskar Dutt, Pulindas, Rajindra Lahiri, Roshan Singh, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfakulla, Rash Behari Basu, Shailendra Nath Ghosh, Sachindra Nath Ghosh, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Jatindra Nath Das Swami Shradhanand, Lajpat Rāi; the fourth part was a collection of patriotic poems and the fifth contained the sacrifices of Karl Marx, Sun Yat-sen, Abdul Karim, Jaglu Pasha; and also a history of the freedom struggle in China, Japan, Germany, Ireland, Italy and other countries.[24]

Of the government's repressive measures taken against the *Hinda Punch*, Mahavir wrote,' For the first time such valuable collection of patriotic people was brought out. Let the British government proscribe such books, but it should be remembered that independent India would honour such publications like scripture.'[25] In letters to the editor many people from Bihar expressed their jubilation on the publication of the issue. Among others Baldeo Prasan Vaidya, Madhusudan Ojha, Bhuvneshwar Dutt Sharma, and Raneshwar Prasad Singh.[26]

During the period when the youth organizations in Bihar were busy in preparing the background of revolt against the English, some of the youngmen were already engaged in revolutionary activities. With a view to ousting the English from India, they committed dacoities for the purpose of

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purchasing arms and preparing bombs, which led to the Deoghar, Patna, and Gaya Conspiracy Cases.

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Inviolability of the Mission and the Right to Diplomatic Asylum

Dr. Dayadhar Jha
Gaya College, Gaya

Originally, the concept of the inviolability of a diplomatic mission was a consequence of the personal inviolability of the head of the mission. Under the Act of Anne, 1708, and under the law of the United States of America, which is modelled on that of Great Britain, the inviolability of the mission is a consequence of the privileged situation of the ambassador. The Havana Convention on Diplomatic Officers of 1928, also adopted this theory in Article 14, which deals with inviolability in the following terms:

> Diplomatic Officers shall be inviolate as to their persons, their residence private or official, and their property.[1]

The Vienna Convention, however, broke with this theory, and in a commentary on Article 20, of the International Law Commission, it clearly stated that the 'inviolability of the mission premises is not the consequence of the inviolability of the head of mission, but is an attribute of the sending State by reason of the fact that premises are used as the headquarters of the mission.'

As a result of the policy adopted by the Commission all provisions regarding the mission were included before those relating to the diplomatic agent, emphasizing the growing importance of the mission in comparison with the situation of the diplomatic agent.

The theory of exterritoriality had a marked influence on the inviolability of the mission since by virtue of that concept the premises of the mission were considered as being within the territory of the sending State and sub ject to its laws and tribunals.[2]

This theory, however, is no longer accepted. If we were to admit of such a theory, the results would, in certain cases, be illogical: a crime committed by strangers in an embassy would have to be judged and punished according to the law of the sending state;[3] if a criminal should seek refuge

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in an embassy, he could only be handed over to the local authorities after (all) the conditions provided by the law of extradition of the sending state had been fulfilled;[4] and, in certain cases the diplomatic agent would be able to perform marriage ceremonies between local inhabitants, even if the laws of the receiving State forbade such ceremonies.

The Harvard draft framed Art. 3, in such a way as to avoid the implication of exterritoriality. It also proceeded upon the theory that such general terms, as inviolability, are misleading and that little progress is made by replacing the concept of exterritoriality with that of inviolability. The aforementioned Article provides:

1. A receiving State shall prevent its agents or the agents of any of its political subdivisions from entering the premises occupied or used by a mission, or occupied by a member of a mission, without the consent of the chief of the mission; provided that notification of such occupation or use has previously been given to the receiving State.[5]
2. A receiving State shall protect the premises occupied or used by a mission, or occupied by a member of a mission, against any invasion or other act tending to disturb the peace or dignity of the mission or of the member of a mission; provided that notification of such occupation or use has been previously given to the receiving State.

The corresponding article of the Vienna Convention reverts to the word inviolability but otherwise follows the general idea we find in the Harvard draft. It begins by stating that 'the premises of the mission shall be inviolable,' but, subsequently spells out what such inviolability means.[6]

Inviolability of the mission's premises means that the receiving State must forbid its agents from entering an embassy, and that it has a special duty to protect the premises against any intrusion or damage and to prevent any disturbance of its peace or dignity.

In given circumstances local agents may, however, enter the premises of a diplomatic mission. The Vienna Convention admits such an eventuality if consent of the head of mission has been given. In certain cases the prior consent for entry is implied, as when the premises are on fire,[7] in the case of earthquakes or similar cataclysms or where there is imminent danger that a crime of violence is about to be perpetrated upon the premises. 'In these cases,' writes Do Nascimento Eilva, 'it would be absurd to wait for the consent of the head of mission and the possibility of a refusal would still be more absurd.'[8]

At Vienna some delegations tried to insert these exception into the text, but none were accepted. The amendments were also rejected because

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they would weaken the principle of inviolability of the diplomatic mission, considered by some delegations, in the 1961 conference, as the paramount diplomatic privilege.

The deplorable increase in the number of violations of diplomatic missions in recent years,[9] in which frequently local authorities have not lifted a finger to prevent them (in fact, most of these demonstrations of hooliganism are organized with the connivance, if not direct help, of the local authorities), justifies the absence of a clause in the Vienna Convention which might have been construed as an exception to the absolute nature of the principle of inviolability.

The immunity granted to the diplomatic mission, though very essential for the conduct of diplomacy, has sometimes produced peculiar situations. In days gone by, some of the robust ambassadors had no qualms about punishing their staff on the spot, Thus, in 1603, when the Duc de Sully (who had come to London from France on a special embassy), learned that Combault, a member of his entourage, had been involved in a fight in which an Englishman had been killed, he promptly had the man arrested and tried, appointed himself the judge, the jury and the prosecutor. Concluding that the man was guilty, he decided, in the interest of enforcing good behaviour among his staff, to make an example of him, and awarded him death sentence.

The outside world might not have heard anything of this episode had the noble Duke not discovered, at the last moment, that he had no executioner in his mission. Determined to press on, however, he humbly requested the Lord Mayor of London to lend him the city of London's executioner.

The Lord Mayor was appalled at the request. He felt that even as lofty a personage as the French ambassador should not set up his own court of law on English soil, and after a great deal of persuasion the Duke eventually handed over his prisoner to the custody of James I, who graciously pardoned Combault.[10]

Some ambassadors, however, proved more resourceful. A Spanish ambassador in Venice did not hesitate : he condemned one of his servants to death and had him hanged forthwith from a window of the embassy.[11]

Nowadays, junior diplomats are less at the mercy of juridically-minded ambassadors. They cannot have their heads cut off, or be locked up as prisoners in the embassy. Nor, for that matter, can anyone else who enters the 'exterritorial' premises of an embassy. Still, if the embassy represents an authoritarian regime and he happens to belong to its known enemies, he would be wise to let his friends know of any proposed visit beforehand, and not put his trust altogether in international law and practice, For

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though the law is clear, its enforcement is less so, since embassies and legations enjoy complete immunity and cannot be entered without prior permisson, no matter what the circumstances.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese leader, who had fled to London to escape the attentions of the Imperial Chinese authorities, failed to take that elementary precaution when he visited the Chinese legation in London in 1896. He was promptly arrested and locked up in an attic to await the arrival of a Chinese ship in the port of London to take him back to China. From his window he could see the houses and gardens next door. It was, however, useless shouting for help for his captors would knock him out before he had a chance to attract any one's attention, let alone explain his plight. As luck would have it, he found a piece of paper. He wrote a message for a friend on it and, having wrapped it around a paperweight, threw it far enough so that it landed in a garden just beyond the legation wall.

Fortunately for Sun Yat-sen, no one in the legation had seen this operation, but some one outside had. The message was picked up and delivered to his friend without delay. When his friend applied for a writ of habeas corpus the High Court ruled with regret that, though the Imperial Chinese Minister was acting illegally, he was not subject to its jurisdiction.

The British Government thereupon gave the Minister twenty-four hours to release his prisoner. That did the trick and Sun Yat-sen was released. He latter toppled the Manchus off their throne in 1911, and become the first head of the new Chinese Republic.[12]

What the British Government could have done had the Chinese Minister not given in is not clear. It could have broken off diplomatic relations, but could certainly not have broken into the legation because the immunity of diplomatic missions is sacrosanct. There is no way round it, except a waiver by the ambassador or his government.[13]

The formalities surrounding immunity and waivers can, sometimes, produce strange results. C. Roetter[14] has narrated an incident which is both dramatic and pathetic. In 1929, a Soviet Counsellor, who apprehended liquidation, fled from his embassy in Paris and sought French police protection. The Russian secret service men in the embassy got wind of his defection. They seized his wife and child, and took them to the embassy. The Counsellor appealed for help to the French Foreign office, but no one there could think of anything more helpful than a formal protest to the Soviet government. At this moment a bright young official from the protocol Department arrived on the scene. The rest of the story has been put by Charles Roetter in a very dramatic form:

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'Your ambassador is away on leave at the moment ?' he (the young official from the protocol Department) asked the Russian. The Counsellor nodded agreement, 'And you have not been formally dismissed or recalled by your government?' the French official continued.

The Russian shook his head. 'That is not the way', he explained glumly, 'in which the Soviet work in cases like this when they want to liquidate you. They want no fuss, no publicity.'

'Quite so, the Frenchman nodded briskly.' Then you are still officially counsellor at the Soviet embassy and as such—according to my diplomatic list—the Number Two there. Consequently, in your ambassdor's absence, you are in charge. Would you, therefore, mind signing this paper to authorize our police to enter your embassy and use such force as may be necessary to release your wife and child.'

The Counsellor and his family were reunited within the hour.

Likewise, when a group of anti-communist Rumanians burst into the legation of the Rumanian People's Democracy in Berne in 1955, seized the building and unceremoniously kicked the communist staff out into the street, the Swiss police could not begin operations to eject the intruders and reinstall the rightful owners until they had been given permission to set foot on the diplomatically immune soil of the legation. Indeed, so complete is the protection afforded by diplomatic premises that it is not surprising that many people, who are not diplomats, try to take advantage of it giving rise to the problem of diplomatic asylum.

In Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ambassadors strove successfully to extend the inviolability of the mission beyond its original limits, and began to assert their right to protect not only their suite but any one else who took shelter there. Once this right of asylum was established, certain embassies began to expand their privilege in order to place their immediate neighbourhood under their protection. In Madrid, Rome and Venice the *franchise du quartier*, as this aspect of the right of asylum was known, became firmly established, creating veritable havens for all sorts of criminals and smugglers. It was alleged, not without substance, that some ambassadors let out portions of their missions to criminals on high rent and made a fortune with a share in the spoils. The evil became so extensive (pervasive) that Pope Innocent XI had to aunounce in 1677 that he would not give audience to such ambassadors. Indeed, it goes to the credit of this Pope that he induced the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the kings of Spain, Poland, England and France, and the Republie of Venice to agree to the abolition of the privileges claimed.

A radical reaction against these unjustifiable extensions of the inviola-

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bility of diplomatic missions later took place in Europe, where the right of asylum is today no longer admitted. Nevertheless innumerable examples of diplomatic asylum in Europe can be cited.

In Arabia, until very recently, escaping slaves would flee to British Consuls or Agents, who manumitted them and saw them safe out of the country.

Probably the British embassy in Persia (as it was called) will always hold the record for asylum. In 1906, agitation for a constitution against the then Shah reached boiling point. It did not occur to the Persians to stage a bloody revolution; they wished, however, to register a protest. By Persian custom this could be done by taking refuge in a mosque, a foreign embassy or in the Shah's stables.[15] The British embassy compound in Tehran being quite commodious, at last 12,000 Persians had camped there.[16] They were fed from outside by their relatives, but fortunately they left after three weeks before the problem of sanitation had become insuperable. The remarkable discipline and order, maintained by the asylees, was, however, praised in responsible circles.[17]

Perhaps the most unusual request for asylum ever made in diplomatic history came many years ago from a eunuch of the imperial court of the Shah in Teheran. Writes Charles Roetter.[18]

> One morning he (the eunuch) presented himself to the British Minister there and announced that all was not well between the illustrious occupant of the Peacock Throne and his wives. The Shah apparently had fallen in love again and proposed to take unto himself yet another wife. Not—the eunuch hastened to explain—that his wives objected to periodic additions to their number; they knew their station in life too well for that. What, they did object to in this case was the addition of a girl who was the sister of one of the wives he had already. That was too much. It was against custom and tradition, and they had to seek sanctuary against their imperial master's whims in a foreign legation. Would the British Minister please oblige?
>
> The British Minister in this instance appears to have been a diplomat of exceptionally deep understanding and human warmth. He declared himself honoured at this proof of the ladies 'trust in him and put himself and his legation at their disposal.' It was only towards the end of the interview that his smooth urbanity received a slight jolt when he enquired politely how many ladies he would have the honour of playing host to. After making a brief calculation, the eunuch announced that there would be about three hundred. Still, having given his word, the Minister felt that he could not back out. He ordered tents to be pitched on the vast legation lawn and his servants were sent to purchase all the sheep and

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bread available in the market. Within two hours the legation was ready to receive the ladies.

They, however, did not arrive. At the last moment, as they were about to leave his palace, the Shah had given in. It was a bitter pill for him, but better by far than having the King of Kings, the successor of the mighty Xerxes and Darius, publicly exposed before all his subjects as a man who could not stop even his own womenfolk from walking out on him.

Since that narrow escape from having one of His Majesty's legations transformed into a harem, Britain has tended to be as cautious as the United States in using the extraterritorial status of its overseas establishments. The general ruling is that the immunities, rights and privileges, conferred on diplomats by international law and custom, are for their benefit and no one else.

During the Spanish Civil War, certain diplomatic missions in Madrid granted asylum, in 1936, to a number of Spaniards known to be hostile to the Regime. In the beginning, the Spanish government deemed it best to ignore this action, in order to maintain cordial relations with the foreign diplomatic missions, especially the Latin-American embassies, where most of the asylees were to be found. About 150 Spaniards, some of them armed, had taken shelter in the Chilean embassy alone. The ambassador of Chile was the doyen of the diplomatic corps at the time. In October 1936, in a formal communication to the doyen of the diplomatic corps, the Spanish Foreign Minister declared that the Spanish government had respected the right of asylum 'through a spirit of tolerance and not because it is obligated to do so by any agreements which Spain has not accepted international relations.' The note concluded that the Government 'sees itself obliged to terminate the attitude of extraordinary tolerance adopted by it upto the present with regard to the practice of the right of asylum, reserving to itself the action against the abuses already committed that may be required in each case by the high interests of the Republic.'[19]

Nowadays almost all countries, except the Latin American ones, do not formally recognize this automatic right of asylum. They consider it an interference in other nation's affairs and resent having their embassies and legations turned into places of refuge. They do not want to see a privilege intended to help diplomats discharge their duties properly, treated as a convenience by politicians down on their luck.

Exceptions are made, of course, but only in rare cases where a man is in imminent danger of his life. Cardinal Mindszenty was granted asylum in the U.S. legation in Budapest in 1956 when the Russian army came to suppress the Hungarian uprising and the Imre Nagy government.

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But in Latin American countries it is standard practice for failed politicians[20] (i.e. those ejected by a revolution, or those who have failed in an attempt to eject the group in power) frequently to seek asylum with their wives, children and innumerable followers in a foreign embassy. The business is very simple. The moment the President, or the revolutionary leader, as the case may be, realizes that his side is not going to win, he heads for the nearest embassy—usually one belonging to a Latin American sister republic—and stays holed up there until the last shot has been fired in the fighting outside. It is an accepted convention in Latin-American revolutions that embassies are never touched, no matter how fierce the battle may be. By another Latin American custom, asylum is never refused and a small embassy may find itself encumbered with several hundred unwelcome guests for months. Once the issue is definitely decided, the ambassador who is providing asylum for the leaders of the losing side calls on the victors and asks for safe conduct for his proteges out of the country. This request, again, is never refused for Latin American leader deludes himself even in his hour of triumph, into believing that his revolution is likely to be the last. The ambassador returns to his embassy. Shortly afterwards, he discreetly conducts his 'guests' in person to the nearest airport and a waiting aircraft which whisks them away from the country. Neither along their route nor at the airport is there any sign of the mob that is howling for their blood almost everywhere else. It is, in fact, as smooth a way of retiring a man from active politics as elevation to the Houses of Lords in Great Britain.[21]

The granting of asylum in diplomatic missions is, thus, one of the most controversial diplomatic privileges. Recognized and practised to a great extent in the past, and quite often abused, its existence in international law has been denied by most non-American countries and the United States. Among the Latin American countries, however, the right of asylum is considered as part of their international law and those very few cases in which this has been denied by one of them can be regarded as exceptions that prove the rule. This may be explained by frequent civil wars and periods of unrest, and also by the humanitarian sentiments and the spirit of hospitality which exist in the Latin American countries. It has been pointed out that thanks to the asylum granted to politicians momentarily in disgrace, the lives of many eminent men who later on were able to serve their countries have been spared.

This right has been justified on humanitarian grounds and some writers feel that the right of asylum should be recognized as a human right by international law. To quote Alona E. Evans of the U.S.A. :

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> The viability and universality of the institution of political asylum, whether territorial, diplomatic, or some more exotic variety, cannot be questioned today. A casual survey of grants of political asylum during the past ten years suggests the scope of the practice. Diplomatic asylum has been granted by twenty-one states, six of which were not Latin American states. Some embassies have had from forty-four to seventy-six asylees at a time within their walls.[22]

The necessity of adopting certain positive rules on the right of asylum began to be felt in the middle of the nineteenth century.[23] Three treaties on the subject were signed under the auspices of the Inter-American system, namely, the Havana Convention on Asylum (1928), the Montevideo Convention on Political Asylum (1933) and the Caracas Convention on Diplomatic Asylum (1954).[24]

The Havana Convention respects the asylum of political offenders, but requires the surrender, upon the request of the receiving State, of persons accused of common crimes. Even political offenders may be granted asylum only in conditions of urgency and for a limited period. The asylees must be sent out of the country under conditions conducive to their safety and public order.[25]

The Montevideo Convention of 1933, categorically said that the decision as to the political nature of the offence rested with the State granting asylum.

In the early 1950s, a prolonged controversy erupted with the granting of asylum to Haya de la Torre of Peru by the Columbian embassy in Lima, and the issue was submitted to the International Court of Justice. The juridical committee of the organization of American states prepared a draft convention on *Diplomatic Asylum*, and the draft was revised by the council of jurists. This draft was adopted at Caracas in 1954, which specifically empowered the state granting asylum to decide the urgency of the situation as well as the political nature of offence.

Diplomatic asylum only takes place at moments of political unrest. The granting of such asylum to a person hostile to the regime, is liable to provoke ill-feeling towards the diplomatic mission that grants it. Diplomatic asylum constitutes an exception from the jurisdiction of the local authorities and, is therefore, a form of interference in the domestic affairs of the receiving State. Owing to the high feelings which are often roused, the granting of asylum is frequently damaging to the good relations between the two states involved and may even result in the rupture of diplomatic relations or the head of the mission being declared persona non grata. Conversely, the refusal to grant asylum to a given political offender may

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equally turn out to be unfortunate in the event of the opposition being victorious, as a consequence of the political turmoil.[26] It is these considerations, coupled with the misuse of this privilege in the past, that prompted most of the countries to discontinue granting diplomatic asylum. G.E. do Nascimento e Silva, however, suggests that granting of asylum is a time-honoured tradition. It was formerly recognized and practised to a considerable extent in Europe, and may even be considered a proof of civilization, so much so that it was customary in Greece, but unknown among the barbarians. Owing to its humanitarian basis, it was also adopted by the Church, despite its pagan origin. In the case of the Church, however, we feel that the granting of asylum was a way of counteracting medieval justice. The violation of asylum granted in a church was punished with excommunication.[27]

Keeping in view the controversy likely to arise and ill-feeling to be generated, Silva recommends that ambassadors must exercise their common sense before granting diplomatic asylum. He also tries to lay down certain basic rules[28] governing the granting of diplomatic asylum :

First, only political offenders should be granted diplomatic asylum.

Second, asylum should only be granted in states that admit it as a right. In the case of the Latin American states, most of them are linked by bilateral or multilateral treaties. In the absence of a written commitment, customary international law can be invoked.[29]

Third, asylum cannot be given to persons accused of or condemned for common crimes.

Fourth, asylum must only be granted in urgent cases.[30]

Fifth, the diplomatic mission granting asylum is duty-bound to forbid any political activity on the part of the asylee. If the receiving state grants the asylee necessary safe conduct, the state granting the asylum must send him out of the country.

Sixth, asylum being a temporary measure, its hould be granted for the shortest possible period.

Finally, a diplomat must never on his own initiative offer asylum to a person who, in his opinion is in danger.

The International Court of Justice, in its two judgements in the case of diplomatic asylum granted to Haya de la Torre, could not solve the issue satisfactorily. Most of the Latin American states were critical of the judgements.[31] Finally the issue was decided in March 1954 between Peru and Columbia jointly. Hence, there is no binding case law on the subject.

The issue is one of the topics selected for codification by the Inter-

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national Law Commission ever since its first session in 1949. The issue is of considerable scope and raises a number of political problems. As such there is less chance of an agreed solution.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations does not concern itself with this question.

Considering the widespread misuse of this privilege in the past and the ill-feelings likely to be generated at present it is better to avoid granting diplomatic asylum. India has consistently followed this, though it has, like many other countries of the world granted territorial asylum, the most important being that of the Dalai Lama. If Latin American countries want to continue this practice, let them do so bilaterally or multilaterally among themselves. When human rights are infringed daily in most of the countries, political opposition is crushed and nobody, be it the U.N.O. or the Human Rights Commission, raises a voice of protest. There is no justification for creating ill-will between states on this privilege. Though, most states — the more powerful ones the oftener — try to interfere in other's internal affairs by sabotage, espionage, subversion, etc., it is better to avoid creating ill-will among the community of nations on the assumed privilege of granting diplomatic asylum.

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2. J L. Brierly, *the Law of Nations*, London, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 222.
3. In 1934, the French Court of Cessation held that a crime committed by a French national in the premises of a diplomatic mission in France could not be considered to have been committed outside of French territory. Likewise in the same year a German court, trying the case of murder of the Afghan ambassador in Berlin, did not accept the defence plea that the commission of the crime in a diplomatic mission precluded the jurisdiction of the German courts because the theory of exterritoriality implied that the crime was not committed on the territory of Germany.
4. In 1826, the coachman of the American ambassador in London, Mr. Gallatin, committed a crime outside the embassy and hid himself in the stable of the mission. The British police arrested him from the stable and Lord Dudley, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, justified the action of the police on the gronud that criminals could not take advantage of the privileges granted to the diplomats and extended to the missions for legitimate discharge of their duties.
5. G.E.do Nascimento e. Silva, op. cit., p.96
6. Art. 22 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

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7. Charles Roetter, however, furnishes an instance where prior consent, even in such cases, was considered necessary. In 1956, when the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa caught fire, 'the local fire chief, who had rushed to the scene with over a hundred of his men, had to stand by helplessly while the Russians removed their archives. By the time consent was eventually given, the building was beyond saving.' Charless Roetter, *The Diplomatic Art*, London, Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 1965, p. 146.
8. G.E.do Nascimento e Silva, op. cit., p. 96.
9. To cite a few examples: on th September, 1963, a mob of ten thousand attacked the British Embassy in Jakarta in which 22 persons were injured with stones, bricks and bottles. The mission was set on fire. The British ambassador, Mr. Gilchrist was injured. The army later controlled the situation. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 19-20, September 1963.

   Again, in December 1965, thousands of Indonesians attacked the Indian Embassy and smashed its furniture and set its papers on fire.

   Similarly, on 26, January 1976, the Soviet embassy in Peking was attacked by the Red Guards. The diplomats were assaulted and insulted, attempts were made to set the mission on fire. French and Eastern European missions were also attacked. The Chinese Foreign Ministry justified the attacks in an announcement on 9 February 1967, on the plea that diplomatic immunities were the product of capitalist institutions and that the revolutionaries did not accept bourgeois norms.

   See *Keesings' Archives*, 1967, pp. 21046-47. For similar attacks on Indian and British missions in Peking, Canton and Sanghai, see *Asian Recorder*, 1967, pp. 7808-11, and *Keesings'* July 15-22, 1967, p. 22141.
10. Charles Roetter, op. cit., p. 149 cf G.E.do Nascimento e Silva, op. cit.. p. 96.
11. G.E.do Nascimento e Silva, op. cit., p. 96.
12. Charles Roetter, op. cit., p. 150.
13. Art. 32 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
14. Charles Roether, op. cit., pp. 151-152.
15. The origin of this practice was the desire to grasp the tail of the Shah's horse thus arresting his progress and giving time for the presentation of a petition.
16. Sir Douglas Busk, *The Craft of Diplomacy*, London, Pall Hall Press, 1967, p. 15.
17. *The Times*, London, 10 September, 1906.
18. Charles Roetter, op. cit., pp. 154-55.
19. Quoted in G.E.do Nascimento e Silva, op. cit., p. I01.
20. I am indebted to Sir Douglas Busk, op. cit., p. 14, for this telling phrase.
21. Charles Roetter, op. cit., pp. 153-54. Cf. Sir Douglas Busk, op. cit., p: 14.
22. Alona E. Evans, in *Report of the fifty-third Conference* (Buenos Aires, 1968) *of the International Law Association*, p. 252.
23. In 1889, a Treaty on International Penal Law was signed in Montevideo, title II of which has to do with 'Asylum' (Articles XV-XVIII). In 1939, a Treaty on Political Asylum and Refuge, signed in Montevideo, elaborated on the previous treaty of 1889.
24. For full texts in English of these five treaties see Marjorie Whiteman, *Digest on International Law*, Vol. VI Washington, D.C. 1968, Chapter XV, 16, p. 16.
25. In signing the Havana Convention, the U.S.A. recorded its reservation 'that it does not recognize or subscribe to as part of international law, the so-called doctorine of asylum.' Ibid.

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26. G.E.do Nascimento e Silva, op. cit., p. 103.
27. Ibid., p. 100.
28. Ibid., pp. 103-104.
29. In 1968, the Government of Haiti informed the Secretary General of O.A.S. of its decision to denounce all the treaties on asylum; but "the jurists were of the opinion that diplomatic missions in Port an prince continued, under customary international law, to have the right to grant asylum to any person whose life or liberty was in danger."
    Ibid., p. 104.
30. Asylum cannot, for instance, be granted to a person who merely feels that he is likely to be threatened. In 1952, Brazil did not grant asylum to Agostin Rodriguez Arya of Argentina on this score.
31. Delivered on 20 November. 1950 and 13 June, 1951.

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Modern Administration in the light of Medieval Experience

Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena

In every age and in every country, whatever the system of administration, the man or men in authority had and have to face the threefold problem of security of the State from external aggression, preservation of internal peace and promotion of the public welfare. From time to time various devices have been adopted to solve these problems and the nature of such devices corresponded with the changing outlook of the administrative system. In the medieval period this system was what is called absolute or military despotism as distinguished from the socialistic democracy, but this distinction did not alter the situation vis a vis the then fundamental objectives of the State.

And in this context the remark of Ghiyasuddin Balban may be deemed to express the classic dictum. He is reported to have said that fear is the basis of effective government, and a sovereign who can not inspire his subjects with fear does not deserve to remain in power. In the medieval period the only agency which could effectively inspire fear was the army and therefore, it is claimed that fear was the direct consequence of the application of force or the pressure of force. Conditions have not changed much since then, because in the modern age when, for various reasons, the fear of government has disappeared from the hearts of the people, the same device is being adopted. A number of penal laws have been enacted and police action has become almost a daily routine. And it may be noted that there is hardly any difference between the medieval army and the modern police. In fact the medieval army was in a position of distinct disadvantage because its equipment was almost the same as that of the people it was called upon to deal with. It cannot be gainsaid that use of force has produced the same wholesome effect in the modern period as it did in the medieval period.

In a period of grave crisis in the times of Sultan Alauddin Khilji, an emergency was declared in the empire. The ruler was faced with internal

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disorders and external threats of a serious nature. He pondered over the matter and discussed the situation with his advisers and he arrived at certain definite conclusions. Like his predecessor Balban, he also appreciated the necessity of striking fear among his subjects and for this purpose he adopted very drastic methods. He was convinced that the possession of wealth promotes disaffection and so he embarked upon a policy of ruthless confiscation. Both moveable and immoveable properties were brought within the purview of his draconian ordinances whose enforcement eliminated social distinctions based on wealth and produced a condition of equality between the high and low. It is true the aim of the Sultan was not to establish a socialistic structure. He wanted to keep his people so preoccupied with creative work that they would have no time to think of rebellion. And with this end in view he also taxed them very heavily so that of their earnings only so much was to be left with them as would enable them to meet their expenses. Let it be remembered that it was a state of emergency and there was complete justification for such strict measures.

What Sultan Alauddin had faced in the fourteenth century, our government had to face in the twentieth — perhaps unknowingly, it has resorted to similar devices for reviving the fear of administration in the hearts of the people. But at this distance of time, we criticize Alauddin as a cold-blooded despot without appreciating the situation in which he was placed. The fact of the matter is that similar problems require similar solutions; their form may vary but their essence remains constant.

Another device which Alauddin adopted to tackle political exigency was control of the market. He was absolutely illiterate but intensely practical. He was not acquainted with the sophisticated intricacies of economics, but he was clear headed about his objective. He was keen to create conditions in which his soldiers, and incidently other classes of people also, may live, if not a comfortable, at least an easy life. And for this purpose his first step was to secure or assemble an adequate supply of the commodities of (daily) consumption. His second step was to ensure an equitable and proper distribution. And his third step was to see that the commodities were sold according to the schedule of rates prescribed by him. Accordingly he issued relevant ordinances to achieve his objectives and he obtained remarkable success in accomplishing them. It is true that the area of operation of those ordinances was restricted to Delhi and its suburbs, but the basic principles were applicable to all times. Unfortunately, when the present day administration was faced with a similar situation, it adopted the same position, but in a reverse order which accounts for the resulting confusion. No doubt that the dimensions

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of the problem in the modern age are more massive and more complicated, but the underlying spirit is the same ; only the lesson of history has been ignored.

Whatever the system of government, ultimate power comes to reside in a single individual or a group of individuals. In the medieval period, it rested with the Sultan and his advisers, in the modern period it is wielded by the leader of the majority party and his or her counsellors. In either case the prime object has been the same viz., to ensure the welfare of the people. It is a fallacy that the medieval despots were mere explioters; that they did not care for their subjects. The fact is that no system of government can survive long if it ignores altogether its people. Conceding the dimensions of the concept of public weal were comparatively restricted in the medieval age, it was still not conspicuous by its absence. It was very much in the minds of these rulers. Indeed, absolute despotism thrived on it.

But the methods of promoting public-weal were different from what they are now; even the attitude was different. The Sultans and Padshahs regarded public weal in terms of benevolence, whereas in the modern system, it is enjoined as duty on the part of the State. In the medieval period public weal was promoted by affording relief in times of distress, by reorganising the system of land revenue administration and reducing the incidence of taxation, by laying out long roads, by providing means of irrigation in the shape of wells, tanks, canals, dams, etc., by laying out gardens and experimental farms for the rotation of crops. We have inherited a very valuable legacy from the past, which the present administration is improving upon because it has large resources at its disposal.

But there is one vital difference between the medieval and modern administration and it relates to their attitudes towards the budget. Medieval rulers and statesmen did not pin their faith on deficit financing or on national borrowings. And there were various reasons warranting such an attitude. In the first place, the sources of revenue were adequate to meet both the the normal and abnormal requirements of the State. Secondly, trade and commerce was flourishing and the problem of adverse balance did not arise. And thirdly, due care was taken to regulate expenditure, because an exhausted exchequer was not only a symbol of bankruptcy, but it also indicated an early downfall of the government. So that when in the eighteenth century the Mughal administration became top-heavy and the number of jagirs multiplied, it broke up with a bang.

In striking contrast to the position in the medieval period, our statesmen and leaders have an implicit faith in deficit-financing and borrowings both from the internal and external markets. These borrowings have

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gradually reached astronomical figures and there seems to be no end to them in the near future. All the branches of administration are getting top heavy and we are spending at an unprecedented pace. What the end will be can be imagined better than described.

The present system of administration is democratic, but whatever the system, democratic or despotic, discipline is a sine qua non of its success. How to enforce discipline was as much a problem in the medieval age as it is now. In the medieval age and until recently there was a set of unwritten ethical and moral values which regulated the conduct of a normal man or woman. But in the welter of political agitation these values have either been distorted or completely eliminated irrespective of the considerations that democracy can survive only on a sense of discipline. The older ethical norms have been discarded on the pretext that they are outdated and obsolete. But no viable attempt is being made to create new and more effective values.

In the medieval period the problem of discipline was both a state subject and a private subject. The State promoted discipline by its fiats and ordinances, and the private agencies did the same by inculcating faith in religions and social values. Unfortunately in the present set-up both religious and social sanctions have disappeared with the result that indiscipline in the realms of thought and action has become rampant. Obedience to law, not slavery to law, is and has been the moral duty of every individual, and this attitude must be cultivated and promoted.

In short, experiments in administration, made in the medieval period do possess some relevance for the present day statesmen and politicians and they should study them carefully.

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A Leaf from Indo-Bhutanese Relations

Dr. Bidya Nand
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

Bhutan has always been an important factor in the political development of India as it provides a safety valve against an invasion from the north. Since Bhutan lies on the southern side of the Himalayan water parting, it is like a gate on India's Himalayan borders preventing entry into India from Central Asia. This is why Bhutan had always excited the curiosity and attention of the rulers of India whether they were Britishers or Indians. When the British established their political supremacy in India, they came across the problem of securing a safe and stable frontier on India's Himalayan borders. The British Indian Government, therefore, had to evolve a definite policy towards Bhutan in the context of British imperial interests vis-a-vis Asian political situations. In the beginning, however, when there was no immediate danger of any foreign power establishing its hold in Bhutan,[1] the British pursued a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of that country and professed to cultivate only friendly intercourse.[2] But when China after 1905 attempted to extend her influence to Bhutan, the British Government in India, not only proceeded to frustrate Peking's designs but also successfully negotiated a treaty with the authorities of Bhutan in 1910, whereby that country was placed under British protection.

Bhutan is situated amongst the Himalayan mountains which form the southern slope of the great Himalayan chain.[3] Geopolitically, the location of Bhutan has a considerable strategic importance for it lies between the Tibetan plateau and the Assam-Bengal plains of India. For nearly two hundred miles along India's north-eastern periphery, Bhutan marches along and acts as a buffer state. In area and size Bhutan is the second largest kingdom amongst the Himalayan states. It covers an impressive 18,000 square-mile area against Sikkim's 27,000.[4]

The dividing line between British territory and that of Bhutan was the Duar[5] tract which embraced the strip of land extending along the foot of the Bhutan mountains and included the passes leading to Bengal and

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Assam.[6] Thus British India's boundary with Bhutan lay close to the Himalayan foothills in the Duar plain. Bhutan is inhabited for the most part by a people called Bhotias. although there are a few aboriginals and a number of Nepalese settlers.[7] The aboriginal tribes, however, are not too many and the immigration from Nepal is severely restricted. Thus the Bhotias occupy a dominant position in Bhutan. Their position remained the same even during British rule in India.

British relations with Bhutan commenced in the second half of the eighteenth century when the East India Company's government tried to establish commercial relations with Tibet and the neighbouring countries. Bhutan, situated in the north of West Bengal and Assam, occupied a strategic position for the opening of trade contacts with Tibet. In 1772 the British got an opportunity to realize their ambition when Bhutan invaded the princely state of Cooch Behar, a dependency of the British East India Company's government, and carried off its Raja Durunder Narain.[8] The members of the Raja of Cooch Behar's family applied to the Company's government in India for help. Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, sent a British army which drove the Bhutanese back from the plains of Bengal into their own mountain kingdom.[9] The British, however, did not enter Bhutanese territory because Tashi Lama, the acting Regent of Tibet during the infancy of the Dalai Lama, wrote a letter to Warren Hastings requesting him to cease hostilities against Bhutan.[10] Warren Hastings agreed to conclude peace but he also wanted to utilize this opportunity for establishing commercial contacts with Bhutan and Tibet. In his 'minute' date 9 May, 1774 Warren Hastings wrote that 'A treaty with Tibet has ever been a favourable object with our masters. They have repeatedly recommended the establishment of intercourse with that country. The present juncture is the most favourable for pursuing these views. The letter from the Lama invites us to friendship and communication. The occasion is too favourable for the attempt to be neglected.'[11]

With this end in view Hastings sent two missions, one under George Bogle and the other under Samuel Turner, to Bhutan and Shigatse, the seat of the Panchen Lama in Tibet.[12] These missions were in the nature of a commercial reconnaissance of Bhutan. But these missions were not very successsful as they failed to arrange any satisfactory arrangement for the maintenance of peace on the border, and for the establishment of trade contacts with Bhutan and Tibet.

British India's contact with Bhutan became more frequent after the occupation of Assam in 1826 by the East India Company's government. And this accounted for a long common frontier between British India and

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Bhutan which in its wake created the problems of frontier politics : the boundary problem, commerce, extradition, etc. Bhutan had been paying some tribute to the ruler of Assam, but after British annexation of that territory the Bhutanese stopped the payment of tribute.[13] But the British, in the capacity of the successor state, demanded from Bhuttan the payment of the tribute. Instead of clearing the dues, the Bhutanese engaged in aggression, plunder and abduction of British subjects residing near the frontier. Between 1828 and 1836 they made five incursions into British territory and not only kidnapped the British subjects but also attacked some of the frontier outposts. The British retaliated by annexing some of the Duars which were at the foot of the Bhutan hills.[14]

The British, however, wanted peace and tranquility on the Bhutan borders which, it was hoped, could be achieved by negotiating an agreement with the authorities of Bhutan. The British Government, therefore, sent in 1837 a mission to Bhutan under R. Boileau Pemberton.[15] But Pemberton's mission failed because the draft treaty which the British envoy submitted to the Bhutan Durbar, was rejected. The Bhutanese continued their outrages on the frontier and gave refuge to criminals coming from British territory. They also levied taxes on British subjects who were residing near the Indo-Bhutanese border.[16] The Company's government now realized that a diplomatic solution to the Anglo-Bhutanese dispute would be impracticable because of the instability in the Government of Bhutan. Nominally, Bhutan was under the control of the Deb Raja and the Dharma Raja, but in practice the Government of Bhutan was at the mercy of Tongsa and Paro Penlops, the Governors of Eastern Bhutan and Western Bhutan respectively.[17] These two chieftains were mostly at war either with each other or with Deb Raja.

Under the circumstances the British Government felt that the solution of the Bhutanese problem was only possible if the Bhutanese Government was given some monetary allurements. The Company's Government, therefore, decided to pay Rs. 10,000 per annum to Bhutan if she maintained peace on the frontier.[18] But this arrangement also proved ineffective and the Bhutanese not only continued their incursions into British territory but also gave asylum to fugitives from British justice.[19]

In 1863 the British Government made another attempt to solve the Bhutanese problem and sent another mission to that country. This time Ashley Eden was deputed to lead the mission. Eden was instructed not only to solve their mutual difficulties but also to endeavour to establish closer contacts with Tibet through the assistance of Bhtuan.[20] Eden was however maltreated by the Bhutanese and was forced to sign an agreement with them under duress.[21] Thereupon the British Government repudiated

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the agreement and annexed the Bhutanese territory of Ambari Fallakotta and the Western Duars. The Bhutanese retaliated by making a surprise attack on Dewangiri and the British had to beat a hasty retreat. The British sent a strong force to punish the Bhutanese who capitulated under the superior firearms of the British and sued for peace. A treaty of peace was concluded between the British and the Bhutanese at Sinchula on 11 November, 1865 whereby Bhutan agreed to cede all the 18 Duras to British India in return for an annual subsidy of Rs. 25,000.[22]

The Treaty of Sinchula marked a turning point in the history of Anglo-Bhutanese relations. The area of conflict and plunder on the Bhutan border, which began with the establishment of British control over Assam in 1826, come to an end and a new chapter in Anglo-Bhutanese relations opened. The peace established by the Treaty of Sinchula ushered in an era of friendly cooperation, mutual respect and non-interference in the affairs of each other.[24] As a token of friendship and goodwill towards the Bhutanese, the British Indian government raised the subsidy to Bhutan from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000. They followed the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan so rigidly that when a civil war broke out in Bhutan leading to the overthrow of the then Deb Raja, they kept themselves rigidly aloof.

The mild and non-interfering policy of the British earned the good will of the Bhutan Government. It was because of this goodwill that the British succeeded in 1892 in delimiting the boundary between Jalpaiguri and Bhutan without any difficulty.[25] The Bhutanese also proved very helpful when British India tried to establish direct contact with Tibet.

British India's policy of non-interference in the affairs of Bhutan, however, changed after 1906 when China began taking an unusual interest in Bhutan. Chang, the Chinese envoy to Lhasa, openly said that Bhutan was like a wall for Tibet and for the security of the Himalayan kingdoms, the Gurkhas, the Tibetans and the Bhutanese should live like three men in one house.[26] He even compared Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim to the molar teeth lying side by side in a man's mouth and tried to caution the Bhutanese that the British would devour their country bit by bit.[27] Chang even addressed a note to the Bhutanese chief in which he asserted that Bhutan was under the jurisdiction and control of China.[28]

The Chinese claim, however, was not acceptable to British India. Historically speaking Bhutan had been a separate and independent political entity and because of this British India always dealt with this Himalayan kingdom directly.[29] If the Chinese claims of suzerainty over Bhutan had any validity they would have come to the assistance of their vassal when British India declared war on her in 1865, and permanently annexed her low

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lying areas in the Duar tract. Neither did protest when the Government of India made a treaty directly with the Bhutanese authorities in 1865. Moreover, at the time of military hostilities between the Tibetans and the British in 1888, Lhasa had sought the help of the Bhutanese, which was refused. Bhutan no doubt, used to send presents to Lhasa but they were in the nature of religious offering to the Dalai Lama, the head of the Buddhist faith. In 1885, the Chinese and the Tibetans had, of course, succeeded in settling a dispute between the rival parties of Bhutan, but their role was simply that of mediators. It is significant to note that no one was penalized for creating a political unheaval in Bhutan, nor was there a change in the administration of the country following that upheaval. Thus the so-called Chinese intervention in Bhutan was not a question of a suzerain power imposing its will on a vassal state, but it was a case of meditating between two disputants.

It is true the *Peking Gazette* of 26 October, 1886 published a memorial in which the Chinese Government claimed suzerainty over Bhutan. But whether this Chinese suzerainty was effective or was accepted by the people and rulers of Bhutan the answer is definitely 'no' for the Peking Government had no hand in the selection of the Bhutanese rulers. They did not even keep any envoy or agent in Bhutan. It is not possible to exercise effective control over a vassal state without keeping any respresentative there. It was also obvious that the Bhutanese disliked the Chinese. For example, when one Deb Raja, known as Deb Jeedah, tried to introduce a Chinese seal into the country, he was ousted from power and all emblems even remotely connected with China were reported to have been destroyed.[30]

Thus it is obvious that Bhutan functioned as an independent state. And it is precisely because of this that British India followed a policy of friendly cooperation and non-intervention in the affairs of Bhutan. But when Chang, the Chinese envoy in Lhasa, claimed suzerainty over Bhutan in 1907, the situation changed altogether. Bhutan with a temperate climate and a fertile soil could support a large army which Tibet could not do.[31] Minto, the Viceroy of India, therefore, feared that Bhutan under Chinese control could be a disturbing factor on India's Himalayan frontiers.[32] To forestall any trouble, he impressed upon the Home Government the desirability of a treaty with the Maharaja of Bhutan whereby the external relations of the country would be placed under their control. The Bhutanese were to be compensated by an increase of their subsidy from 50,000 to 1,00,000.[33] The Viceroy felt that this was the most opportune time for such a treaty as U-gyen Wangchuk, the Maharaja of Bhutan, was quite friendly to the British.[34] The Home Government also

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realized the value of such a treaty with Bhutan to forestall the Chinese danger.[35] They, therefore, approved the proposals of the Government of India but laid down the following principles to be included in the proposed treaty :

> The British Government undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Bhutanese Government agrees to be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to its external relations. In the event of disputes or causes of complaint against the Raja of Sikkim or Cooch Bihar, such matters will be referred for arbitration to the British Government which will settle them in such manner as justice may require, and insist upon the observance of its decision by the Rajas named.[36]

Having received the approval of the Home Government, the Viceroy instructed Charles Bell, the Political Officer for Sikkim, to go to Bhutan to negotiate the treaty with the Bhutanese authorities on the lines suggested by the Secretary of State for India.[37] But before going to Bhutan, Bell wanted to be sure of his ground, and sent feelers to the Maharaja of Bhutan through Kazi U-gyen regarding the proposed treaty.[38] The response was encouraging and Bell started for Bhutan, accompanied by Captain Kennedy, the Medical Officer at Gyantse, in December 1909. On 7 January, 1910 they reached Punaka, the place where the negotiation was to be held.[39] Bell found that Kazi U-gyen had done his work admirably well. Not only the Maharaja, but the whole council of Bhutan including the Paro Penlop, whose attitude was very doubtful, had assembled there. All the necessary seals had also been brought.[40]

Immediately on arrival at Punaka, Bell held necessary discussions with the authorities of Bhutan in a shamiana[41] which was especially erected for that purpose. Initially, the Council members seemed reluctant to place the external relations of Bhutan under the British Government. They feared that this might result in the loss of Bhutanese independence. But finally Bell succeeded in obtaining their consent. The British guarantee of non-interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan and the proposal to increase the subsidy from fifty thousand to one lakh helped ease the situation.[42] Bell explained the terms of the Treaty to the Maharaja of Bhutan and the Council Members and they agreed to accept the Treaty. Thus all the formalities were completed and the four copies of the Anglo-Bhutanese Treaty were signed and sealed. The Bhutanese seals included those of the Maharaja, each member of the council and the Dharma Raja. U-gyen Wangchuk, the Maharaja of Bhutan, announced publicly

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that they were quite satisfied with the terms of the Treaty.[43] With the conclusion of the Indo-Bhutanese Treaty in 1910 Bhutan became a protectorate of British India and the Chinese menace was removed from one of the most strategic and volatile borders of India.

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Indian Public Opinion and Indo-Chinese Freedom Movement

Dr. Birendra Prasad
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

The Second World War considerably hastened the progress of the people of Asia towards independence. From one end of the continent to the other a burning desire to be free seized the entire population of Asia. And post-war Indo-china found herself in ferment. The Indo-chinese under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, the undisputed leader of the communist dominated Vietnamese national movement rose like one man to warn their French colonial masters to restore them their pre-war position. But imperialist tendencies die hard. After the Japanese surrender in September 1945 the French made vigorous attempts to restore their stronghold over Indo-china. And in this ambitious imperialist game the French were assisted by the British forces of South East Asia Command which was stationed there to receive the Japanese surrender. The nationalist leaders of Indo-china, particularly Vietnam, vehemently opposed this 'Bourbon Restoration' in Indo-china.

Despite their preoccupations in the critical years of the last phase of the struggle for freedom, the Indians could not remain indifferent to the developments in Indo-china. Public opinion in India watched with grave concern the French and British imperialist intrigues to suppress the tide of Indo-chinese nationalism. Fighting for their own freedom, the leaders of India did not want the Indian resources to be used in any way to create new fetters for the freedom of other Asian countries. A cross section of Indian society opposed the French comeback in Indo-china, condemned the British policy in assisting the French with Indian troops in the suppression of the nationalist aspirations of the Indo-chinese people. They assured the Indo-chinese of India's support and sympathy in their fight for feedom. Both the Hindus and Muslims, the Congress and the Muslim League, communists and the labour leaders, students and the Press viewed with alarm the French attempts to reimpose her colonial rule over Indo-china. They put strong pressure on the British India government to recall Indian troops from that country and championed the cause of Indo-china's free-

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dom. In September 1945, the All India Congress Committee emphatically asserted that India would resent any attempt to maintain the political and economic subjection of Indo-china and object to the use of Indian troops for the continuation of the imperialist control over South East Asia.[1] In December 1945, the same committee reiterated its earlier stand on Indo-china.[2] Expressing its sympathy with the Indo-chinese people the All India Congress Committee at its meeting in March 1946 emphasized the need for early termination of foreign domination in the countries of Asia and asked for the immediate withdrawal of Indian troops from Indo-china.[3]

Jawaharlal Nehru, who had developed an Asian element, impatiently watched the events taking place in Indo-china. Speaking in Delhi in January 1946 Nehru declared: 'We have watched British intervention there with growing anger, shame and helplessness, that Indian troops should be used for doing Britain's dirty work against our friends who are fighting the same fight as we.'[4] In his first press conference at New Delhi on 26 September, 1946, as Minister in-charge of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the Interim Government of India, Nehru pointed out that India would station a Vice-Consul at Saigon to promote friendly relations with the Indo-chinese people.[5] In October 1946 Nehru sent his greetings and good wishes to Ho Chi Minh and declined the request of Bao Dai, the Emperor of Annam, to raise the Vietnam issue in the United Nation's Security Council.[6] Condemning the French policy in Vietnam in December 1946, Nehru warned France against the use of force in Indo-china and said: 'Our hearts are with the people of Indo-china. The attempt to crush the spirit of freedom in Indochina has deeply moved the Indian people. Though it is difficult for India to know the facts of the conflict, one thing is patent that foreign armed forces are trying to crush Vetnami.'[7]

Mahatma Gandhi also sent messages of sympathy to Ho Chi Minh.[8] Stepping into the shoes of Mahatma Gandhi, J.B. Kripalani, the then Congress President, warned France that fighting 'worse than the last war' would break out in Indo-china unless that country was granted freedom. He further assured the Indo-chinese people of India's whole-hearted support in their heroic resistance against French domination.[9]

Encouraged by these sympathetic gestures of India, Ho Chi Minh sent a representative to Delhi to contact the Indian leaders for the purpose of gaining their sympathy for the Vietnam Republic, and for preventing the repair of French planes and the refuelling of French ships.[10]

It was in response to Ho's request for help and sympathy that public opinion in India made an ardent appeal for the freedom of Vietnam. Sarat

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Chandra Bose, a prominent Congress leader and the strongest defender of the cause of Vietnam in India, asked the Indians to fight side by side with the Indo-chinese against French troops. The struggle of Indo-china, Bose declared, was part of the Asiatic struggle for liberation from Western domination, and was therefore also India's struggle. He urged Indians to 'rush to the rescue' of the Vietnamese forces, and join as volunteers in their 'thousands and tens of thousands' to help the Indo-chinese in their heroic struggle.[11] In a Press statement issued on 21 January, 1947, Bose asked the youth of India to raise, train and equip an 'Indian Volunteers Army' which would take its stand alongside the Vietnam Republican forces.[12] In fact, Indian volunteers were recruited by the Congress members in Pondicherry.[13] On 9 February 1947, Sarat Bose requested Nehru to send a Volunteer Expeditionary Force and a Medical Mission to Indo-china. This request was however rejected by Nehru on the ground that it would raise international issues and the Government of India could not do that. Sarat Bose was pained to hear Nehru's evasive reply and denied that his request would raise any international issues. He further pointed out that if the Government of India 'for reasons of its own,' wished to adopt a policy of non-intervention, the least it could do was to allow 'Indian "Lafayettes" to proceed to Vietnam.'

Sympathy for Vietnam became so deep and widespread in India that people of all shades of opinion expressed their sympathies with the Vietnamese people in their hour of distress. On 4 January 1947, the Congress President J.B. Kripalani regretted that the French who valued their own freedom so high should try to deprive Vietnam of her freedom.[15] Nehru also expressed similar sentiments.[16] The labour leaders of India promised their support to the commnnist-dominated Vietnamese national movement. In a letter to Mai The Chau, Vietnam's representative in India, Mrinal Kanti Bose, President of the All India Trade Union Congress, declared that Indians to a man, except the allies of the British in this country, were behind the Vietnamese in their struggle against French domination. Assuring him of India's support Bose added that the working class of India would be happy to render active assistance to 'our fellow Asiatics who have been placed almost in the same position as we have been in India."[17] On 4 January 1947, Bose referred to the call of the All Indian Trade Union to its constituent unions, provincal committees and the regional councils in Colombo, Calcutta, Bombay and Pondicherry to take immediate steps to boycott French transports to and from Indo-china.[18] S.A. Dange, the Vice-President of the All India Trade Union Congress, also urged upon the dockers' union to boycott French ships calling at Indian ports carrying troops and arms to and from Indo-china.[19]

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The students of India rose to the opportunity and pledged their support to the Vietnamese people. In a Press statement on 13 January 1947, Ravindra Verma, President of the All India Students' Congress, made an appeal to the Interim Government of India to bring diplomatic pressure on France to recognize and respect the sovereignty of the Republic of Vietnam. Conveying the greetings of the All India Students' Congress to the brave students of Vietnam, Ravindra Verma declared that the Students' Congress was solidly behind the people of Vietnam in their struggle to defend the Democratic Republic against French imperialistic designs. He called upon the Students' Congress units all over India to observe 21 January 1947 as 'Vietnam Day' by holding rallies and meetings to explain the significance of the Vietnamese struggle. He further asked the students of India to stage peaceful demonstrations before the French Consulate and offices in India.[20]

The call given by the All India Students' Congress was favoured by the Indian leaders and the Press. In a Press statement Sarat Chandra Bose congratulated the All India Students' Congress on its decision to support the Vietnam forces with student volunteers and materials in their struggle against the French imperialists and appealed to the students and the general public all over the country to observe 'Vietnam Day' on 21 January 1947.[21] *The Hindustan Standard*, in its editorial, urged the people of India to help, with whatever material and moral means possible, the Vietnam Republic, and to send a medical mission to Vietnam. This noted nationalist daily of India also requested Nehru, as Minister for External Relations in the Interim Government, to lodge a protest with the United Nations against the imperialist offences in Vietnam.[22]

India's solidarity with Vietnam was well illustrated on 21 January 1947 when 'Vietnam Day' was observed all over the country as a token of India's goodwill and sympathy with the Vietnamese people struggling for freedom. Meetings and demonstrations were held, resolutions condemning the French policy in Indochina were passed. Support was promised to the Vietnamese people. At Calcutta the students demonstrated against the French policy in Vietnam and raised anti-French slogans. The demonstrations turned into riots. Hand-bombs were thrown. While the student demonstrators were passing through College Street, Calcutta, the Calcutta police arrested over a hundred students. The girls tried to stop the traffic by lying down on the roads. But the police thwarted their attempts. In the afternoon of the same day the students held a big demonstration. The police had to use teargas and open fire to disperse the demonstrators—19 students were wounded by bullets, 50 injured by lathi charge and 500 arrested.[23] 'Vietnam Day' was also observed in other

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parts of the country. Disorders occurred in Bombay when forty of Subhas Bose's followers with the communists staged a demonstration outside the French Consulate, shouting slogans and calling for the immediate withdrawal of French troops from Indo-china.[24]

Public opinion in India became agitated when the police resorted to firing on the students demonstrating against French Colonial rule over Indo-china. On 23 January 1947, J. B. Kripalani, the Congress President, condemned the brutal police firing on students in Calcutta on the occasion of the celebration of the 'Vietnam Day' and categorically declared that the demonstrations were meant to show India's solidarity with the cause of an Asiatic poeple struggling against European imperialism.[25]

The Muslims of India did not lag behind the Hindus in their sympathy with the Indo-chinese people. In a message to Mai The Chau, Vietnam's representative in India, M.A. Jinnah emphatically declared: "Muslim India has full sympathy for your struggle and I wish you success in the realisation of your aspirations and freedom."[26]

In spite of the strong pressure of Indian public opinion the Interim Government of India headed by Nehru displayed singular caution in giving any firm commitment to help the Vietnamese against the French. To a quite unnecessary degree Nehru was cautious in his response to the requests of Ho Chi Minh urging India to block the work of the French purchasing mission in New Delhi and to prevent the repair of French planes and the refuelling of French ships. Nehru fulfilled these requests only partially. On 18 February, 1947 Nehru declared in the Legislative Assembly of India that the government had taken steps to limit the number of French aircraft which might fly across India. Although operational and combat-type aircraft were not allowed to fly across India, air-ambulance and other requirements, on their onward passage out of India, were allowed to do so.[27]

Nehru adopted the same cautious attitude towards the Vietnamese struggle in the Asian Relations Conference which he had summoned in Delhi in March-April 1947, to promote solidarity among the nations of Asia. Ho Chi Minh's government was invited to this Conference but at the same time rival representatives from French sponsored governments of Combodia, Laos and Cochin China were also received at the Conference. This action of the organizers of the Asian Relations Conference implicitiy denied Ho's government the right to speak for all Vietnam. Public opinion in India, however, regarded Ho's regime in North Vietnam as the genuine representative of Vietnam. A strong protest was made by Mai The Chau, Ho's representative in India, against the composition of the Indo-chinese delegation attending the Conference.[28] On 30 March, 1947, Mai The Chau requested the Indian delegates to pressurize their government to take steps

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in Vietnam's support by granting her recognition, supporting her cause in the United Nations, granting her financial and military assistance and denying transit to the ships and planes of the French government. Expressing his gratitude to India for her help to Vietnam, Mai The Chau complained that this help had not been sufficient.[29] Nehru, who was a bit cautious in his support for Vietnam, pointed out that while the Indian people were in sympathy with Vietnam's struggle for freedom, he did not see how the Indian government could be expected to declare war on France. That was, he added, not the way to proceed; and by such precipitate action they were likely to lose in the long run. Any wise government would try to limit the area of conflict. It would, however, bring pressure to bear, but that could not obviously be done by a government in public meetings.[30] Nehru's overly cautious attitude irritated the Vietnamese delegate who warned the delegates, 'we have used enough words about Asian unity. Now let us act.'[31]

Free India's government headed by Nehru also reacted negatively to Ho Chi Minh's request for recognition and for intervention on behalf of Vietnam in the United Nations. In October 1947, Ho appealed to Nehru to raise the Vietnam question in the United Nations and to send a fact-finding-mission to Vietnam. But these appeals met with a negative reply.[32]

Beyond doubt, Nehru was also critical of the French policies in Indochina, but he was a bit cautious in his sympathy with Vietnam, whereas he was very enthusiastic in his support for Indonesia. Nehru's attitude towards the Vietnamese struggle was in sharp contrast to his attitude towards the Indonesian struggle for freedom. The ban imposed by Nehru's government on French aircraft was much less extensive than the ban on Dutch aircraft on their way to Indonesia. The hazards of implicating India in unnecessary international complications and the limitations of Indian resources prevented Nehru from giving Vietnam more active and concrete support. But some other strong factors accounted for Nehru's alertness. The Communist nature of Vietnamese nationalism, perhaps, made him less enthusiastic in his support to Vietnam : he wanted to strengthen the nationalist forces without strengthening the forces of communism in Vietnam. Moreover, the role played by the communists during the Quit India Movement of 1942, had shocked Nehru and made him alert about the communist movement. However, public opinion in India always remained sympathetic to the Vietnamese national movement.

The above study clearly and amply reveals that sympathies in India were completely with Vietnam in her fight for freedom from French domination. India's support to Vietnam in this period of crisis will remain a worthy and everlasting symbol of Indo-Vietnam friendship.

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PART SIX

The Indian Economy— Today and Yesterday

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Foreign Trade during the Vedic Period

Dr. Brajdeo Prasad Roy
Department of History & Archaeology, Patna University

Vedic literature throws considerable light on the religious and philosophical thoughts of our ancestors, and incidentally, furnishes valuable information for the study of their material life as well. The *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* throw little light while the other Vedic texts furnish no information regarding India's foreign trade. The sources are religious in nature, so while separtating the ingredients from the religious and legendary chaff, one must be very careful and analytical. Besides these sources, a few words of Indian origin that crept into old Babylonian and Hebrew, along with a few archaeological finds discovered in some countries of the Middle-East, help us in reconstructing the history of India's foreign trade during the Vedic period.

I

India's trade with foreign countries was based on a solid economic background. Though a genial climate and a fertile soil coupled with the industry and frugality of the Indian people, rendered them virtually independent of foreign trade in respect of the necessities of life while their secondary wants were few, what they produced enabled the Vedic Aryans to sail to different countries in search of wealth.[1] Due to agricultural activities and surplus production, there arose a necessity for interchange of commodities. The excess of production in certain localities induced energetic men to carry them to other places, where they could be disposed of at profit. In this way, there arose commercial enterprise. There were traders who sought wealth even by voyaging to distant lands.[2] As now, earning of wealth and its possession were the marks of the merchants. The Vedic merchants earned wealth by adopting different methods[3] viz., investing capital and exporting commodities to distant lands[4] for profit.

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II

It is necessary at this point to discuss the importance of geographical factors, namely, the Indian coasts and coastal currents which facilitated the traders in exporting and importing commodities. For the greater part of its length, the Indian coast is almost uniform and regular. There are only a few indentations and consequently, India is very poor in naturally, protected harbours. Only a few of them exist on the Western coast, while in the East, the coast is practically deviod of safe anchorages. Perhaps, this coast was not very different in the Vedic period also. In ancient times, however, since the size of trading vessels not very large, a large number of fair weather anchorages were available, but it is strange that the Vedic literature does not contain even a single reference to them. By the sixth century B.C. famous harbours were developed on the Western and the Eastern coasts of India as the *Jātakas* tell us. So, it may be assumed that those or other harbours existed at least at the end of the Vedic period. Even later Vedic literature does not refer to the ports like Surpārka, Bharukachchha and Tāmralipti,[5] mentioned in early Buddhist literature. It appears that after the destruction of Lothal, the ports of Surpārka and Bharukachchha were developed on the Western coast to continue India's ancient trade with the West Asian countries.

III

Some Western scholars think that Vedic Āryans did not have much knowledge of the sea, hence there is no question of maritime trade during that period. But, a perusal of Vedic literature shows that they made voyages for gaining wealth. The word Samudra (which means the sea) occurs in the *Ṛgveda*. In connection with the activities of the merchants, Varuṇa has been mentioned as having the knowlede of the sea-routes.[6] Besides, there is the story of Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, who was sent out by his father to conquer certain enemies in some distant islands. While at sea, his vessels were disabled and he with his followers, on the point of being drowned, prayed to the Aśvins who heard their prayers and sent them home in a vessel of one hundred oars.[7] It also has been suggested that Samudra did not mean the sea but only the lower course of the Indus, which after receiving the waters of the Punjab rivers, is so wide that a boat in the mid-stream is invisible from the bank.[8] Macdonell and Keith have discussed this problem in detail and have come to the conclusion that the Vedic Āryans had knowledge of the sea.[9]

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The *Ṛgveda* mentions sea-going ships and merchants who undertook voyage in search of wealth.[10] Merchants eager to gain put their fleet out to see in a body.[11] Prayers were offered to Varuṇa prior to undertaking sea voyages.[12] Varuṇa, the Lord of the Ocean, knew the paths of the sea and the course of the winds.[13] Merchants under the influence of greed sent out ships to foreign countries. It has been asserted that the field of the activities of merchants does not know any bound who go everywhere in pursuit of wealth and frequent every part of the sea.[14] The *Ṛgveda* refers to the precious stones and minerals to be found in seas as well as the benefits due to the sea-trade.[15] This clearly means the existence of maritime trade. The question may arise as to what types of vessels were used by Vedic merchants. The literature under review mentions different kinds of vessels such as many-oared ships, cargo-boats and the boats for sea-battles.[16] Most probably, those were coast-liners and seldom ventured out into the vast waterway deeps, though there is mention of naval expenditions having been undertaken against certain recalcitrant islanders.[17] The *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* refer to sea-trade by boats (Nau).[18] In the former, there are technical terms denoting different kinds of boats.[19]

IV

The routes followed by the merchants were very dangerous. Vedic literature refers to shipwrecks on high waters caused by tides, also to pirates who looted the commodities and endangered their lives. There were dangers on the sea. On land routes also, things were not different. The *Atharvaveda*[20] mentions some of the dangers merchants had to face. It contains a prayer prescribed for the merchants to be said to different gods for safety on routes. In one the Goddess Earth is requested to strengthen the merchants to overpower dacoits. Prayers were offered to other gods as well in order to avert dangers. Merchants were adventurous wanderers who moving from place to place risked not only their goods but their lives as well. Their lives were threatened by robbers who did not hesitate to kill. Hence these merchants before starting prayed to India to be their guide and leader and chase away ill-will, wild beasts and highway robbers.[21] After this, they prayed to other gods for success (Vikraya) in distant lands. In spite of these precautions, they were robbed and harassed by pirates.[22]

Vedic literature refers to sea voyages and some archaeological finds also prove Vedic India's commercial contact with the countries now known as the Middle-East although mention is not made of the routes followed by

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these merchants. It would appear that merchants sailing from some ports situated on the Western coast went to the Eastern coast of Africa by crossing the Arabian Sea. They perhaps went to Egypt and Mesopotamia as well. Mostly, they sailed up to the Red Sea, from where their commodities were transported by local merchants. This route was very long and dangerous, and some of the merchants were misled. What did they do in this situation? The *Ṛgveda* tells us that in such situations, they set out birds in order to find out the lands or the coastal area.[23] The *Bāberū Jātaka* also mentions a similar incident in connection with the journey of the Indian merchants to Babylonia.

The literature under review does not refer to land routes running from India to the West Asian countries like Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey. Iraq and Syria though the Aryans might have migrated to India through those tracts. About the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C., the land route running from Western India to Mesopotamia was regularized with the coming of the Aryans in the region. The Kassite and Mittani clans of the Aryans had established their political powers in Asia Minor as archaeological finds prove. Archaeologically and linguistically, this is the nearest, one can bring the Indo-European speakers towards India in the second millennium B.C. These evidences indicate some sort of movement of the people from Mesopotamia to Iran and India, but the exact route followed by them is not known.[24] On hypothetical basis, it may be assumed that a few roads ran from Balkha to Western India parallel to the Indus river. Another route started from Kapiśā running through Kandhāra reached the Indus basin in the Punjab. However, the *Atharvaveda*[25] refers to the land routes without referring to any country by name, but it appears that those were the routes inside India.

V

Wealthy merchants travelled far and wide and visited emporia where traders from different lands gathered for the exchange of goods and earning of wealth. The question arises as to who the persons were who carried on business? Some hymns of the *Ṛgveda* mention Vaiśyas whose professions were related to economic activities.[26] Vaṇija the more appropriate term for the merchant is used in Vedic literature.[27] The Vedic passages where the term Vaṇija occurs, tell us nothing about them i.e., the way they conducted business, the difficulties faced by them, and profits made. The verb "krī" meaning to purchase has been used in the *Ṛgveda*.[28] However, the *Atharvaveda* has information about the early

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merchants and the commodities they carried for exchange.[29] Besides, referring to the Vaṇija and the Vaiśya, the Vedic literature refers to an another class of merchants who were known as the Paṇis.[30] They were very rich and enterprising people solely devoted to the cause of gain either by trade or usury. They have been designated as the Bekanāṭas[31] or usurers, and with the exception of a few of them like Bṛbu, they were objects of popular dislike. Roth and Zimmer regard them as a niggardly merchant class who neither worshipped the Vedic gods nor revered the Vedic priests. Perhaps, they belonged to the aboriginal trading class. Hillebrandt identifies them with the Parmians as mentioned by Strabo. The identification and association of Paṇis with the Bekanāṭas a word of Babylonian origin, is noted by Macdonell and Keith. The Vedic Paṇis may be identified with the Paṇikkaras now residing in Malabar on the Western coast of South India. The Paṇis were adventurous and had established their colonies even in West Asia. Ancient Greek literature refers to them as the Phoenicians, and in Latin they have been termed as Poeni which corresponds with the term Paṇi in Vedic literature.[32]

In Vedic society, the Panis formed a trading class and traded both on land and sea. They were not popular on account of their being very greedy like the wolf, extremely selfish, and to some extent, cruel.[33] It is interesting to note that the *Odyssey* also describes some similar characteristics of theirs as it remarks: 'Phoenicians practised in deceit, were greedy and knaves, who had already done much mischief among men.'[34] Sometimes, when they roamed about in the country in connection with their trade, they stole other's cows, and mixing them with their own herd, swiftly moved to other places. This frequently led to conflicts.

Besides being a trading class, the Panis were famous ship-builders and manufactured boats and sea-going vessels. Bṛbu was their leader, who lived on the high banks of the river Ganges, and subscribed to the orthodox Vedic faith. His liberality has been highly praised in three hymns of the *Ṛgveda*.[35] It seems that the Paṇis being forced by the Āryans migrated to the Coromandala and Malavara coasts. They must have visited the Persian Gulf and Baluchistan as well as the coast of the Arabian Sea. Ultimately they settled down in Syria in large numbers.

The question arises whether the Vedic merchants had organized their guilds or not? As a matter of fact, in the *Ṛgveda*, there is no reference to such an organization, but it appears that the Āryans did have some kind of commercial organization during the later Vedic period. The manner in which the Paṇis conducted their trade, and even fought others, clearly indicate that they went on trade expeditions forming caravans. By the sixth century B.C., the Indian merchants are seen having organized the

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Sārtha or commercial caravans and Śreṇīs or guilds, so, it seems probable that at least during the later phase of the Vedic period, the Indian merchants had organized their associations, but terms like Sārtha and Śreṇī do not occur in Vedic literature.

VI

There is evidence which indicates contact among the nations in ancient times, and they go to prove that there existed some sort of intercourse between India on the one hand, and Iran, Egypt and Syria on the other.

The Iranian Āryans and the Vedic Āryans belonged to the same family, and were bifurcated into two branches during the middle of the second millennium B.C. The *Avestā* and the *Ṛgveda* have several common features, and it seems that these people had established trade relations. Perhaps, wool and woollen clothes, blankets and other things were exported to Iran from Western India, and wine and horses were imported from that country, but neither the *Avestā* nor the *Ṛgveda* refers to this commercial relation, hence it is only a matter of conjecture. But there is some archaeological evidence to prove the movements of the Iranians and the Vedic Āryans during the period under review. Some bowls and dishes found at Āhār in Rajasthan, and Navadātolī in Madhya Pradesh prove our hypothesis. Fragments of strap-handles, and cut spouted bowls have been found at Navadātolī with which Filund in Iran seems to have had some contact (1700-1300 B.C.). An almost complete bowl inifine white slip recalls a similar vessel from the earliest period at Sialik in Iran. Perhaps some people from Iran chose Navadātolī for residence.[36] Whatever may be the matter, it is apparent that Iran and India had some sort of contact during the Vedic period.

The Indus Valley people had established trade relations with Egyptians, and it has been suggested that it was continued even by the Vedic Āryans. The basis of their assumption is the bas-relief of the temple of Dier-el-Bahari at Thebes in Egypt, which represents the conquest of the land of Pun under Hatasu. It contains a picture in which is described the booty. Some of them are Indian animals and some products not indigenous to Yemen such as ivory, precious stones, sandalwood and the monkey.[37] This suggestion has been criticized by several historians on the basis of the identification of Pun with Yemen as well as Somaliland. It cannot be identified with the Pāṇḍya country or some tracts of the western coast of India. Besides, those articles were available in Somaliland and in other parts of Africa. Sandalwood was obtained from Lebanon in North Syria

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and was supplied to Egypt from the port of Byblos near Beirut.[38] At our disposal, we have no literary evidences to prove the existences of trade relations between Egypt and India during the Vedic period.

There is ample evidence to prove that the Vedic Āryans had trade contacts with Phoenicia, major parts of which form the present tracts of Syria and Israel. In Mosaic times (1491-1450 B.C.), precious stones which were to a great extent a speciality of India and the neighbouring countries, appear to have been well known, and were already highly valued. Probably, some of the stones in the breast-plates of the high priests may have come from India and the Far East.[39] In the days of Solomon (962-922 B.C.), there could be supplied from India alone the ivory, garments, armour, spices and peacocks which found customers in ancient Syria. In the 'Book of Kings,' we are told how the ships of Solomon came to Ophir and fetched from there gold, plenty of Almug trees, precious stones and the like.[40] The situation of Ophir is disputed. It is often placed in South Arabia but some seek it in India.[41] Ophir in Hebrew may be identified with Sauvira to the east of the Sind.[42] Some other historians identify it with Konkaṇa or the Cochin coast.[43] Perhaps, the Phoenician sailors reached India or went as far as southern Arabia where they received the Indian products brought by the local traders.

Some old Dravidian words are found in the Hebrew text of the 'Book of Kings' and 'Chronicles' of the Old Testament, where is given a list of the articles of merchandise brought from Ophir in Solomon's ships. The word for peacock in Hebrew is Tuki which seems to be a corrupt form of the Tamil word Tokei which means the bird with a splendid tail. It is interesting to note that the *Bāberū Jātaka* also refers to the peacock as the Indian export to Bāberū. Again, Hebrew Ahalim, which means fragrant wood, is derived from the Tamil word Aghil. Similarly the Tamil word Valgu is found in Hebrew as Almug. Besides these words of Tamil origin, some Sanskṛt words are also found in Hebrew. This shows the borrowing by the way of trade and commerce with Northen India, such as Kofa (Kapi), Shenhabbin (Chhandanta) and Sanden (Sindhu) for monkey, elephant and cotton or cloth respectively.[44]

These references apparently prove the existence of trade relations between Vedic India and Phoenicia. The oriental merchandise of the days of the king Hiram and Solomon had its starting place in the sea-ports of the Deccan.[45] Caldwell is right when he thinks it probable that the Āryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phoenicians and Solomon's servants in their voyages down the Malavar.[46] King Solomon attempted to appropriate a share of this trade for the Jewish people by creating facilities for his eastern traders both on land

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and sea routes. On the land routes he founded the cities of Tadmor, Ralbec and Hamath as resting places for caravans, and his foresight in protecting these routes bore fruit in the great trading centres of Mesopotamia.

The similarity between some of the Vedic themes viz., the story of Manu and the accounts of the Deluge in the Vedic and the Babylonian accounts, the discovery of the records of some of the branches of the Āryans in Sumeria worshipping the Vedic gods, the unearthing of the Indian Cedar in the palace of Nebuchandezzar, and of Indian teak in the temple of the Moon god at Ur refounded by Nebonidus, point to the existence of an intercourse between Vedic india and Mesopotamia.

The situation of Mesopotamia at the head of the Persian Gulf made her cities the national mart of exchange between India and Syria. For centuries, Babilos remained the great commercial centre of the ancient West. Even the wars of Assyria were not only for love of conquest, but were fought largely for securing the trade routes of Syria and Phoenicia, and to turn in those lands the trade centres that were competing with Ninevah.[47]

It seems that commerce between India and Mesopotamia must have been carried on as early as about 3000 B.C., when Urbagas the first king of united Babylonia ruled with his capital at Ur. This is proved by the finds of Indian teak in the ruins of Ur.[48] Hewitt thinks that this wood must have been sent by the sea route only from some ports on the Malavar coast for it is only there that enough teak grew to be exported with profit in those early times.[49] The use of the term Sindhu for muslin in an old Babylonian list of clothes is the clearest proof of trade between India and Babylonia Rhys Davids thinks that the Indian merchants at the end of the eighth and in the beginning of the seventh century B.C. travelled from the south-west coast of India to Babylon which was then a great merchantile emporium.[50] The *Atharvaveda* also contains some words of Babylonian origin such as Taimata, Alagā-Bilagī, Urugula and Tabuwun, which prove India's contact with the Babylonians.[51] Even in the *Ṛgveda* the word Māna is of Assyrian origin as the term Meneha was a standard of gold in that country.[52] This probably was borrowed by the Vedic Āryans on account of their contact with those people.

There are other evidences as well which go to prove the existence of trade relaions between Vedic India and Mesopotamia. Wincler has pointed out that Shalmanesar IV of Assyria (727-722 B.C.) received presents from Bactria and India specially the Bactrian camels and the Indian elephants. The Babylonians imported from India copper, coniferous wood and other articles.[53] The Indian elephants were very popular in Mesopotamia. Along with other animals, the figure of an elephant is depicted on

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a pillar of a gateway built by Shalamanesar. In the attached inscription the elephant has been termed *Basita* which seems to be a corrupt form of the Sanskṛt Basitā which means a she-elephant. There are further references to show that the Assyrian king Sennacherib had plants of cotton in his garden which were of Indian origin. Excavations at Babylon have revealed the existence of a colony of Indian merchants. Some inscriptions engraved on earthen seals found at Nippur prove India's trade relations with Babylon.[54]

On the basis of the foregoing evidences, it has been suggested by some historians that the Vedic merchant's had established their colonies in Mesopotamia.[55] The *Ṛgveda* contains a word *Urukṣiti*[56] which has been interpreted as referring to the names of the Mesopotamian cities namely Ur and Kish.[57] But a critical study of the particular Mantra containing the term *Urkṣiti* indicates that it means the wide (Uru) earth (Kṣiti).[58] Hence, it is useless to search for the names of Ur and Kish in Vedic literature. But, it appears that India's trade relation with Mesopotamia was in full swing at the close of the Vedic period. Some of the early Buddhist sources indicate that the merchants of Vārāṇasi went to Babylon with their commodities through the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf.[59] The *Surpāraka Jātaka* informs that the Indians of the early Buddhist period were acquainted with Khurmalar (Persian Gulf), Agnimāla (Red Sea) and Ballabhamukha (Mediterrarean Sea), but the antiquity of this geographical knowledge may be pushed back to one or two centuries earlier also.

In Vedic literature, there is no reference to the countries of the South and the South-East Asia, but some ancient stories as preserved in the *Jātakas* indicate that by the sixth century B.C., Indians had colonized[60] Ceylon though nothing is known about their commercial activities with that country.

What about the interchange of commodities of different countries? It seems that towards the close of the Vedic period, goods from the extreme west were sent to the east. The wool of Gandhāra was prized all through these lands. The *Atharvaveda*[61] describes Guggula as coming from the sea. Possibly, it was imported from some foreign country. It speaks about the early merchants and the commodities they carried for exchange as articles of trade such as garments (Dursa), coverlets (Pavasta), and goat-skin. The Vedic merchants imported precious stones. Indian teak, which was used for building ships and palaces was exported to the western Asiatic countries. Likewise, elephants, monkeys, peacocks, precious stones, cotton plants, indigo and spices were exported to the countries of the present Middle-East. Possibly, Indian merchants brought in exchange gold, tin, silver, glass and other things.

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VIII

The literature under review throws light on the methods and medium of exchange. The *Ṛgveda* does not mention the market, but it contains the verb *kṛ* which means to purchase.[62] The same refers to the sellers who demanded more than that paid at the time of sale. The buyer on the other hand is represented as insisting on the original price demanded and paid for, and is made to insist on the sanctity of the contracts.[63]

The most difficult problem is to ascertain the medium of exchange. The terms *Pratipana* and *Prapana* indicate that a barter system existed during the Vedic perod[64] as these terms mean commodities received in barter or exchange. Other mediums of exehange also were evolved such as the purchase of an image of Indra for ten cows proves the growth of an idea of a standard of value and the use of cow for this purpose. Again, there are references to the use of gold (Niṣka).[65] Lumps of gold also were used for that purpose.[66] All these were used in inland trade. The use of metallic coins during the Vedic period is doubted by the historians as uptil now not even a single piece of Niṣka has been unearthed. The question then is what was the medium of exchange in international trade? For this purpose obviously cows were inconvenient, and during that time, there did not exist an international standard of value in metallic coins. Until about 650 B.C., the Egyptians had no true money. For some centuries, before that date, they used rings of gold and silver, to some extent as we use money, but those rings had no fixed weight, and had to be weighed on the scales each time they changed hands. In Mesopotamia, and Iran also, upto the seventh century B.C., trade was still conducted by barter. gold and silver ingots were used for this purpose. So, it seems that barter was the most suitable medium of exchange. Perhaps, gold, gold-dust, and precious stones also were used as a means of exchange. The *Ṛgveda* refers to the Māna and perhaps it was akin to the Akkadian Mina[67] but the archaeological excavations do not reveal the existence of such coins, so for the time being, it should be accepted that mostly barter was in use.

The development of trade facilitated the growth of standards and measures of exchange. The machinery for measuring quantities existed in ancient India and in several other countries. Different commodities came to attach rather different conventional values to their units. Different systems of weights and measures were found in Egypt, Mesopotamia and India. Even in these countries, minor differences in weight were found due to the adoption of divergent standards in several autonomous regions. Trade was, however, international because the standards of one country found recognition in another.[68]

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The balance or Tulā has been mentioned in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhttā* in connection with the estimation of the man's good and evil deeds.[69] Wooden vessels of different sizes were used in measuring grains. Standards of weight also were evolved. Kṛṣṇāla, Māṣa, and some other units were prevalent as the standard of weight. Prastha and Droṇa were also the units of measuring grains. But, the use of those standards of measurement and weight were confined only to India and it is difficult to say anything regarding their international counterparts. Perhaps, the Vedic merchants made adjustment with the medium and means of exchange and instruments of measuring and weighting commodities which were in use in the countries with which they traded.

The foregoing facts indicate that Vedic Indians were adventurous people who sailed to different countries and travelled through several tracts to gain material prosperity. They were the forerunners of the merchants of subsequent ages who visited upto Rome in the West and Borneo in the East, Central Asia in the North and Ceylon in the South for selling their commodities in order to make India the Vasundharā in the real sense of the term, and for spreading the immortal message of Indian culture in those distant lands.

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Corruption in Early Indian Trade

Dr. Upendra Thakur

Like the modern tradesmen, the ancient Indian tradesmen also were not above board, and resorted to all kinds of corrupt practices to amass wealth. Trade had become vitally connected with the economic life of society and with the growth of urbanization (of the Indus culture) it made considerable progress in the prehistoric period. With the growing popularity of trade among the Vedic Āryans, a wealthy class of merchants, known as *Pani* came into existence, and haggling and other evil paractices came to the fore. The *Panis* as a class became so very unpopular because of their avariciousness and unscrupulous profiteering that a sort of antagonism developed between them and the Ṛsis of the Ṛgvedic period, who condemned them as 'greedy and selfish,'[1] Their unbounded greed and niggardliness aroused the hostility of the priestly class to such an extent that the priests requested the gods to seize their wealth and destroy them.[2]

We have numerous references in the *Ṛgveda* to indicate that the priestly class was not favourably disposed towards the *Paṇis*. In one verse we are told that Indra did not maintain any relationship with the greedy *Paṇis* and took away their wealth.[3] We are further told that the hostility between the priestly class and the *Paṇis* reached a head when the *Paṇis* 'adopted uncommercial method(s) of acquiring commodity and took away the cows of Aṅgiras,'[4] the sage, who was a ruthless critic of the *Paṇis*. The episode was given so much prominence that it has been referred to at many places in the *Ṛgveda*.[5] It is true that this state of hostility did not continue for long, but it shows how the trading class incurred the displeasure of society because of their unbridled lust for profit at the cost of the consumers in the early eras of Indian civilization.

In the post-Vedic period trade and industry had almost come to be localized. We have references to the localized guilds of traders and industrialists in the *Jātakas* and other literature of the period. Kauṭilya's scheme of city-planning also envisages the settlement of merchants, trading in different commodities, in different sectors of the town—north, south, east and west.[6] With the tremendous rise in the volume of trade by

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the sixth century B.C., organized and planned production and quick distribution became a necessity which could be fulfilled through efficient financing. This in turn attracted the notice of the kings, (or the state), who regarded it as their sacred duty to provide capital to encourage production and its distribution. With the increase of governmental patronage, governmental interference in trade also increased, and in order to avoid it the traders formed their own organizations (guilds) to finance them in times of need. This resulted in the rise of a class of big merchants, known as *Seṭṭhis*, who gradually gained control over the finances of trade, both individually and on a partnership basis, giving rise to trade-monopoly in later days.

II

The main feature of business transaction in India during those years was *kraya-vikraya*[7] (purchase and sale). As in modern times, so in early days, guilds and big partnerships were formed mainly by wholesale dealers, whereas the daily transaction (retail trade) in different commodities was largely conducted by individual traders who were entirely dependent on the whole sale dealers for commodities or on their own small productions.

It is interesting to note that the ancient *Dharamśātras* of Gautama, *Āpastamba* and *Budhāyana* are silent about partnerships or joint undertakings. Manu, however, lays down rules about the distribution of fees among the priests at a sacrifice, and in one verse he remarks that the same principle is to applied in all matters when men work conjointly, that is, each is to be paid according to the importance or to the volume of work he does.[8] While Manu extends the rule about the distribution of fees at a sacrifice to secular joint undertakings, Yājñavalkya[9] extends the general rules about the partnerships of traders to sacrificial priests, husbandsmen, craftsmen, etc. This shows that the complicated sacrifices requiring a large number of priests had become rare in the days of Yājñavalkya (A.D. 100-300), while partnerships of traders and artisans had assumed great importance. In a business partnership or joint-undertaking if any partner proved to be crooked or fraudulent, he could be expelled without receiving any profit.[10]

Bamishment is prescribed by Yājnavalkya for one who embezzle the money of a corporation or transgresses the connentions agreed upon by guild.[11]

The retail traders were commonly known as *vaiya vartya*.[12] It seems that there was some sort of contract, between the retail dealers and whole-

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sale dealers, of which a commission or a share on the profits was, perhaps, the main basis. Describing this contractual relationship Kauṭilya emphatically observes: 'The retail dealers, selling the merchandise of others at prices prevailing at particular localities and a time, shall handover to the wholesale dealers as much of the sale proceeds and profit as realised by them. If owing to a distance in time or place, there occurs any fall in the value of merchandise, the retail dealers shall pay the value and profit at that rate which obtained when they received the merchandise'.[13]

According to Pāṇini the main motive of a trader (usually described as *krayavikrayika* or *vaṇika*),[14] carrying on a business was profit (*lābha*) on the capital (*mula*) invested by him.[15] It was this motive that prompted atrader since the Vedic times to derive as much profit as he could by any means.[16] The expression *vaṇigiva labdhalābhah* used in *Avadāna Śataka*.[17] indicates that the greatest satisfaction of a trader was more and more profit. The tendency of profiteering at the cost of the consumers had grown so vicious that even the Buddha had to denounce this evil practice. According to him, 'too much profiteering is the root cause of destruction (*vo vaṅija lābhosāmam esa vināsamūlam*).'[18] The practice had become so deep-rooted that the sellers, in spite of the price originally settled, tried to bargain more and more, although in such cases it was an established rule that no bargaining should be done once the price was settled.[19] But, it seems that this rule was more often broken than observed.

This practice of a free bargain unregulated by law and custom was widely prevalent up to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The act of exchange between producer or dealer, and consumer was, both before and during the Jātaka age, a 'free' bargain, a transaction unregulated by the system of statute-fixed prices. Supply, limited by slow transport and individualistic production, but left free and stimulated, under the latter system, to efforts after excellence, on the one hand, and to tricks of adulteration on the other, sought to equate with a demand which was no doubt largelya compact of customary usage and relatively unaffected by the swifter fluctuations termed.

A study of the *Smṛti* literature as well as the *Jātakas* makes it clear that the traders usually resorted to the practice of haggling to settle the prices of different commodities.[20] A sage in the *Śatapatṇa Brāhmana* observes that the traders first bargain, and afterwards come to terms, with the result that people have to bargain and then come to terms for everything that is for sale.[21] The Jātaka stories abound in references to this practice of haggling to determine the price of a particular commodity, which sometimes varied from one *Kahāpana* to 100 or 1000 *Kahāpanas*. The *Kātyâyana Śrauta Sūtra*[22] also refers to haggling over the price of Soma (a popu-

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lar Vedic drink). This evil practice very often led to physical clashes between the sellers and the customers,[23] though it was not always favoured by wise tradere who regarded it as 'a killing business.'[24]

Notwithstanding the fact that both the traders and consumers realized the advantages of fixed prices and disliked haggling, the traders endeavoured consistently to raise the prices of the commodities on some pretext or the other, to make profit. The practice, however, expressed itself through extraordinary ways in the Mauryan period, as is clear from the *Arthaśāstra*.[25] The tendency to hoard and profiteer had grown so rampant among the trading community that Kauṭilya had to prescribe fines for every such act, which was to be determined by the Superintendents of the departments concerned, appointed by the state.[26] From a perusal of the different categories of fines prescribed by him, it is clear that every sphere of trade in his days was vitiated bythe excessive profiteering motive on the part of the traders,[27] who united 'in causing rise and fall in the value of articles and live by making cent per cent profit in *paṇas* or *kumbhās*.'[28] Like the modern trading community, the traders of those days also manoeuvred to prevent the sale of their commodities in order to sell them at higher prices. Kauṭilya prescribes a fine of 1,000 *panas* for such fraudulent practice.[29] Yājñavalkya has also recommended the highest punishment for those traders who indulge in such obnoxious practices to the great detriment of labourers and artisans.[30]

From this it is clear that with growing commercialization new economic factors arose to set the legal price at naught, and against the big business houses and monopoly concerns the royal statute was practically of littie avail. The maxim 'the sale or purchase should be conducted at the price which is fixed by the king, the surplus made therefrom is understood to be the legal profit of traders,' lost all its force in the given context, as the well-meaning efforts of the state were lost upon the designing merchants. Moreover the state itself fell in line with the same tactics, when as owner and controller of vast state manufactures, it cornered the goods and raised prices by artificial means to increase the profit. The state also freely took advantage of the rise in prices of its merchandise due to bidding among buyers.[31]

The monster of monopoly and hoarding was yet another evil which sometimes played havoc with the life of the consumers, because a single trader, through hoarding or monopoly on sale, easily manipulated to increase the price of a particular commodity.[32] From the *Cullaseṭṭhi* Jātaka we learn that a trader once imposed a restrication on small grass-sellers that they were not to sell their grass until his own grass was sold, and thereby earned 1,000 *kārspāanas* as price on 500 bundles of grass.[33] This

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single instance is enough to show that the monopolists in those days were no different from their counterparts at present who by their unscrupulous behaviour can hold the life of a nation to ransom. We have many such references in the *Jātakas* as well as in contemporary literature. It is, however, remarkable to note that while hoarding and profiteering were treated as a great crime in the case of individual traders and monopolists, the same is recommended for state-trading by Kauṭilya[34] in the larger interests of the state and the consumers.

III

Adulteration of articles of various kinds was yet another evil practice indulged in by traders in ancient India. It was regarded as a great offence punishable by law. From the *Jātaka* stories it is clear that adulteration was condemned by all sections of society, and it was popularly believed that the traders who sold grains mixed with chaff went to a tantalus' hell.[35] Thus, in most of the *Smrti* texts and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, numerous types of adulteration have been mentioned and the king is advised to inflict heavy punishment on the adulterators. Yājñavalkya refers to adulteration in such commodities as butter, salt, scent, rice and mollasses. It is however, interesting to note that, even medicine was not spared by these social criminals.[36] Moreover, commodities like timber, cloth, jewels and other things of daily use were also adulterated by the traders to make more profit. Yājñavalkya, while denouncing these anti-social elements recommends a heavy fine for those who carry on a fraudulent business by wrong measurement or adulteration or by charging more, and the rate of the fine should vary according to the type of merchandise, its cost and the particular situation.[37] While he recommends sixteen *panas* as fine for the adulteration of butter, salt, rice, etc., he prescribes a fine eight times that of the original price of things such as gems, yarn, cloth, jewels, etc.[38] Moreover, a man selling spurious goods must be fined heavily for his fraudulent behaviour.[39] Manu[40] also indirectly refers to the practice of adulteration when he condemns the traders resorting to this practice. The author of the *Viṣṇusmrti*[41] prescribes heavier punishment *(uttamasahasadaṇḍa*, i.e., a fine of 1,000 *paṇas)*, for such adulterators. According to Nārada and Bṛhaspati, a merchant found guilty of adulteration, or of selling old articles as new after repairing them, must give double the quantity to the buyer and pay a fine equal in amount to the value of the articles.[42] Similarly, if a trader sold inferior articles as superior ones, articles of some other localities as local produce, adulterated things, or dexterously

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substituted other articles as those already sold, he is to be fined not only 54 *paṇas* but was also compelled to make good the loss.[43] Bṛhaspati further declares that what has been sold by an intoxicated or insane person, or at a very low price, or under the impulse of fear, or by one not his own master, or by an idiot, should be relinquished by the purchaser, and should refuse to give it, it may be recovered from him forcibly.[44]

As noted above, Kauṭilya refers to the adulteration of rice, oil, alkali, salt, scent and modicaine etc., and declares that adulteration of these and other such 'articles of no quality shall be punished with a fine of twelve *paṇas*'[45] instead of sixteen as prescribed by Yājñavalkya — although for adulteration in commodities such as timber, iron, precious stone, rope skin, earthenware, thread, fibrous garment and wooden cloth, he prescribes a fine eight times the value of the article sold.

The conception of contraband goods was also not unknown in those days. We have a long list of forbidden goods in the *Arthaśāstra*[46] and Kauṭilya recommends a severe punishment for those traders who indulged in the sale of such goods. This is also confirmed by the accounts of Megasthenes who says that the main duty of the fifth body of the Mauryan municipal administration was to strictly supervise manufactured goods and sell them by public notice. The new articles were always sold separately from the old ones, and if a mixture of the two was detected, the defaulter was heavily fined.[47]

IV

Besides adulteration and fraudulent practices, false weights and measures were yet another evil that infested all the trading community in early days.

Dishonest dealings ran rampant in the market and false scales, false weights and false measures were the most convenient methods of cheating. 'The glorious days are worth yearning for when merchants did not sell articles with false weights and measures, a practice characteristic of the dawned Kali age.'[48] *Tulākūṭa* and *mānakūṭa* are in the list of disapproved lists, as enumerated by the ancient law-givers. Gautama abstains from cheating with *tulā*, *kaṃsa* and *māna* i.e., with scales, coins and measures. The *Śukranīti* presents the following comprehensive list :

> 'Deceit by means of weights and measures, false and counterfeit coins, unscientific medical extracts and other preparations, passing off of base metals for genuine and high class things and food adulteration, all these channels of dishonest transactions are to be checked.' (I. 590-92)

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The class of merchants who lead in these underhand methods are the goldsmiths, adopting false balances *(tulāviṣama)*, removing *(apasāraṇa)*, dropping *(visrāvaṇa)*, folding *(peṭaka)* and confounding *(piṅka)*, with several ingenious tricks described in detail in the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. II.14).

The practice had become so rampant that the State had to step in to control unfair business dealings by checking the use of false weights and measures[49], which were in use since the days of the Indus civilization. In point of accuracy, the Indus weight system is reported by scholar as the most remarkable, in which there was very little scope for error[50]. The popular name for balance in early times was *tulā*[51], though this word does not occur in the *Ṛgveda*. A perusal of the Vedic literature, however, suggests the existence of a system of weights[52], but nothing is known about its use and significance. The *Vājasanayī Saṁhitā*[53] for the first time refers to the use of *tulā*, and by the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*,[54] the use of the balances had become so common that people laid much reliance on its propriety[54] and correctness. It gradually came to be regarded as a part of the machinery of justice and was included in trials by ordeal *(divyapramāna)*. Describing weights as essential household effects, Vasiṣṭha advises the kings to maintain their accuracy at all costs.[55] Similarly Manu, Yājñavalka, Āpastamba, and Kauṭilya regard the falsification of weights and measures as a social crime and warn the state to take special care to safeguard its accuracy.[56] The Mauryan State was so particular about it that special officers like *Pautavādhyakṣa* and *Saṁsthādhyakṣa* were appointed to examine weights and measures periodically, say, after every four to six months.[57] Apastamba goes so far as to prescribe social boycott for a person using false balances *(kūta-tulā)* by barring him from the śrāddha ceremonies.[58] Even the Buddha and Nagasena condemn such persons who make profit by cheating through false weights and balances *(mithyā ājīva)*.[59] While Manu suggests that balances should be checked after every six months, Yājñavalkya declares that no mercy should be shown to such culprits and that they should be fined heavily for making (*kūṭākṛta*) and using (*vyayahāra*) false balances.[60]

There could not be any clearer proof of straying into unfair business than the heavy fines imposed by statesmen and law-givers and the damnation of Kali or threat of perdition held out before the public by those who stood for ethical values even in the pursuit of gain. It is because of the widespread anarchy that Manu had to confess that pursuit of trafficking and usury are, by themselves a mixture of truth and falsehood (*stayānṛta*). Traces of order were, however, emerging here and there, and every market seems to have its standard weight and measures, as can be noticed from the current lists of name 'though they fluctuated from place to place and time

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to time introducing an element of chaos in inter-janapada commerce.'[61]

Though every care was taken to maintain the accuracy of weights, the possibility of some error was always there, to avoid which, measures were taken by the state.[62] Kauṭilya enumerates sixteen types of balances with double scale-pans,[63] while heavy balances were of six types.[64] We have, however, no details as regards the construction and use of these different balances, From the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka*[65] we learn that there was a weighing house where weights were added gradually, one by one, on the weighing scale and when the weights were placed, the end of the balance swung up. As we known from Yājñavalkya, sometimes a line was drawn on the wall of the weighing house to ensure accuracy in weight, and when the weights and the articles, to be weighed, were on a level with the mark made on the wall at the weighing house, it was supposed that the weighing was complete and correct.[66]

In the Kautilyan state, the use of correct weights aud measures was a legal necessity, and hence a stamp of royal authority testifying to the use of authentic weights and measures was essential. For this the traders had to pay one *kākanī* to the Superintendent towards the charge of getting their weights and measures stamped. And, thus only the authenticated weights and measures and balances could be in use, bearing the stamp of the government, and in every transaction this stamp acted as a guarantee that there was no false statement or declaration.[67] However, the system of rigidly adhering to weights and measures was relaxed in certain exceptional cases by the state for the sale of such commodities as clarified butter, oil, etc., by way of affording the purchaser a lawful protection against the depreciatory trend in the weight of these and other specified classes of commodities, which are likely to suffer wear and tear, when stocked. The private sector, however, was not admitted to the same relief though the economic necessity might be common.[68]

In matters of economics, Kautilya had a fine sense of justice and he regarded the unrestricted or uncontrolled raising of prices on the part of merchants and labourers as going against all principles of justice. He, therefore, wanted to have a reasonable regulation in the larger interests of all classes. He believed in a just price, just profit and just remuneration. The fair-price idea is indissolubly bound up with the necessity of strictly adhering to the use of correct weights and measures, and separating inferior types of a commodity from the superior ones, as well as the collection of duty according to prescribed rates.[69] A just price, therefore, is regarded as which is not unusually or exclusively considerate to the consuming class or callous to the interest of the state and the trader concerned in any worthwhile transaction. Thus, the concept of a just price

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or the system of price-fixation, true to conditions actually prevailing in the market, gave protection in varying degrees to all interests concerned, even under strained circumstances. A capricious price is not a proper or just price. Artificial inflation, engineered by profiteers, such as cornering by a sort of cartel, or bidding over the declared price, with a view to its enhancement,[70] was not allowed by Kauṭilya. If the bidders competed to increase price level, it was the state that got all the benefit of the enhanced price, and not the trader.[71]

It was the Mauryan state which appears to have made remarkable achievement in fixing the market prices. According to Strabo, prices were regulated by municipal bodies.[72] The Court-valuer (*agghakāraka* or *agghapaṇika*) appointed by the state, acted as liason officer between the king and the seller, and purchased commodities for the palace and the royal treasury.[73] Whatever price he had fixed for a certain commodity was liable to revision only by the king.[74] But, though generally honest,[75] this officer also, sometimes, resorted to the deceitful practice of under-valuation, causing serious loss to the traders.[76] His office 'was gradually transformed into that of a price-expert and then into a ministry or boards of price controllers for the whole maket.'[77] But, while the court-valuers were the state officials, the price-experts (*sarvapaṇpavicaksana*),[78] were mostly the employees of private traders or independent valuers working on a commission, and they were responsible for fixing the customary rates and statutory price.[79] Manu,[80] Yājñavalkya[81] and other lawgivers have emphasized the need for price-fixation and have justified a king's power to control the market-rates. Kauṭilya has also emphasized that the state should fix the price of all kinds of commodities in order to curb the tendency of the traders to make illegal profit.[82] According to him, the dealers should be allowed to derive a profit of five per cent above the fixed prices of local produce and ten per cent on foreign goods.[83] It was a crime to raise the prices or to realize more profit. Raising of prices or realizing profit, even to the extent of half *paṇa* above the permitted one, was liable to a fine of five *paṇas* in the former case, and of 100 to 200 *paṇas* in the latter.[84] The *Daśakumāracarita*[85] states that the Mauryas conferred a boon on traders that for certain offences they were not to be sentenced to death, but were to be deprived of all their wealth and banished. This principle of fixing the rate of profit on local and foreign goods has also been recommended by Yājñavalkya,[86] which continued to be adopted by the Indian kings till the early-mediaeval period.[87]

Thus, 'the mechanism of trade in Kautilya,' as rightly suggested by B.C. Sen, 'is manifestly sensitive to the behaviour of those who play a vital role in the private sector.'[88] The entire horizon is overcast with

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clouds of suspicion, and behind all the rules and regulations can be seen 'the penetrating eye of an observer who knows how in so many ways a dishonest trader can defraud the state of its legitimate dues, and create conditions unfavourable to consumers and producers, and unhelpful to stable economy, which, in Kautilya, is armed against corrupt practices such as smuggling, under-rating, underwriting, over-rating, non-use of authentic seals, submitting false declaration about imported merchandise, evasion of *śulka* in the custom house, cornering or attempting to reduce or enhance prices, not giving the artisan or manufacturer the proper value of his product etc.'[89]

There is thus no lack of provision for the punishment of every kind of offence in the Kauṭilyan system, but it is doubtful if it was possible to detect all kinds of offences and to root out the evils rampant at every stage of business, with the help merely of penal provisions. When dishonest practices are so common a feature in private trade it is difficult to feel assured of the incorruptibility of the public sector. The rules against dishonesty are no doubt very severe and the detective method applied is of a searching and unsparing type, but then the possibility of undue harassment is there which, however, may act as a deterrent to the undue expansion of private trade.[90]

From the above it would be seen that the Kautilyan state plays the part of a scheming cartel well. The transition from free bargain to cornering and price-inflation accompanied the growth of large industries and business in the commercial cities, and this kept customers at their mercy. And, since the old law still prevailed that 'a price once fixed held good, fair or unfair, that a transaction can not be revoked,[91] it weighed more heavily on the customer than the seller.'[92] The only saving grace was that it bears no comparison with the modern parallels in the sphere of its influence. Moreover, the whole of rural areas and a large part of urban business were outside the sinister hold of monopolists. Small trade still controlled a big share of the country's business and they in turn 'were freely exploited by the customers as well as the big businessmen.'[93] In a free market dominated to a great extent by *matsya-nyāya* (fish-ethics), prices were always and everywhere fluctuating, and to make the confusion worse confounded, the coins, viz., the *paṇa* or the *kārṣāpaṇa* the *māṣa* the *māṣaka* varied in their exchange value from place to place. Only the the names of metallic tokens are found to be universal; their ratios are not uniform, their metallic contents differ and hence their purchasing power even for the same (actual) price.[94]

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V

The *yuga* theory had been completely developed by the fourth century A.D., i.e., the Gupta Age, and the *Yuga Purāṇa* chapter of the *Gargasaṁhita*,[95] *Harivaṁśa*,[96] *Brahmapurāṇa*,[97] *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[98] *Matsya*,[99] *Kūrma*[100] *Viṣṇu*,[101] *Bhāgavata*,[102] *Brahmānda*,[103] *Liṅga*,[104] *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇas*[105] and several others, present, often in identical terms, a very pessimistic, dismal and harrowing account of what will happen in the Kali age. One extract from the *Vanaparva*[106] is sufficient to indicate the state of affairs: all men will be liars; and besides the many vices that will infest society, the people will sell goods mostly with false weights and measures and traders will be full of tricks; the righteous will wither away, the sinful will prosper, dharma will lose its strength and adharma will be powerful. Viewed in this context it will be seen that dishonest dealings were rampant everywhere in the market during the Gupta period and afterwards. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* declares that a merchant who is not a cheat, a goldsmith who is not a thief, a courtesan who is not greedy, are unlikely to be found.[107] The state of affairs had come to such a horrible pass that Nārada and Bṛhaspati had to lay down numerous laws and regulations to safeguard the interests of buyers and sellers alike. These lawgivers advise the intending purchaser to first examine an article before buying it, in order to detect its good and bad qualities, and once approved by the purchaser after close examination it could not be returned to the vendor.[108]

Selling or making false gold or fictitious gems or coral was a great offence and such persons were compelled to restore their price to the purchaser and to pay double the amount to the king as a fine.[109] Showing a faultless article to the intending purchaser but delivering afterwards another article with a blemish was yet another severe crime for which the seller was compelled to pay twice its value to the purchaser as a fine to the king.[110]

During the Gupta period and after, it was realized that gain on purchase and of merchandise of every sort should be in proportion to the price already paid.[111] With this end in view the merchants were directed to fix a just price of their merchandise according to the locality and season, and not to indulge in dishonest dealings. A merchant must always strictly follow these principles to carry on honest business.[112] Unfortunately, however, we have no reference—direct or indirect—to price-fixation by the state during the Gupta period, as we have in the age of the Mauryas. A sale effected in public was deemed to be fair, but a clandestine sale was as bad as a theft, according to law.[113] A sale effected by a man other than the rightful owner was a punishable offence,[114] and the vendor had to restore

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the property to the rightful owner, and to pay to the buyer the price for which it was sold, besides a fine to the king.[115] According to the legists, a fraudulent purchase is that which is made at an unreasonably low price, in the interior of a house or outside the village at night, in secret or from a dishonest person,[116] and a person who makes such fradulent purchases is a thief.[117]

Prices in the Gupta Age, and also in the subsequent periods, were not stable, and fluctuated according to the supply and demand of the commodities in the market.[118] The prices of corn, oil, essences, grain, gold, sea-products, honey, perfumes, ghee, flowers and other commodities, sometimes rose rapidly to double and triple the normal price. Under reverse conditions, however, merchandise became very cheap, sometimes resulting in heavy losses to the merchant.[119] Thus, prices and measures, like land measures, varied in standard from place to place. The literature and inscriptions of the period abound in references to weights such as *pala*, *āḍhaka*, *prastha*, *khāri*, *droṇa*, etc., which were used in the measurement of food-grains and other similar articles. Kālidāsa and other writers of the period mention weighing balances *(tulā)*[120] and measuring rods[121] for weighing different articles and measuring length etc.

VI

Coming to the later period we find that things had changed tremendously and the high ideal practised by the state, as well as by the majority of the members of the mercantile community received a rude set back, giving rise to chaotic conditions in the world of trade and business. The merchants of India have been highly praised for their honesty and straightforwardness by foreign travellers. According to Al Idrīsī, 'their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagement were known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side.'[122] The literary records of the later periods, however, depict the merchants as a band of deceitful hypocrites. Kalhaṇa denounces these dishonest merchants and embezzlers who 'show themselves ever eager to listen to the (recital of sacred) texts.'[123] This description of Kalhaṇa 'can not but recall to one's mind their modern counterparts who spend large amounts on getting the holy name Hari recited by women at Nabadvīpa and Vṛndavana,'[124] and other places of pilgrimage and in temples. Kalhaña equates the merchants with courtesans, officials and clerks who are deceitful by nature. He does not stop there but continues to be more severe. 'The merchant, who puts drops of sandal-ointment on the forehead, eyeholes, ears

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and heart, takes one's life in a moment, just as a dangerous scorpion would, which is marked in six places.'[125] The merchants also served as bankers to the people in those days but their behaviour was so deceitful that Kalhaṇa warns the people not to rely on their words or commitments because 'the water which has been carried down to the ocean by the streams is received (back) from the clouds, but a thing deposited in a merchant's hand is never again recovered.'[126]

From above it would be wrong to presume that Kalhaṇa was hostile to the mercantile community or had any personal bias against the trading class which prompted him to use such derogatory language against them. He was one of the great poet-historians of the age, an uncompromising patriot and progressive thinker, a scion of a distinguished family of administrators, a voluminous writer, a widely read scholar, a Sanskrit poet of eminence and one of the brightest jewels of his age who overshadows most of his contemporaries by his brilliant writings. The all-round deterioration in the moral values of the age had made him unsparing in his criticism of those who were responsible for this sorry state of affairs. As the economic health of a nation is largely dependent on the honest behaviour of the trading class, Kalhaṇa, as an unflinching patriot, could not tolerate their diceitful practices which were eating into the very vitals of society, That he was fully justified in his bitter criticism of the merchants is further corroborated by Kṣemendra,[127] who observes that 'the merchants become dump when a person buys only a little quantity of goods and they turn deaf when one comes to recover the mortgaged property from them.'[128] Hemacandra,[129] who was quite familiar with the trading community of Gujarat, declares: 'a body free from a disease is as rare as a merchant free from deceitfulness.'[130] Thus, it can be safely concluded that this fall in the standard of morality of the trading community reflects an all-round deterioration in the character of the people of the age.[131]

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Early Indian Trade with West Asia

Madan Mohan Singh

There are some interesting data available in the Indian, old Hebrew and Greek sources which make feasible the possibility of the existence of trade contact between India and West Asia from the middle of the tenth century B.C. onwards. The Buddhist *Jātaka* evidence tells us that Indian traders who visited Iraq, (Babylonia) by ships old there a crow and peacock.[1] The latest date suggested for this event is 480 B.C. The earliest date is 738 B.C. as there is a possible reference to a peacock among the wonderful birds received as gift by Tiglath Pileser-III.[2] The Bibilical account indicates the existence of trade between India and Palestine as early as *c.* 950 B.C. when Solomon ruled. The First Book of Kings in the Bible tells us that the king had ships at sea. Tarshish ships with the ships of Hiram (king of Phoenicia), came once in three years bringing gold, silver, ivory, monkeys and peacocks. Ivory and monkeys could have been brought from East Africa, but there is only one country in the world from where at that time peacocks could have been brought. The Hebrew term *Tukki* far the peacock appears to have been derived from the Tamil *Toki* or *Togei*, and is found in other Dravidian languages also.[3] It is remarkable that the utility of the Diśākāka was common to both the Indian and the Babylonian navigators. The use of Indian timber in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, at Birs Nimrud and in the temple of the moon god at Ur[4] may be regarded as significant evidences of the existence of trade contact between India and Babylonia in *c.* 7th-6th centuries B.C.

Indian textiles, indigo, rice, peacock, sandal-wood, timber, etc., seem to have been among the main exports from India to Egypt and West Asia. The Assyrian sources tell us that king Sennacherib of Assyria had planted in his garden plants bearing wool like sheep—wool from which cloths were made. It is obvious that this account refers to Indian cotton plants. The Hebrew sources refer to cotton as Butz which is usually translated as fine linen. But according to some this word possibly stands for cotton and may have been derived from the Sanskrit *Pichu* and Tamil *Panchi* meaning cotton. In old Hebrew *Karpas* occurs for cotton. Herodotus mentions a

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cloth used in Egypt and Babylonia which is rendered in Hebrew as Śadin and in Assyrian as Sindu.[5] It is suggested that cotton was imported by Egypt and Babylonia from the Indus region. In the opinion of Lassen the Egyptians dyed their cloths with indigo and wrapped the mummies in Indian muslins.[6] Rice, peacock and sandalwood were known to Greeks and others in the west by Indian names in the 5th century B.C.[7] Rice is mentioned in one of the fragments and was a common article of food in the time of Sophocles. In Hebrew, there are two words for rice, both of South Indian origin: one is *Orez* and the other is *Minnit*.[8] The latter is attested in Ezekiel (27:17—7th century). Orez is *oryza* in Greek and both are derived from Tamil *arichi*. The other word *minnit* is derived from Tamil *unti*, pronounced *winti* according to the Babylonian fashion. Until today rice is called *timmar* in Iraq. Hebrew texts mention aromatic substances by their Indian names, e.g., Churchuma = eaglewood is equivalent to Sanskrit *aguru* and Tamil *akil*; Nard stands for Sanskrit *Nalada*. Hebrew *karmil* (Carmecine) is derived from Sanskrit *krimilika*. The Greek *Tawas* and Hebrew *Tukki* meaning peacock are derived from Tamil *Toki*. Similarly sandalwood was known in Palestine by the Tamil name *almuggin* or *almugumin*. Lapis lazuli has been found in Iraq and it was imported in that country from north-west India. Beryl also according to its name seems to have been of Indian origin.[9] It is also interesting to note that to this day there are some words of Aryan origin in Hebrew, e.g., the Hebrew word for scabbard is *nedan* which is derived from Sanskrit *nidhāna*. *Neshek*, the modern word for arms resembles Sanskrit *nishaṅga*. Hebrew *Rikma* (= embroidery) appears to have been derived from *Rukma* (gold and golden sequins sewn on to clothing). *Adir* (mightly, great) resembles Sanskrit *ādṛita*—honourable.

The trade contact between India and West Asia was responsible for introducing in the former some of the ideas about coinage and the alphabet from Babylonia. When there is close contact between two civilized lands, mutual exchange of ideas in many walks of life is but natural. But in respect to India's contact with West Asia, one should not go so far as to think like some scholars that every idea about coinage and the alphabet was an imitation of Babylonia. The Indian traders may have copied some ideas which they considered useful for their purpose. There are certain features common in Indian and Babylonian coinages of the *c.* 6th century B.C.[10] which may be regarded as important evidence of establishing trade relationship between the two countries. So far as the alphabet is concerned, the Babylonians had developed the alphabetic system of script by the 7th century B.C. Though India was acquainted with an indigenous script in the third millenium B.C., yet unfortunately no speci-

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men of the Indian alphabet prior to the Mauryan age is available. This led Buhler and others to propound the theory that the Indian alphabet was derived from the Babylonian characters by Indian traders in about the 7th century B.C. As Indians were not wanting in this respect, there is little likelihood of imitation. But Indians in ancient times were not hostile to everything foreign. They were intellectually liberal and possessed the capacity to assimilate good ideas. Therefore, certain ideas on even the basic idea of the alphabetic system of writing might have been accepted from the west by Indian scholars. When the Indians and Greeks came into close contact, the Greek coinage influenced its Indian counterpart. The same may be true of the Indian script—a consequence of Indian and West Asian contact.

Indian traders probably imported from the West wool, wine, dry fruits, horses, etc. In this connection the word *gonaka* occuring in the Buddhist texts is worth noting. It has been interpreted as a rug made of the hair of goat. It is suggested that this word is Iranian in origin. *Gonaka* was manufactured at Ecbatana. As regards wine and dry fruits, the Greek sources tell us that the Mauryan emperor Bindusara had written to Antiochus I, king of Syria, asking him to purchase and send some sweet wine and figs. Later, in the first century A.D. wine filled in amphora jars was imported from Rome as shown by the archaeological evidence of Indo-Roman trade. It may be presumed that this import not unknown in the period preceding the first century A.D. Arabian thoroughbred horses were appreciated in India from very early times and they may have been in much demand for Indian cavalries. Indian war elephants also seem to have found a favourable market in West Asia. In this connection one may take into account the heavy bargain made by Seleukas with Chandragupta for five hundred war elephants which the former needed for his army.

Trade between India and West Asia seems to have been carried on almost entirely by the sea-route as indicated in the *Suppāraka Jātaka*. This *Jātaka* speaks of the journey of a band of travellers from the sea-port of Bharukaccha to the Mediterranean passing through the Persian Gulf, the Arabian coast, Nubia (north-east corner of Africa) and the Red Sea.[11] It was probably this route which was followed in the course of a naval expedition sent by Darius in 512-10 B.C. Herodotus tells us that the fleet which explored the mouth of the Sindhu embarked from somewhere in Gāndhāra and sailed down to the Indian ocean and then arrived at an Egyptian port two and a half years after. In the opinion of some, circumstances do not suggest direct trade between India and West Asia in *c.* 7th-6th centuries B.C. Ships from India generally went only up to the port in the southern end of Arabia, because it was very difficult to sail up to the Red Sea on account of the adverse wind and also because of pirates. Hence, it appears that

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goods were transported on camel caravans from South Arabia of Judea which was at that time one of the mediators in trade between India and West Asia. The Jews of Palestine brought goods from South Arabian traders and sold to the Phoenicians, the Greeks, and other nations north and west of them[12].

India and Iran came into close contact in the 6-5th centuries B.C. The extension of the eastern boundaries of the Achaeminian empire during this period as far as Punjab and the conquest of Babylonia and Palestine by Iran in the 6th century B.C. created a new link between India and West Asia. The Achaeminian dominion of north-west India left many traces of it in the region and it is natural to expect that trade may have been intimately affected as India was already trading with the west. The political event of significance must have given great stimulus to trade between India and the Western Asia country by removing obstacles in the way of migration from one country to the other. Takshasila rose to eminence as an international market through which most Indian goods found their way to the west by land and goods from the west came to India. This prominent trade centre was connected with other trade centres of eastern India through the famous Uttarapath of Persians or the Northern Route of the Greeks. The *Jatakas* speak of traders from Gāndhāra visiting eastern India.[13] The Sārthavāhas are known from the *Jātakas* to have been regularly moving on the ancient trade routes to promote trade. It was probably due to the existence of the international market at Takshasilā that the double riglos was introduced in the Indian currency of the place.

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10. Both Indian and Babylonian coinages appear as private issues, bear a great variety of natural objects as symbols punched on them, adopt a standard weight, but no standard size and contain a small amount of alloy. (*JRAS*, 1898, pp. 280-82).
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12. Chain Ramin, *India and Israel*, Vol. XV, No. 13.
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Principles of Taxation— Ancient and Modern

Kunwar Deo Prasad
Jagjeewan College, Gaya

The revenue system in India is as old as Vedic policy. Even in the early Vedic period, the king derived his revenue from the contributions of this subjects, (known as 'Bali') which was at first voluntary but afterwards, developed into a compulsory payment. And it makes interesting reading, if we compare the tax-maxims of the ancient Hindu revenue system with the modern principles or canons of taxation.

The most admirable principle of taxation embodied in the ancient texts is that of certainty. Despite the supreme position of the king, the law books affirm that taxes should not be arbitrary. There was an awareness among the law-givers that uncertainty of any kind about the levy of taxes is troublesome both to the state and the taxpayer. That is why our ancient law books often fix the amount of land revenue and other payments. (Kautilya in his *Arthaśastra* has ordained that taxes on commodities intended for sale should be prescrtbed once for all, and has also laid down the rates for land revenue and allied charges. Similarly, the *Manusmirti* (VII 80) lays down that taxes should be realized in accordance with the shastra. Similar are the rulings in the Shantiparva of the *Mahabharata*, where it is said that by levying taxes, not sanctioned by the shastra, a king is wronging himself. The term 'shastra' in these rulings implies the fixed rate and other incidents and rules out uncertainty and arbitrariness This ancient Hindu treatise on the principles of taxation can be compared, and to a certain extent likened to Adam Smith's second canon of taxation, according to which 'the tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person.'

Apart from stressing the need of certainty in matters of taxation, the ancient tax maxims try to reconcile the needs of the State with the ability of the people to pay taxes. Rulings in the Shantiparva of the *Mahabharata*

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and *Manusmirti* indicate in identical terms that taxes should always be fixed in such a way that the king himself and the tax-payer may participate in the result. The *Mahabharata* goes one step further and ordains that the king should not, by his thirst, destory his own foundations as well as those of others, and that he should avoid those acts which may lead the people to hate him. Similarly, *Manusmirti* provides that even if a king is in financial straits, he should not take what ought not to be taken nor even, though he is affluent should he relinquish his just dues, be they ever so small. All these rulings are based upon the basic principle that the state revenues ultimately depend upon the production of wealth by individuals and that whatever tends to diminish the l tter is bound to react upon the former.

Our ancient law books have illustrated these fundamental principles of taxation by very homely similies and metaphors. Thus the king, Kautilya tells us, should pluck the ripe fruits from his garden, but should not take unripe fruits which cause provocation, lest this should bring about his own ruin. In the Shantiparva, Bhisma tells us that just as a person desirous of a milk never obtains any by cutting off the udders of a cow, so a kingdom afflicted by improper means never yields any profit to the king; just as a person who treats a cow with tenderness obtains milk, so does the king who rules his kingdom by proper means derive advantages from it. The earth being protected properly by the king yields grain and cash to him as a gratified mother yields milk to her child. Elsewhere in the Shantiparva, we are told that when the calf is allowed to suck, it grows strong and is able to endure fatigue, but when the cow is milked indiscriminately the calf for lack of energy cannot do any work, so in a kingdom drained of its revenue the subjects fail to achieve anything worthwhile. Similarly, the *Kamandakiya Nitisara* ordains that the king should act like a milkman and florist in realizing taxes from his people. Identical views have been embodied in the *Panchatantra*, which states that the gardener plucks fruits and flowers but does not harm the trees, and the bee sucks the honey without damaging the flower, so also the king should collect taxes but should not cause any suffering to his subjects, for one who kills the goat can get, at best, one meal, and he who feeds it well can get milk for several years.

All these similes and metaphors emphasize one basic fact that the king should never tax in such a way as to annihilate the very source of his revenue. Although taxation subserves the essential needs of the king or the state, if should, instead of destroying the source of subsistence of the people, leave enough for them to carry on. This can be compared with

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Sismondi's third canon of productivity according to which 'taxation should never touch what is necessary for the existence of the Contributors.'

The ancient Hindu law books also emphasize the principie of moderation in taxation. Even modern theorists maintain that taxes should be levied in such a way that they are felt least by the tax-payers. Manu opines that just as the leech, the calf and the bee take their food little by little, so should the king exercise moderation in his tax policy. The Shantiparva repeats the same idea when it says that the king should tax his kingdom like a bee gathering honey from plants and act like a leech drawing blood painlessly. We are further told that he should conduct himself towards his subjects like a tigress carrying her cubs, holding them with her teeth, but never hurting them. The king should add to the taxes (on his subjects) like a person gradually increasing the burdens of a young bullock. All these popular similes boil down to the same familiar dictum that taxes should be levied by slow, almost imperceptible, degrees and not in a heap. This dictum can certainly be likened to the modern fiscal art of 'so plucking the goose as to secure the least amount of screaming.'

But this apparent resemblance between the ancient Indian approach to taxation and the modern canons of taxation, however, calls for careful scrutiny. In the ancient texts, the right of the king to tax his people arose out of the protection he in turn gave them. In the *Mahabharata*, the Buddhist canon, and the *Arthaśastra*, the payment of certain specific taxes by the people, and protection by the king, are practically conceived as the two sides of an original contract. But the ancient Indian idea that taxes are the wages for the protection of the people, by the king, is not in conformity with the modern definition of taxes, according to which 'the essence of a tax as distinguished from other charges by the government is the absence of a direct quid pro quo between the taxpayers and the public authorities.' (Taussing, *Principles of Economics*, p. 485). Similarly, Dalton defines tax 'as a Compulsory contribution imposed by a public authority irrespective of the exact amount of service rendered to the taxpayer in return and not imposed as a penalty for any legal offence.' Thus, if we agree with these definitions (of tax) no taxes were levied, in this sense, in ancient times. Because all the ancient law books are unanimous on the point that taxes were levied in lieu of the protection the subjects enjoyed from the State.

But according to certain other writers like U.N. Ghoshal (*Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System*), the reciprocal relation between taxation and protection, enunciated in the ancient Hindu texts, is a striking anticipation of the so-called fee-theory of taxation which was widely accepted among Western political theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth

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centuries, such as Grotius, Pufendorff, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, though it took a definite shape only in Adam Smith who says, 'The subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. The expenses of the Government to the individuals of a great nation are like the expense of management to the joint tenants of a great estate, who are all obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective interests in the State.' (*Wealth of Nations*, II p. 310)

It is clear that according to this maxim taxation is a price for protection rendered by the state, and the idea appears to be a natural complement to the contract theory. In other words, the modern fee-theory or benefit-theory of taxation seems to have its basis in the contract theory of the origin of the state. The Hindu law-givers also seek to establish that theoretically taxes are wages for the service of protection rendered by the king. This has some resemblance the principle enunciated by Adam Smith.

To sum up, even in ancient times taxes were not an object of the ruler's caprice, whatever the form of government. Taxes were fixed by law and the scales were embodied in the sacred Common Law. These general principles of taxation were followed as far as was practicable:

(i) The king should not by his greed destroy his foundation as well as those of others;
(ii) Subjects may be taxed in a way that they remain strong enough to bear the future burdens and, if necessary, heavier ones;
(iii) It is not the heavily taxed realm which executes great deeds but the moderately taxed one, whose ruler, without sacrificing the power of defence manages administration economically. The subjects oppose the king who is extravagant in administration;
(iv) Taxation should be such that it may not be felt by the people;
(v) In raising taxes higher, the process should be gradual when the realm's prosperity is increasing. The method must be mild so that the realm might not turn restive;
(vi) Taxes should be levied in a proper place, in a proper time and a proper form;
(vii) Taxation should be equitable and reasonable.

Thus we may conclude that the principles of taxation, as described in the ancient Indian law books, seem to be quite sound and reveal a fairly advanced stage of financial thinking, considering the time when they were formulated. Modern principles of taxation can be regarded as modifications of the ancient ones.

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The Economy of Land Measurement in Ancient Bengal— *c.* A.D. 800-1200

Puspa Niyogi

The copper plate grants issued during different reigns, mention a few details about measurements of donated lands but these are not always clearly or fully explained. The different standards which were in use may, however, be broadly classified under two categories, viz., surface measures carried out with the help of *nalas*, *hastas*, etc., and quantitative measures based on amounts of seed sown. Besides these two there were also some miscellaneous measures, more or less of a local character.

We may first take up the *nala* (*hasta*) and allied measures for a detailed discussion. In all known cases prior to the eighth century A.D. when a plot of land was made over to a purchaser or a donee, it had first to be measured according to the *nala* (reed) of 8 and 9. This method of measurement prevailed not only in the Gupta period but also under the Sena rulers of later times under a different standard and denomination. Most of the Pāla records do not furnish any precise details about land measurement because in most of them the object of the grant was one or more villages. There are differences of opinion among scholars regarding the exact length of the *nala* standard and also the interpretation of the specific phrase '*aṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām*' occurring in some earlier inscriptions. A *nala* standard is sometimes described as '*aṣṭaka—navaka*,' which is generally taken to mean a *nala* i.e., a rod measuring 8×9 cubits or *hastas*.[1] The '*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*' thus appears to have represented an oblong measure, comprising an area of 9 reeds (each reed measuring one *hasta*) in length and 8 reeds in breadth. The unit must have been composed of two *nalas*, one for measuring length and the other for measuring breadth.[2] Taking the average measurement of a *hasta* to be 19 inches, B.C. Sen suggests that the area covered by a pair of '*aṣṭaka-navaka-nalas*' may have corresponded to an oblong area of $19 \times 8 \times 19 \times 9 = 25992$ square inches or $180\frac{1}{2}$ square feet. Saletore seems to hold the same view.[3] According to D.C. Sircar[4] the measuring rod was 6 cubic feet long. The basis of his theory

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being that the peasants of Bengal and Bihar, as pointed out by him, still use such a rod, though its length varies from place to place. This connection between the *nala* as used in the context of the early records, with a current unit of meastrement is a mere assumption lacking in proof. The '*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*' used earlier is not heard of during the period under survey.

It appears that probably there was no uniform system of land measurement throughout the kingdom of the Sena rulers during whose reign the use of the *nala* is found to have existed. There were local or special standards as attested by references to *Samataṭiya-nala*[5] evidently meaning a standard used in Samataṭa in South-East Bengal. Sometimes a *nala* is found associated with the name of the king as shown by the mention of '*Vṛṣabhaśaṅkara-nala*.' '*Vṛṣabhaśaṅkara*' appears as the biruda of king Vijayasena referred to in the Madanapāḍa,[6] Edilpur[7] and the Barrackpur grants.[8] In the Naihati grant of Vallalasena[9] '*Vṛṣabhaśaṅkara-nala*' is used in connection with a grant of land in Uttara-Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala of the Vardhamana-bhūkti and in the Ānulia copper plate of Lakshmanasena with regard to gift of land in Vyaghrataṭi belonging to Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti.[10] Vijayasena must have introduced a new standard of land measurement and consequently called it after him. This measurement continued at least up to the time of his grandson, Lakṣmaṇasena, as evidenced by the Ānulia copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena. Strangely enough, king Vijayasena himself granted land according to *nala* prevalent in Samataṭa.[11] N.G. Majumdar presumes that 'the natural inference would be that the region where the land was situated belonged to the Samataṭa country.'[12] It is possible that the '*Samataṭiya-nala*' later on changed its name and came to be known as '*Vṛṣabhaśaṅkara-nala*' during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, to give it a stable and authentic form free from complication. It is likely that the measure thus standardized was kept in the royal palace.[13]

In a passage in the Tarpaṇadīghi copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[14] mention is made of a certain land given in the Varendrī region by king Lakṣmaṇasena, which was measured according to the *nala* prevalent in the particular locality concerned (*tatratya-deśa-vyavahāra-nalena*). When all these charters are compared, it seems that the *nala* measure was not the same everywhere under the senas for evidently the name *samataṭiya-nala*, has been used to differentiate it from the *nalas* current in other parts of their kingdom; the '*Vṛṣabha-śaṅkara-nala*,' was current in Uttara-Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala and Vyaghratati-Maṇḍala and a different measure prevailed in Varendrī, as already mentioned.

Besides these there are references to *nala* of different standards consisting of 56, 32 and 22 cubits used in the period. In the Govindapur copper

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plate reference is made to a *nala* current in the Vardhamāna-bhukti measuring 56 cubits.[15] The Sundarban copper plate of the same king mentions a measurement of 32 cubits prevalent in Khāḍi-Maṇḍala.[16] Similarly, the India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena refers to a measurement which is equivalent to 22 cubits (*dvāviṁśati-hastena-parimitaḥ*) which was in use in the north-eastern part of the Dacca district.[17] The passage in question is partly defaced which makes it difficult to understand its precise relation to the '*yaṣṭi*' standard to which it refers. Thus it appears probable that during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena alone there were at least six different '*nala*' or cubit standards in use.

There are cases where the measurement in terms of the *nala* is not given. Thus from the Belwa plate of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (regnal year 5)[18] we come to know that the gift land consisted of three localities, all situated in Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. The first was Osinna-Kaivartta-vṛtti, which measured 210; the second was Nandisvāminī measuring 490 and the third was Gaṇeśvara, measuring 151, evidently according to the standard land measure which is however, not specified. It may be noted as we have already shown that the standard measures of the Sena kings of Bengal are more or less specified and definite, although different standards were in existence at one and the same time. But there is no such definite information about the standard land-measure or measures current during the reigns of the Pālas, as the Belwa inscription of the time of Mahīpāla I shows.

The length of the *nala* varied in different places, according to different local customs and usages, although the *hasta* as a unit in framing the size of a *nala* was generally not lost sight of. Where the exact size of a *nala*, however, is not indicated, it is difficult to ascertain it, for the available references clearly point to the use of *nalas* of different varieties in different regions. It is unlikely that a *nala* standard, associated with the name of a king, was invariably a case of a new standard being introduced. Probably sometimes a king confirmed the local standard, already current by associating it with his name.[19]

Measures of seed sown—their relation to the land-measure

Among the many units of land measurement curent in pre-Pāla Bengal, the most popular was the seed-measure, for in almost all the Gupta copper plates, land was measured out of *kulyavāpas*. The exptession *kulyavāpa* is employed as a denomination of land-measure denoting an area of land, possessed of the capacity of bearing one *kulya* of seed. The element *vāpa* in the compound *kulyavāpa*, derived from the root *vāp* to sow, definitely establishes this interpretation. In later times other land-measures allied to the *kulyavāpa* measure, e.g., *droṇavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa*, etc., got widely cur-

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being that the peasants of Bengal and Bihar, as pointed out by him, still use such a rod, though its length varies from place to place. This connection between the *nala* as used in the context of the early records, with a current unit of meastrement is a mere assumption lacking in proof. The '*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*' used earlier is not heard of during the period under survey.

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The length of the *nala* varied in different places, according to different local customs and usages, although the *hasta* as a unit in framing the size of a *nala* was generally not lost sight of. Where the exact size of a *nala*, however, is not indicated, it is difficult to ascertain it, for the available references clearly point to the use of *nalas* of different varieties in different regions. It is unlikely that a *nala* standard, associated with the name of a king, was invariably a case of a new standard being introduced. Probably sometimes a king confirmed the local standard, already current by associating it with his name.[19]

Measures of seed sown—their relation to the land-measure

Among the many units of land measurement curent in pre-Pāla Bengal, the most popular was the seed-measure, for in almost all the Gupta copper plates, land was measured out of *kulyavāpas*. The exptession *kulyavāpa* is employed as a denomination of land-measure denoting an area of land, possessed of the capacity of bearing one *kulya* of seed. The element *vāpa* in the compound *kulyavāpa*, derived from the root *vāp* to sow, definitely establishes this interpretation. In later times other land-measures allied to the *kulyavāpa* measure, e.g., *droṇavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa*, etc., got widely cur-

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rent. It is to be noted that the use of the word *vāpa* in these expressions clearly points to the extent of the seed-bearing capacity of the land covered. The term *kulyavāpa*, *droṇavāpa* or simply *droṇa*, *bhū-droṇa* (where the element *vāpa* is wanting but the implication is clear from the context) as measures of land in this sense are found used with details of measurements especially in inscriptions of Bengal.

As rice has been the staple food crop in Bengal since times immemorial, it may be presumed that the seed referred to in the unit measures mentioned above was rice.[20] This view is supported by the reference to a *dhaṇyadroṇa* mentioned in Manu.[21] According to the *Raghuvaṁsa*[22] the usual practice especially in lower Bengal was to transplant in the cultivated land where the paddy seed had been originally sown. Pargitar, therefore suggested that the *kulyavāpa* indicated that area of land which was required to transplant the seedlings of one *kulya* of rice As the idea of *kulya* was not very clear he took great pains to explain it and ultimately he defines *kulyavāpa* as an area of 9 reeds in length and 8 reeds in breadth, and if a *nala* equals 16 cubits in length and a cubit 19 inches, the area of a *kulyavāpa*, according to his calculation would be a little over an acre ($3\frac{1}{40}$ *bighas)* of land.[23] Altekar supports Pergitar. Maity, however opposes this view on two considerations. Firstly, he points that the term *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* occurs in inscriptions not only with measurement known as *kulyavāpa*, but with such other measures as *droṇavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa* as well. So there is no valid reason why it is to be regarded as a further definition of *kulyavāpa* alone. Secondly, on the evidence of the Damodarpur copper plate No. 5, he argues that the area of *kulyavāppa* should be much larger than an acre, because it is hardly likely that the village Pañcakulyavapaka, mentioned therein covered an area as small as 5 acres only. As Pañcakulyavāpa is given as the name of a village it is doubtful if it is to be taken in its literal sense. In fact, in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to reach any definite conclusion and all attempts to arrive at some sort of equation between the different systems of measurements practised in ancient Bengal and their modern counterparts cannot be difinitely solved with the materials at our disposal.

It is interesting to note that after the Guptas the term *kulyavāpa* gradually fell into disuse although the word *kulya* is found used as a measure of land adopted by Vigrahapāla III in his Belwā[25] and Āmgachhi[26] grants. Later on the land measurement was often given in terms of smaller units like *droṇavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa* and some times even *unmāna*. There must have been some reason to account for this tendency towards the exclusion of the term '*kulyavāpa*' as a land measure. Thus the Govindapur copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[27] refers to a plot of land measuring 60 *droṇa*s and

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17 *unmānas*, which could have been otherwise stated as 7 *kulyavāpas*, 4 *droṇavāpas* and 17 *unmānas*. The Ānulia copper plate inscription[28] also excludes *kulyavāpas* but includes *pāṭaka* along with *droṇa*, *āḍhavāpa*, *unmāna* and *kākiṇīkas*. The 9 *droṇas* in the Ānulia copper plate similarly can be taken as 1 *kulyavāpa* and 1 *droṇa*. Similarly 120 *āḍhavāpas* mentioned in the Tarpaṇadighī plate[29] could have been expressed as 3 *kulyavāpas* and 6 *droṇas*.

Drona—dronavapas

The seed measure known as *droṇa* or *droṇavāpa* was quite popular in ancient Bengal. The use of this measure can be traced in the copper plates as a measure of land by most of the dynasties that ruled during the period. Thus in the Belwā and Āmgachhi copper plates of Vigrahapāla III the *droṇa* measure is used together with *kulyas* and others.[30] It is also used as a land-measure by some of the Candra kings. In the Madanpur plate of Śrīcandra (of the year 44)[31] reference is made to a rent-free land measuring 8 droṇas exceeded by 8... This measure is also used in his Dhullā plate.[32] It is interesting to note that Laḍahacandradeva in both of his Mainamati plates used this land-measure. Thus in the first copper plate he grants six minus one fourth i.e. $5\frac{3}{4}$th *droṇa* measure of land in the village Phullahadā at Śrī Pattikeraka in Samataṭa-maṇḍala included within Pauṇḍra-bhukti the second plot of the gift land measured 8 *pāṭakas*, 5 minus one fourth *droṇas*, 5 *yaṣṭis*, and 2 *birdus* in the village of Vappasimha Voraka (scribe);—the gift land belonged to the village Dollerayika; the third plot was in the village of Guptinātana and measured 3 *pāṭakas*, 9 *droṇas* and a *kāka;* and in the second, the gift land measures $37\frac{1}{2}$ *droṇas* at the village Suravoraka relating to the Peranatana *viṣaya* in Samataṭa-maṇḍala included within Śrī Pauṇḍra-bhukti.[33] The kings of the Varman dynasty also adopted this standard as seen from some of their land-grants. In the Belava copper plate of Bhojavarman the gift land measures 1 *pāṭaka* and $9\frac{1}{2}$ *droṇas* of land of the village of Upyalika belonging to Kausambi-Ashtagachchhakhaṇḍala in the Aḍhahpaṭṭana-maṇḍala of Pauṇḍra-bhukti.[34] It is also mentioned in the Samantasar copper plate grant of the reign of Harivarman.[35] In addition to the other land measures this land-measure was quite popular among the Senas. In the Naihati grant of Vallalasena reference to this measure is found.[36] In the India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[37] the expression *dronika* occurs probably in the sense of an area of land on which one *droṇa* seed could be sown. It is also used in many of his other inscriptions, for example the Saktipur[38] Govindapur,[39] Sundarban[40] and Ānulia inscriptions, etc. In the Sundarban copper plate however, *bhū-droṇa* is used instead of simply

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drona.[41] This measure was widely used also by the kings of the Deva dynasty. It figures prominently in the grants of Damodaradeva[42] and also in the copper plate inscription of Ranavankamalla.[43] It may be presumed that it is the same as the *dronavāpa* of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. It may be noted that this is one of the land measures which was used by all the dynasties in Bengal since the Guptas. *Drona* was subdivided into *āḍhaka* or *āḍhavāpas*, *āḍhavāpas* into *unmāna*, *unmāna* into *kāka* or *kākinīka*—all these constitutes different grades of measures, based on a common unit which had not yet been definitely ascertained.

Adhaka or adhavapa

Āḍhavāpa was mentioned in the Paharpur copper plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 (=A.D. 479) as a land-measure and was equated with droṇavāpa, wherein it is stated that 4 *āḍhavāpas*=1 *droṇavāpa*.[44] It is however striking to find that this measure was not used by any of the kings in Bengal in the pre-Pāla or Pāla period except by some of the Sena kings. It is first mentioned by Ballalasena in his Naihati grant[45] a *āḍhaka*; later Lakṣmaṇasena mentioned it as *āḍhavāpa* in his Tarpaṇadighī and Ānulia copper plate inscriptions.[46]

Unmana

Another land-measure mentioned apparently in a number of variant forms is *unmāna*, *udamāna* or *udāna*. Of these forms *udamāna* is mentioned, as perviously noticed in the Belwa copper plate of Vigrahapāla III.[47] The form *unmāna* occurs in the Āmgachhi plate of the same Pāla king[48] and in the Govindapur,[49] Tarpanadighī[50] Ānulia,[51] and Sundarban[52] plates of Lakṣmaṇasena. It is also mentioned in the Naihati plate of Ballalasena.[53] This land-measure is also found in some inscriptions of Viśvarupasena.[54] In his Calcutta Sahitya Parisat copper plate inscription *unmāna* has been used as a synonym for *udāna* and it is referred to in several passages as the standard land-measure.

As regards the implication of the term and also the area denoted by it, we get some useful information from the Sundarban copper plate of Lakṣhmaṇasena.[55] This plate records the grant of a piece of land which measured 3 *bhū-droṇas*, 1 *khāḍika* (?) 23 *unmānas* and 2½ *kākiṇās*. There is further information, which is not usually given in our records, as to how the land was measured. It is stated that a standard of 32 cubits was followed in carrying out the measurement recorded in the inscription and that one *unmāna* was equivalent to 32 cubit and 1 cubit = 12 *aṇgulas*. On the basis of this valuable information supplied by the Sundarban copper plate it may be possible to have an approximate idea about the size of the land

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forming the subject of the gift. It may be noted that this measure was unknown to the dynasties that ruled before the Pālas. Both the Pālas and the Senas made use of it.

Kakini

The name of another land-measure is found in the inscriptions of the period, as *kāka* or *kākiṇi*. This measure is found together with other land-measures, discussed above. As the two terms, *kāka* and *kākiṇi* are never mentioned together in a single charter it may not be correct to suppose that one of them denoted a subdivision of the other. The land measure *kākiṇi* is mentioned in the Āmgachhi grant of Vigrahapāla III and in the Sundarban, Ānulia and Rājāvaḍa plates of Lakṣmaṇasena. In the Naihaṭi copper plate of Ballalasena however, the word *kakā* comes last in the list of measures which includes *bhū-pātaka*, *droṇa*, *āḍhaka*, *unmāna* in the order in which they are given here.[56] In the first Mainamati copper plate of Laḍahacaedra the system of land-measures follows two orders—(1) *pāṭaka*, *droṇa*, *yaṣhti* and *bindu* in descending order and (2) *pāṭaka*, *droṇa* and *kāka* in the same order.[57] On the whole, therefore, it will appear that the term *kāka* or *kākiṇi* represents a lower measure in the table, if the order in whichit is generally mentioned in the list is taken into account. The India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[58] also mentions *kāka* as a land measure together with *droṇa* and *gaṇḍa*.

The *kāka* measure is even now prevalent in many parts of Bengal although the extent of the area indicated by the term varies from place to place. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal*[59] gives the names of a land-measure as '*kāṇi*', which seems to be a modern variation of the ancient term *kāka* or *kākiṇī*. 'This', he says, 'is a little over an acre in the Dacca and Mymensing districts of East Bengal.' In the Faridpur district of East Bengal an area of 30 *kāṇis* is equal to 3622 square cubits of land. Thus one *kāṇi* should be equal to 120 square cubits. Moreover, from the measures current in Sandvip in the Noakhali district of south-east Bengal, the following equation are available:

4 *kāḍas* = 1 *gaṇḍa*
20 *gaṇḍas* = 1 *kāni*
16 *kānis* = 1 *don* (*drona*)

It is interesting to know that the above table connects *gaṇḍa*, *kāṇi*, and *droṇa* together. The Indian Office plate gives the two names *gaṇḍa* and *droṇa*; the third name *kāka* may have been the same as *kāṇi*.[60]

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Pataka

The word seems to be used in a two-fold sense,—firstly, when it is found mentioned with or without other seed measures it may mean a kind of land-measure; secondly, when it is given as an element of a proper name it may be interpreted as part of a village or locality, denoted by the latter.

The use of the term *pāṭaka* as denoting a kind of measure was current in East Bengal in the 6th and 7th centuries as evidenced by the Gunaigarh copper plate inscription of Vainyagupta (508 A.D.),[61] the Kailan copper plate of Śrīdharana Raṭa, the Tippera copper plate and the Ashrafpur copper plate inscriptions.[62] Its use as the name of a land measure continued for centuries as shown by references to be found in the inscriptions of the Candras (Rāmpāl copper plate of Śrīcandra and the Mainamati plate of Laḍahacandra),[63] the Varmans (the Belava plate of Bhojavarman mentions one *pāṭaka* and $9\frac{1}{4}$ *dronas* of land)[64] and most of the land grants of the Sena kings including Keśavasena. As in most of these inscriptions the term occurs with other seed-measures it may be concluded that *pāṭaka* is used also as the name of a seed-measure like the others. According to the Gunaigarh grant a *pāṭaka* was equal to 40 *dronavāpas* (i.e. 5 *kulyavāpas*). It is not know whether the same equation continued in the later period.

The Śaktipur plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[65] uses the word *pāṭaka* in both the senses mentioned above. Thus it records the gift of 6 *pāṭakas*, each of which is given a name, namely, Rāghavahatta, Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihita, Vijaharapura, Damaravaḍā and also Nimapāṭaka, of which only a portion was included. It can not be said definitely whether each of these six *pāṭakas* measured one *pāṭaka* or they represented six different wards or parts of an area. There is some difficulty in accepting the second alternative as there will be no information about the measure of land denoted. Kielhorn has explained the term '*pāṭaka*' as meaning *grāmaikadeśa* and interpreted it as 'a part of a village'; 'outlying portion of a village or a kind of hamlet, which had a name of its own, but really belonged to a larger village.'[66] According to the *Abhidhanacintamani*[67] 'a *pāṭaka* is one half of a village' (*pāṭakastu tadardha syāt*). It may be presumed that the Bengali word *pāḍa* seems to have evolved out of the term *pāṭaka*. Sometimes as in the Naihati copper plate of Vallalasena[68] the expression *bhū-pāṭaka* is used instead of simply *pāṭaka*, which means the same thing i.e., ameasure applied to land in relation to the quantity of seed sown on it.

Bhu-Khadi and Khadika

Another land-measure bigger than a *kulyavāpa* or *dronavāpa* was *khāḍika* which is known from some of the inscriptions of the Senas. In the Sun-

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darban copper plate of Lakşmaṇasena[69] the measure *khāḍika* occurs with other land-measures such as *bhū-drona*, *unmānas* and *kākiṇīs*. In the Madhainagar copper plate of Lakşmaṇasena[70] it is stated that the grant consisted of a village called Dāpaṇiya-pāṭaka comprising 100 *bhū-khāḍis* and 91 *khāḍikas*. From this inscription it appears that *bhū-khāḍikas* and *khāḍikas* do not indicate the same thing.[71] Secondly a *bhū-khāḍika* is a bigger measure than a *khāḍika* and thirdly, the village called Dāpaṇiya-pāṭaka measured 100 *bhū-khāḍikas* and 91 *khāḍikas*. Whether this measure is the same as the measure called *khāri* or *khārika* or *kharivāpa* we do not know.

Miscellaneous measures

Besides, the *nala* measure and the seed-measure noted above, we have some other miscellaneous measures of restricted use among which the most important one is the *hala* measure. The *hala* (or plough) measure was current not only in some parts of Bengal but also in many places outside as shown by records connected with different dynasties of Northern India.

The use of the plough-measure in connection with a land grant seems to indicate that it was approximately known how much land could be usually cultivated with one plough in a day. It is mentioned as a land measure in the Dhullā copper plate of Srīcandra[72] and also in the Śamantasar plate of Harivarmadeva.[73] But it is called *bhū-hala* in the Bhaṭera plate of Govindakeśavadeva.[74]

It is difficult to say when the word '*hala*' was first used as the name of a land-measure, although it is known to have been in currency in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. Its use in the sense of a land measure is found in Pāṇini where the area cultivated with one plough is called *halya*. This may be compared with *dvi-halya*, *tri-halya*.[75]

There is one difficulty in ascertaining the exact area that could be cultivated with one plough. This may have varied according to the size of the plough. Thus a bigger unit is called *parama-halya* by Pāṭanjali. The Harsa stone inscription of the Chahamana king Vigraharāja (V.S. 930)[76] for example refers to a big plough of land evidently to distinguish it from smaller plough of land. Soil was of different qualities in different regions the capacity of the plough depended on the variable character of the soil. As the grades of soil were of different categories, the extent of land indicated could not have possibly been the same everywhere. Another term used in connection with land-measures is *yaṣṭi*. The India Office plate of Laksmaṇasena[77] refers to a *yaṣṭi* measure. The gift land mentioned in this inscription comprised a *dronika* and one quarter plus 22 *yaṣṭis*... by a 22 cubit measure. For a proper interpretation of the passage concerned

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useful information has been furnished by Padmanath Bhattacharya regarding measures current in Sylhet throwing light on the meaning of *hala* and *yaṣṭi*, as shown in the following tabular form:

7 cubits	=	1 *nala*
1 *nala* x 1 *nala*	=	1 *rekha*
4 *rekhas*	=	1 *yaṣṭi*
28 *yaṣtis*	=	1 *kedara*
12 *kedaras*	=	1 *hala*

Thus according to this table, a *hala* is $7 \times 7 \times 4 \times 28 \times 12 = 65856 = 3.4$ acres; and one *hala* of land is found to be equivalent to $28 \times 12 = 337$ *yaṣṭis*.[78] The *hala* and *yaṣṭi* mentioned above must have been of standard sizes known to the region.

The *yaṣṭi* measure is also known from one of the Mainamati plates of Laḍahacandra.[78]

The existence of another land-measure viz., *bindu* has been discovered in one of the Mainamati plates where it is mentioned along with other known terms viz., *droṇas*, *unmānas*, *kākas*. *Bindu* thus seems to have been a measure smaller than the *kāka* measure which was so long regarded as the lowest measure.

Among the records of the period selected, there is, as the analysis attempted above shows, scarcely a confirmation of the different measures of the donated lands. Where only the measures of capacity representing the quantities of seed sown are used, the measurement of the surface of the area involved is left unstated, although the use of instruments of such measurement, such as a rod, a hand, etc. was known. These instruments must have been of standard sizes locally current or adopted or approved by rulers after whom these were sometimes called. In some parts of the territory even long before the advent of the Pālas instruments for the measurement of land were actually in use. The adoption of measures of capacity instead of the system of cubit measurement appears to have originally suited the prevailing arrangement in certain areas for the collection of the proportionate royal share of the produce of the soil. A practice which was generally convenient may have been followed even in cases of donation, where the question of collection of the king's share either in cash or in kind did not arise. In these cases where the system of area-measurement is not resorted to, it may be presumed that long usage had already evolved a practical equation between the extent of area cultivated and the measure of its productive capacity, which was good enough for arriving at a fairly accurate basis of calculation for purposes of donation.

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In regard to measures of capacity, there is every possibility that the soil which was of a variable character did not yield the same amount of produce everywhere due to differences of climatic and other conditions. That the measures of capacity were linked with agricultural commodities is evident from the use of such terms as *kulya*, *ḍroṇa*, *ādhaka*, etc. referred to above.

Special attention is deserved by the references to area measurements and the use of standard instruments in this regard to be found in some of the records of the Sena kings. The system of area measurement by standard instruments had been in vogue in the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods in regions on which light is thrown by the available grants. Such a system had rarely been followed in subsequent centuries until the time of the Senas. As donations of whole villages rather than plots of land are attested by most of the records of the Pālas, for long the dominating political power in Bengal and Bihar, it is not known definitely which system of measurement was more popular in areas which are specially under their control including Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti in North Bengal. Those of the Pāla inscriptions which do not record grants of villages but assignments of lands included the Belwa plate of Mahīpāla I in which mention is made of the gift of three localities, all situated in Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti viz., (1) Osinna-Kaivarttavṛiti, measuring 210; (2) Nandisvāmin, measuring 490 and (3) Ganeśvara measuring 151. The measurements being possibly carried out on the basis of a standard land-measures, not specified, on the other hand Vigrahapāla III, another Pāla king refers in two of his land-grants to seed-measures, *kulyas*, *droṇas*, *unamānas*, *kākiṇīs*, etc. (Belwa, Āmgachhi grants).

The adoption of the system of area-measurement of land had certain advantages which may have been realized by the Senas in making their grants. Calculations by seed measures often gave variable results so far as the actual produce was concerned. Secondly, if the extent of the land was not specified, it might cause frictions with neighbours. As donated lands were to be ordinarily enjoyed in perpetuity, the question of their partition on the death of the deceased beneficiary could be better solved if the area were properly measured and entered as such in the state records. Thirdly, with the economic growth of surrounding localities and the consequent expansion of a circle of neighbours, it was necessary for the protection of legitimate rights to property that every plot of occupied land should be measured in a accurate manner.

The implication of these points becomes clearly understood as one turns to the charters of the Senas of Bengal. The special importance attached to which is that in their statements regarding details of measurements,

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boundaries and locations of donated lands, they include essential references to stipulated annual incomes (or rents) yielded by them in terms of monetary value along with other conventional enumerations. Dr. B.C. Sen states: 'The minute system of measurement being connected with the measure of capacity appears to have been based on full and comprehensive information relating to the volume of local agricultural products. An accurate survey of villages may have been completed during the reign of Ballālasena, tenure of lands and other similar matters consequently put on a sound basis, accounting for the wealth of information contained in the grants of this king and those of his immediate successors.'[81] In other words such details could not have possibly been provided except for the care taken in preparing and preserving records of land in respect of every holding for the use of the state and the donees concerned. In this connection one is invariably reminded of the land surveys under some Muhammadan rulers in medieval India. It is worthwhile to study carefully analogous systems that operated in the earlier periods and their probable effects on conditions that arose later.

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7. Ibid, 118 ff.
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9. Ibid, 68 ff.
10. Ibid, 81 ff.
11. *CB*, 57 ff.
12. Ibid, 61; the measuring rod of the Samatata country may be compared to 'Eḍenāda-daṇḍa' (i.e. the measuring rod of the district of Eḍenāḍu) *EI*, III 216, line 9; 'Paltiyamathavurada daṇḍa' (i.e. the measuring rod of the village of Paltiyamattavurada)-*EI*, III, 234 line 45.
13. Cf. '*rāja-māna*' indicating apparently the standard unit of measurement recognised by the Government-*EI*, XXVII, 207; XXXIII, 91.
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72. *IB*, 165 ff; *EI*, XXXIII, 134 ff.
73. *EI*, XXX, 255 ff.
74. Ibid, XIX, 277 ff.
75. Pāṇini, IV. 4.9; Patanjali, I. 1.72; Bāṇa Harṣacarita, 199 ff.
76. *EI*, II, 116 ff,
77. *EI*, XXVI, 1 ff.
78. *IA*, LII, 18 ff.
79. *Pakistan Archaeology*, Number 3, 1966. 42 ff.
80. Ibid.
81. *SHAIB*, 569; cf *BS*, see the tabular statement of land grants in ancient Bengal, 53 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

BS	:	*Brahmanic settlements in different subdivisons of ancient Bengal*, Puspa Niyogi.
DHNI	:	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vols. I & II, H.C. Ray.
EHNI	:	*Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*, Puspa Niyogi.
EI	:	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EK	:	*Economics in Kautilya*, B.C. Sen.
ELNI	:	*The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period*, S.K. Maity.
HB	:	*History of Bengal* (Dacca Uni.), Vol. I, Ed. R.C. Majumdar.
HAB	:	*History of Ancient Bengal*, R.C. Majumdar.
HM	:	*History of Mithila*, Upendra Thakur.
IA	:	*Indian Antiquary.*
IB	:	*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, N.G. Majumdar.
IE	:	*Indian Epigraphy*, D.C. Sircar.
IF	:	*Indian Feudalism*, R.S. Sharma.
IHQ	:	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
LGA	:	*Life in the Gupta Age*, R.N. Saletor.
LEISE	:	*Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, R.S. Sharma.
PHAI	:	*Political History of Ancient India*, A.C. Raychudhuri.
SAMSJ	:	*Sir Asutosh Mookherjee Silver Jubilee Volume* (Orientalia)
SBJ	:	*Studies in the Buddhist Jātakas*, B.C. Srn.
SHAIB	:	*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions af Bengal*, B.C. Sen.
SI	:	*Select Inscriptions*, D.C: Sircar.
SII	:	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
SJBM	:	*Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila*, Upendra Thakur.

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Agricultural Finance and the Nationalized Bank

Dr. C. D. Singh
Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University

I

The performance of public sector banks in respect of farm finance has been unsatisfactory, especially in the financing of small, marginal and landless farmers. The failure of the banking industry to interweave social objectives with economic programmes and blaze the trail of rural transformation have been brought under sharp focus. Mr. Subramaniam former Union Finance Minister, expressed unhappiness over the performance of banks but Mr. T.A. Pai former Union Minister for Industry and Civil Supplies, went to the extent of advocating a blanket ban on urban credit so that the pale, credit-starved rural sector may not languish any more. The late President, Mr. Ahmed, had urged banks to shake off the old fiscal concept of advancing loans with a security bias and to bring about social and economic transformation.[1] In fact, the limited success of public sector banks in lifting the small and marginal farmers out of the net has been the raison d'etre behind the establishment of regional banks.

Though the banking operations in respect of farm financing have been hamstrung by a plethora of inhibiting factors, viz, problems in expansion of banking in rural areas, the rate of interest, credit-worthiness, recovery of loans, peculiarities of farm operations, co-ordination among different agencies of institutional finance to agriculture, the concept of credit-worthiness has been picked up as the subject of this paper. The traditional concept of credit-worthiness has, in fact, been the main road-block which has rendered banks unable to radicalize credit-disbursement in terms of socio-economic objectives.

II

Credit-worthiness is an assessment of the borrower's capacity to abide by the terms and conditions connected to a loan so that the safety of

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banks' resources may not be in jeopardy. It is an assessment to determine who should be given loans and how much. The current view is that 'Commercial banks are normally not in a position to provide large amounts of credit to farmers partly because of the peculiar difficulties of assessing credit-worthiness in agrarian and specially in small-scale agricultural units owing to the difficulties between production and consumption loans: partly because of specially great difficulties and the higher cost of administering farm credit without fear of sustaining losses; and largely because most of the farm credit is needed for periods longer than those normally granted by commercial banks; the experience is that, in countries where small farmers are in need of sound credit arrangements, commercial banks can be of comparatively little help directly.'[2]

One of the basic reasons for the banks' reluctance to move whole heartedly into the rural sector has been their traditional concept of credit-worthiness, i.e., 'matching every loan with an asset security.' The paramount significance of security, which brings the question of payment from an abstract indefinite arrangement back to a definite one should not be understressed in respect of banking operations. The main functions of security are to ensure the safety of the loan and prevent the borrower from building up an excessive debt to other persons or institutions as the specified mortgaged property limits his ability to obtain loans elsewhere. This explains why security has been the basic traditional factor in gearing the lending-pattern of the commercial banks.

III

The loaning policies of Indian banks are largely security-oriented. Advances for short-term working capital are granted either on cash credit basis, (pledge, hypothecation or clean) or as demand loans or as overdrafts. Hypothecation of standing crops forms the primary security for working capital finance. For instalment credit loans, mainly pledge or hypothecation of machinery and equipment is obtained and, for term loans, mortgage or farm land, with such collateral as may be available, is obtained. Third party guarantee (under the village adoption scheme) is also accepted as collateral and in suitable cases, equitable mortgages are also accepted.

On account of the proverbial dearth of acceptable securities, the security-pattern of public sector banks attaches too much importance to land. But the security of land itself is beset with so many encumbrances that no firm foundation of rural finance can be laid on this basis. For land to be

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a satisfactory basis of security it may be necessary to undertake surveys to determine boundaries, provide for simple forms of registration of ownership and transfers, consolidate fragmented holdings and even revise the laws relating to inheritance to provide fragmentation from recurring. In consequence of such conditions, in Ceylon, W. Don Michael has observed that 'credit transactions over land involve long and tedious delays in investigation and clarification of title, and not infrequently have to be abandoned in the end.'[3]

The inhibiting provisions in various state legislations have been removed in pursuance to the recommendations of an Expert Group under the chairmanship of Mr. R.K. Talwar, on state enactments having a bearing in bank's lending to agriculture. But the removal of legal hurdles does not solve all the problems. There is every danger that security of land may not provide as much safety as it appears to provide at first look. More than a decade ago, Sir Bernard Binns issued a note of warning that 'those agricultural credit institutions which depend mainly on land as security will sooner or later be faced with the choice between becoming the owners of large areas of land which they may find difficult to administer, and selling these at a loss.'[4]

An implication of far greater importance is that the security of land tends to gear up bank lending in favour of well-to- do farmers and small farmers, who need credit most and whose upliftment should be a preamble to any reform of agriculture, are deprived of their legitimate share. 'The small landowner has the disadvantage not only of less tangible security, usually less political influence and less ability to present his case, but also of lower technical capacity, a small income out of which to accumulate and meet risks, more urgent needs and often of being tied indebt to the merchant and money lenders.'[5]

IV

This underlines the need for evolving a new concept of credit-worthiness. The modern trend is to put stress on the aspects of economic feasibility and repayment capacity and consider security of landed property more or less as a useless relic of obsolete agricultural credit theories. The criterion of feasibility ensures that the investment proposed to be financed is justified on economic considerations and at the same time provides a built-in cover for the loan by demonstrating that it is self-liquidating. The benefit cost ratio is the most commonly used criterion for judging the economic feasibility of productive investment. If any proposed investment

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leads either to output-raising or cost-reducing or both, its economic feasibility is ensured. Repayment capacity is the second major consideration in deciding credit-worthiness of borrowers. 'Neither the magnitude of debt nor the terms of borrowing nor the purpose for which the amounts are used, help or hinder the economic rise of a farmer as much as whether the borrowing is within the repaying capacity or beyond it.'[6] Lending on the basis of repayment capacity of borrowers will, on one hand, enable the banks to have a realistic idea of surplus in the borrower's current income which can be appropriated towards the repayment of the proposed loan, and on the other, the period of loan can be varied from one borrower to another subject, of course, to the maximum period for repayment admissible under the lending bank's rules.[7]

The concept of repayment capacity never suggests to do away with the question of security altogether. On the contrary it suggests the need for a more imaginative and flexible approach to attitudes towards security. Besides land, other forms of securities which are available in rural areas should be accepted and encouraged and loans should be granted wherever possible, on the basis of the personal character and integrity of the borrower.

V

With the changed concept of credit-worthiness, it is but natural for the banks to bring about relaxations in the type of security. The concept of security itself has to undergo a profound change. In the new concept of credit-worthiness, the value of security should be instructive, not punitive. A banker is never interested in recovering the loan amount through the sale of mortgaged property or security. However, it helps in creating a safeguard and an atmosphere in which even the recalcitrant traditional banker is prompted to lend unhesitatingly to the farming community. The terms and conditions relating to security should be flexible enough to leave a vast scope to local agents to exercise their discretion and judgement.

One acceptable form of security may gold and silver the nest egg of Indian farmers. Hardly a single family is to befou nd in the rural areas which has no possession of gold and silver ornaments. This has been an important outlet in which they have been sinking meagre savings. Gold loans, in fact, had been one of the important types of advances made by the commercial banks operating in the southern states. The share of gold advances declined sharply after 1962 due to the inhibiting provisions of the gold control order. In the changed circumstance, gold may conveniently be

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accepted and popularized as security for extending farm finance. Lending against this security involves no elaborate assessment, investigation or procedures and thus entails the lowest possible cost both to the bank and the farmer. In the words of the All India Rural Credit Review Committee 'we welcome gold loans to be a convenient form in which commercial banks may provide agricultural credit, provided that the other features of such lending are production-oriented, e.g., the size of the loan being related to the outlay on the crop.'[8]

Other forms of security should also be developed. For long term loans, life insurance policies and for short-term loans, crop insurance policies, cattle insurance policies and machinery mortgage may be good securities. The Government should come out to establish a National Guarantee Fund in order to allay fears and apprehension in the minds of bankers that may arise on account of relaxation in the terms and conditions relating to security.

VI

If tangible securities are not available, banks should attempt to devise a procedure to advance loans on the basis of the personal security. Personal security combines two things, viz., income ability as security and moral security. Of course, there are certain inherent and obvious limitations in advancing loans on these bases. No financial institution can afford to advance either long-term loans or loans of large bulk on these bases. In this respect, the Japanese experiment may serve as a guide post.[9] An attempt should be made to take into account both personal and material elements and the quantum of loan sanctioned should be a combined result of both these considerations.

VII

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that the traditional concept of credit-worthiness has to be dispensed with if banks are to make a real impact on farm finance. A vast scope exists for the bankers to apply their imagination and wisdom, to bring about changes in the techniques of bank lending and to refashion the security and other considerations relating to lending. As pointed out by Robert Ross, 'Financing agriculture is not a single problem, but consists of combined problems of a large number of individual farm units ; for each unit the financing problems

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are different.[10] The problem is all the more deepened by the peculiarities of agricultural operations, viz., unpredictable monsoon, the instability of farm output and prices, the small size of holding, seasonality of operations and continuous demand for credit. In this context, for the banks to succeed, a change in attitude is no less, if not more urgent than a change in technique. 'No banker can be successful in agriculture who takes a merely conventional view of bank business. Only that banker can succeed who can be more than a banker.'[11] If the banker judges the farm sector by conventional norms, the horizon will always appear to be shrouded with dark clouds. Mere opening of branches in rural areas will not serve as a deus ex machina which will automatically ensure social and economic progress in rural areas. A new spirit will have to be kindled both in the hearts of the rural banker and the rural borrower—a spirit of mutual cooperation and understanding.

It will be asking too much from the banks to lay at rest the basic principles of bank lending, but they cannot sidetrack the onerous task of keeping the economic needs of social philosophy and caution on the same levels and striking a golden mean between the two. The task is rendered much more complicated by the preponderence of small farmers. However, this should not cause much trouble. The growth of the rural economy is like the growth of an infant into manhood. Complications are bound to arise in the growth-process. If the banks, who have undertaken to finance farm operations with a missionary zeal, concentrate on identifying the symptoms and plugging the loopholes, many of the complication may be nipped in the bud.

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7. For a thorough discussion, see V.M. Jakhade and M.V. Gadgil "Production and repayment capacity-oriented lending for farm investment", *R.B.I. Bulletin* Jan 70, pp. 56-63.
8. *Report of the All India Rural Credit Review Committee* (1966), p. 604.
9. In Japan, credit-worthiness is judged on the basis of both personal and material elements :

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Personal elements		*Material elements*	
1. Mental habits	20	1. Property	20
2. Diligence	20	2. Net property	20
3. Skill	20	3. Income	20
4. Thrift	20	4. House and Homestead	20
5. Family concord	10	5. Share of crop	20
6. Health of Family members			
	100		100

Quoted in V. Tirupati Naidu, *Farm Credit and Co-operation in India*, p. 117

10. Robert C. Ross, *An introduction to Agricultural Economics* p. 247.
11. A.M. Khusro quoted in 'Financing of Agriculture by Commercial Banks, Report of seminar held on Dec. 6 to 8, 1968, Reserve Bank of India, p. 162.

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Trade Union Rivalry— A threat to Trade Unionism

Dr. Satya Prakash Sinha

Rival trade unions present a real problem in India. The magnitude of this problem will became clear when a study of its effect on the promotion of several other problems of trade unions and collective bargaining in India is made. It may be concluded from such a study that trade union rivalry poses a serious threat to the very idea trade union.

The trade union movement is a product of the Industrial Revolution from which the modern industrial set up derives. In the opinion of Frank Tannenbaum.

> The original organiser of the trade-union movement is the shop, the factory, the mine, and the industry...The union is the spontaneous grouping of individual workers thrown together functionally.[1]

The shop, the factory, the mine and the industry are the products of the Industrial Revolution. It bought the factory system into existence, thereby bringing thousands of workers together, who, in due course made common cause against their employers. The capitalist, maximized his profit by exploiting them. In order to resist the exploitation by the bourgeoisie, the proletariat had no alternative but to make a common stand.[2] In other words, 'the new economic order was a challenge and the workers sought to meet the challenge through the formation of associations known as trade unions to defend their rights, living and working conditions.'[3]

The Webbs have defined a trade union as 'a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining and improving the conditions of working lives.'[4] A trade union is essentially an association of workers which tries to benefit its members through collective action for individually a worker is no match to the employer.[5]

Of course, the Webbs' definition is unnecessarily restrictive,[6] but the usefulness of their definition lies more in the purposes, as laid down in their definition, than in the scope of their definition. The first aspect of trade

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unions' purposes relates to the maintenance or protection of the workers' interests and the second aspect relates to the improvement upon, or the furtherance of the workers' interests, and it is by standing in the way of the furtherance of the workers' interests that trade union rivalry in India threatens the very idea behind trade unionism.

Trade union rivalry implies the existence of several unions in one industry. This problem, found its roots in the splits in the trade union federations, which form a significant part of the history of trade union movement in India.

The First Trade Union Federation, i.e., 'All-India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1920 and since then there occurred several splits in it as a result of which, at the end of 1949 there came into exist as many as four big trade union federations; the 'All-India Trade Congress'—a labour wing of the Communist Party; the 'Indian National Trade Union Congress'—a labour wing of the Congress Party; the Hind Mazdoor Sabha'—a labour wing of the Socialist Party; and the 'United Trade Union Congress'—union independent of any political affiliation.[7]

'Though the political influence on our trade unions is visible right from the inception of the movement, the actual process of disintegration started with the establishment of the Indian National Trade Union Congress in 1947. Its example was meticulously followed by the Socialists who set up the Hind Mazdoor Sabha in 1948. The other left-wingers (barring the Communists and the Socialists) made it an annual feature by establishing in 1949 the United Trades Union Congress.'[8]

If we look into the history of the trade union movement in India, we shall find, that all the splits were based on political and ideological differences. The example of the formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress may be used to illustrate the fact. The nationalist elements within the fold of the A.I.T.U.C. were not happy with the attitude of the A.I.T.U.C. towards the programmes of the Congress Governments. They were further unhappy because of the growing influence of the Communists on the A.I.T.U.C. which they heartily wanted to counter. It was in order to strengthen the policies of the Congress Governments on one hand and to counter the growing influence of the Communists on the trade union movement on the other that the nationalist elements chose to form a seperate central trade union federation[9] called the 'Indian National Trade Union Congress in 1947. 'The I.N.T.U.C. had the blessing and support of the Congress Party and Government.'[10] Other splits too were based on more or less similar factors.

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'One major consequence of the presence of these four federations is the existence in most areas and industries of three or four unions for the same union territory. The rivalries are acute, and continue to present problems for trade union unity....These divisions counteract...the advantage to be gained by the formation of nation-wide industrial federations.'[11]

The trade union rivalry faces a threat to trade union unity as it causes the erratic growth of trade unions in India. It weakens the membership strength of the individual trade unions in India. The following table[12] of figures showing the growth of trade unions and membership between 1961-62 and 1967, will be of great help to us in reaching some conclusions regarding the quantitative strength of the individual trade unions.

GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONS AND MEMBERSHIP
*(1961-62 to 1967)

Workers' Unions

Year	*On Register*	*Submitting Returns*	*Membership*
			('000)
1961-62	11,416	6,954	3,960
1962-63	11,620	7,114	3,667
1963-64	11,740	7,106	3,956
1964-65	12,744	7,380	4,441
1965 (April to Dec.)	19,948	6,771	3,763
1966	14,370	7,086	4,369
1967	15,024	7,381	4,503

From the above table it becomes clear that although numerically the registered trade unions have increased from 11,416 in 1961-62 to 15,024 in 1967, the membership strength of individual trade unions has been on the decline. The membership strength of individual trade unions can be calculated by dividing the total number of membership by the total number of trade unions.

This tendency towards a fall in the average membership[13] of individual trade unions has been caused by the 'cut-throat competition' that prevails among the central trade union organizations and almost all these organizations are affiliated to some political party. The leadership of these organizations is also in the hands of the outsiders—mostly politicians.

These outsiders perhaps do not realize that the workers' interests can be promoted not by the increased number of trade unions but by the increased strength of trade unions. The strength lies in unity and not in rivalry. Moreover, as we all know, trade unions stand for unity among the workers and the very idea of a trade union will be at stake if the outsiders.

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by way of forming several unions in one industry, cause disunity among the workers. Such trade unions are not really trade unions.

Trade union rivalry takes away much of the unions' time and energy thus rendering them unable to give full attention to the quality of services that they are supposed to render to their members. In the U.S.A. there are some unions such as the 'International Ladies Garment Workers' Union' which have developed extensive forms of intellectual and recreational activities as well for members.[14] Such activities live in the dreams of the trade unionists in India and the trade unions[15] in India are yet to develop such activities.

V.B. Karnik has rightly said that 'Unions will have to improve quantitatively as well as qualitatively; quantitatively in the sense of an increase in the number of regular dues-paying members, and qualitatively in the sense of the quality of service that they render to their members.'[16]

Trade union rivalry further stands in the way of the full realization of the idea contained in the following sentences :

> As a means of meeting the difficulties involved in the employment relation; labour organization essentially means the substitution of collective for individual bargaining.
>
> Collective bargaining is the resultant of the trade union movement and, therefore, it presuppsses the existence of trade unions with a belief in the efficacy of collective bargaining as a means of furthering the interests of the employees.'[18]

Thus, the fullest growth of collective bargaining as an instrument for the protection and promotion of the interests of the workers is not possible in the absence of a stron gtrade union and trade union rivalry is certainly not symptomatic of a strong trade union.

The collective bargaining process usually begins with a claim from one side [19] and then negotiation starts. But the very process of collective bargaining will not start unless recognition is accorded to a union as the bargaining agent for workman by the employer,[20] and it is via intensifying the problem of recognition of trade union as an appropriate bargaining agent for workmen that the trade union rivalry exerts its ominous influence to the extent of creating a threat to the very idea of a trade union.

The employers look upon collective bargaining as an encroachment upon their management prerogatives and thus they are always willing to get rid of this. An employer gets a very justifiable excuse for brushing aside the whole idea,[21] when there exist several unions in one industry and their

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argument, though it does not come from their heart, that it is not possible for any company faced with rival unions to contemplate collective bargaining,[22] is not easily refutable. 'It goes to the credit of the Alind Industries, Kaundara, and to the five competing rival unions that they sat together, bargained and evolved a mutually acceptable agreement. In this agreement, all the five signatory unions have together been recognised as the sole bargaining agents.'[23] But this example cannot be expected to be followed in every case.

The problem of recognition of union is further intensified by the absence of any law, making it obligatory for employers to recognize a union as the bargaining agent for workmen. In 1958 the Indian Labour Conference at its 16th session adoped the 'Code Of Discipline' and tried to introduce an element of moral obligation in the employers to recognize trade unions under certain conditions.[24] But 'morality at times counts less and so it happened here too.'[25] Allegations have been made both by trade union representatives and employers' organizations that 'Codes of Discipline and Conduct are more honoured in their breach than in their observance.'[56]

The multiplicity of trade unions in one industry or in one bargaining unit not only intensifies the problem of recognition of a union but it also does harm to the workers' interests by giving the employer an opportunity to recognize a union of his own choice without the workmen having the opportunity of being represented by a union of their own choosing.[27]

Trade union rivalry has done and is continuing to do harm 'though indirectly, by causing Government's interference in the form of compulsory adjudication, to collective bargaining in India.'[28] 'State action, even when well-meant can be such as to undermine collective bargaining and to make it impotent. Cumpulsory adjudication is one such step.'[29]

In the beginning, the practice of referring indutsrial disputes to adjudication strengthened the movement as it secured many demands for workers[30] which otherwise could not have been secured. But now this practice is discouraging the growth of collective bargaining—unions' main work.[31] Yet it cannot be advocated that compulsory adjudication should be completely removed in favour of collective bargaining[32] at least not until trade union rivalry comes to or is brought to an end. The prevalance of trade union rivalry will continue to pose an obstacle in the way of effective introduction of collective bargaining in India. Moreover, the central trade union organizations also do not express a unanimous view over the desirability or undesirability of the continuance of adjudication. The I.N.T.U.C. admits:

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Adjudication is not an ideal means of settling industrial disputes. But then in the context of our conditions after independence, it would have been a dangerous folly to discard it.[33]

H.M.S. and the A.I.T.U.C. on the other hand have been consistently opposing compulsory adjudication machinery as it abridged the workers' right of direct action and undermined the basis of collective bargaining.[34]

Even on such vital issues the central federations of trade unions are to be found in disagreement and thus it is not at all surprising 'if the trade unions have been swinging like the pendulum of a clock between compulsory adjudication and collective bargaining knowing not which is desirable or expedient for them.'[35]

Trade union rivalry, which has served to promote the problems of trade union unity and recognition of union as bargaining agent for workmen, is generally held to be 'mainly the result of political outsiders wanting to establish unions of their own, with a view to increasing their political influence...'[36] It is further hoped that a solution to the problem of trade union unity may become easier when unions become independent organizations and are managed by the workers themselves. 'There will be then no extraneous political considerations to come in the way of unity.'[37] On the basis of these grounds one may be tempted to advocate for a total ban on outsiders. But to understand the problem of outsiders it is also important to recognize the difficulties that still exist in the way of the emergence of strong inside leadership.[38] It is further argued that even a total ban on outsiders may not necessarily insulate a union from political influences. 'The employee office-bearers cannot be prevented from being interested in and connected with political parties, or from seeking the assistance of one political group or the other when such assistance is needed.'[39]

Thus, 'the only fruitful line of approach is to concentrate efforts on those measures which help build up a strong leadership from within.'[40] Illiteracy and ignorance of an average worker is the greatest hurdle in the way and as soon as this problem is solved, the leadership will come from the rank and file as a matter of course and the question of outside leadership will cease to bother us.[41] The Commission too upholds this view[42] and concludes that 'outsiders in trade unions should be made redundant by forces from within rather than by legal ban.'[43] It is further suggested that 'legal provision to protect internal leadership should be strengthened.'[44] The Commission has further recommended certain measures[45] to be taken on several fronts to strengthen forces for building up internal leadership.

To conclude, trade union rivalry in India has persistently been posing a threat to the idea of a trade union. The best solution to this lies in the

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realization of the slogan,' 'One Industry, One Union.' Further this slogan cannot be realized in practice so long as the outsiders—who have failed to appreciate the strength that lies in unity and who have made the prospect of trade union unity an eldorado for those who claim to establish a trade union movement in India on economic considerations only[46]—continue to hold key positions in our trade unions. At the same time, in the event of a legal ban on outsiders or a sudden withdrawal of outsiders from the trade unions in India, it is feared that the movement may fall into the hands of inefficient and inexperienced worker-leaders who may be run more by emotions than by facts and then the movement may be effected even more seriously.

In my opinion, the best solution lies in educating the workers and creating a sense of awareness in their minds so that the organizational set up may be streamlined and the rivalry may be reduced to the minimum if not completely eliminated. Inter-union rivalry is creating a vicious circle which instead of strengthening the pillars of the structure of the trade unions is shaking their foundations. I agree that this will be a time-consuming method for which the government, the labour leaders and workers themselves have to show keen interest and have to come out of the shells. The success of trade unions will create new vistas not only for the workers but for the whole community. It will increase the efficiency of the workers, save their time and money which are being spent at present on rivalry activites, and thereby benefitting the employers, the employees and the general public. They can gain both quantitatively and qualitatively through an increased as well as a better production at a lesser price.

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28. Here I mean to suggest that trade union rivalry is one of the most significant factors responsible for the continuance of cumpulsory adjudication.
29. K.N. Subramaniam, *Labour-Management Relations in India*, 1967, p. 498.
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31. Ibid., p. 310.
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35. Ibid., p. 52.
36. As cited in the *Report of The National Commission on Labour*. p. 288
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38. See *Report of The National Commission on Labour* 1969, pp. 288-289.
39. See the Report, op. cit., p. 289
40. Ibid., p. 290.
41. A.S. Mathur & J.S. Matur, op. cit., P. 272.
42. The Report, op. cit., pp. 290-291.
43. Ibid., p. 291.
44. Ibid., p. 291.
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Government Control and the Cooperative movement in Bihar

Dr. Nawal Kishore Singh
Department of Economics, Magadh University

A government feels it is its duty to promote an economy of service in place of mere profit. Village organization will be helpful in the preparation and execution of the plan for production. But government cannot wait in its schemes of assistance to agriculturists until the villages Cooperatives are in a position to form organizations of their own. Unemployment and poverty are urgent problems and their solution lies in increasing the agricultural productivity per worker.

It is impossible for the government to reach every cultivator through its own staff. It cannot afford it. Neither is it possible in a backward democracy where new ideas have to be taken to the doors of every cultivator. The cooperative organization takes a long time to grow, and service for the cultivator is urgent. A long-term remedy cannot serve an immediate need. The urgency results in excessive official control of co-operatives so as to make them serviceable. In the process, the cooperatives become additional cogs in the administrative machinery. 'This eventuality, dangerous both to the Co-operative institutions themselves and the success of their alliance with the authorities, will only be avoided if the bonds which hold co-operatives together are not weakened; if the links between them and their representatives also hold firm; if the co-operative spirit is kept alive and strengthened.'[1]

The late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the builder and architect of modern India, was a peerless friend and mentor of the cooperative movement. An ardent advocate of liberty, he considered cooperation as the most invaluable friend of the poor and the best instrument for the establishment of a democratic socialist order. He often repeated, 'Co-operation to me is dearer than any other movement because it is a way of life. If you make it a way of life, you not only tend to solve the country's problems but also help in solving international problems.'[2]

In advocating the cooperative ideal, Nehru was equally emphatic that government control over the movement should be removed. He was a

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great votary of voluntarism and of fostering non-official leadership within the movement. He said, 'Co-operation is not governmental control, which is the embrace of death...if it is governmental control, good or bad, it is not cooperation whatever else it may be. If you examine the state of affairs in India to-day, you will find this demonstrated. Where people ... non-governmental people have taken the lead, have devoted themselves, the movement has flourished and grown. Where it requires nursing by the government all the time, it has not grown. I will repeat...I will go on repeating...I dislike the association of government in co-operation except as an agency helping it by way of funds, etc.'[3]

This explains why Nehru always laid great stress on building up non-official leadership, and voluntary institutions within the cooperative movement and transferring to them more and more powers of regulation and control, now vested in the hands of the Co-operative Department.

Shri S.K. Dey, the then Union Minister for Co-operation and Community Development delivering his inaugural speech at the Defence-Orientcd Seminar of Co-operation workers and officials at Rajgir, Bihar, on the 6th of January 1966, made the following observations in this respect. He said that the dead weight of bureaucracy had practically strangled the cooperative movement in the country. He further said that a close analysis of the working of the cooperative movement would indicate that if at all any one factor had been responsible for not allowing it to become a peoples' movement, it was the overzealous control of the officials over the co-operative institutions.[4]

In the United States of America also, the government has been taking adequate initiative in the development of the cooperative movement in that country. There are many ways in which the United States Government has encouraged and given helpful services to cooperatives. The Farmer Co-operative Service in the U.S. Department of Agriculture performs research work and collects facts about cooperatives and gives them advice so they can do a better job.[5]

The office of the Federal Credit Unions in the U.S.A. looks after and examines the credit unions which are registered under the national law to be sure that they being conducted properly. The Federal Housing Administration guarantees loans which are made by private lenders to Co-operative Housing Associations. And in most states, the State Government extends similar help to cooperatives.[6] But the government does not control the cooperatives in the United States of America, except to see that they are honestly and lawfully carried on that the cooperatives and their members have paid back the loans they had taken or the capital which the government had put in and when this had been done that the

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cooperatives were free from government control.

The question of governmental control and elements of democracy in the cooperative movement was discussed in detail at the session of the 'Fourth Indian Co-operative Congress.' A large number of journals and newspapers commented editorially on the decisions, reached at the three-day session of the 'Fourth Indian Co-operative Congress.' A few of these editorial comments are abstracted below:

'The Cooperative Congress evidently aimed too high or else it would not have felt disappointed over the progress of cooperation. Cooperation is a habit which cannot be imposed by force.... As for indebtedness, it is a problem which the Cooperative Department cannot solve.'[7]

'The most effective way to help peasants with small holdings is to expand the sphere of cooperation. The Government would be there to give the correct guidance, not to regulate the cooperative movement. Officials and politicians should not man the cooperative movement. The cooperative has lost its vitality under the impact of too much official control.'[8]

'The Cooperative movement is still in the hands of officials and even after expenditure of crores of rupees it has not taken roots and does not succeed in creating its own leadership.'[9]

'The failure of the States to fall in line with the policy of de-officialising cooperative movement is deplorable. It is necessary for the cooperative movement to develop its own leadership. The tendency to use cooperative institutions for political purposes should be deprecated.'[10]

'The cooperative movement has not been able to flourish because of official intervention. It is also true that the cooperative institutions depend on official help to a great extent. Both these are unnecessary and a new leadership in the cooperative movement is called for.'[11]

'The Cooperative Department has its stock excuse that the responsibility of establishing cooperatives rests with the States. Bureaucratic attitude is inimical to the growth of cooperative movement.'[12]

'The present malady of the cooperative movement is not of official control. The expansion of the movement has been mainly qualitative; in fact there is a deterioration in quality. By and large the movement has become politics ridden.'[13]

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'Unless the people develop sufficient awareness of the need for cooperative effort, it will not be easy to relinquish governmental control.'[14]

'The Fourth Cooperative Congress rightly pointed out that official control is impairing the growth of cooperative leadership, yet it did not say what conditions are necessary for the growth of an effective independent leadership. Instances of failures and mismanagement should open the eyes of the authorities to the dangers of rapid quantitative development without assuring competent leadership.'[15]

'...As long as the honesty and efficiency of cooperative leaders is not established beyond doubt, there is all justification for continuing official control.'[16]

'The Cooperative Movement as it stands today will be of doubtful value without the official control. Lately, it has become a common practice to blame the official for the evils that have crept into various fields. If government control is removed altogether, cooperative institutions may not enjoy the confidence of the depositors.'[17]

'Freed from official control the cooperative movement will be like a runaway horse. The only way to free the movement from official control is to make it self-sufficient and self-generating.'[18]

'...demand for deofficialization and demand for more money are inconsistent. It does not appear reasonable to ask the Government to keep aloof when it is responsible for the existence and sustenance of cooperetive societies.'[19]

The above quotations reveal the fact that under the present circumstances governmental control over the cooperative movement is an essential evil which will have to be tolerated. If the Registrar was merely a registering officer, as in England, he would have little to do beyond seeing that the bye-laws were in accordance with the law and that the law was not infringed. In fact, in Bihar, whether a Government official or an honorary worker, he has been made the foundation of the movement; so that to him falls the duty of studying all possible objects, and of deciding which to encourage and which to postpone to a more favourable occasion. The main duty of the Rcgistrar and his staff is to study the economic interests of the class from which members are drawn and to devise measure on cooperative lines, whereby, these interests can be promoted. He is becom-

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ing more and more the head of a great educative movement wherein the people are taught how to get rid of their troubles and improve their lives by their own efforts.

The fact that the objects of a society must be the promotion, in one way or another, of the economic interests of the people who are prepared to co-operate, involves a close study of economics. Insofar as the movement is concerned with the rural classes, the Cooperative Department becomes one of applied practical rural economics; and all concerned must became masters of this very intricate art.

No consideration of the cooperative credit movement in Bihar can lose sight of the government leading-strings. This State is not unique in having had the original impetus to cooperation come from the government or from government officials, or in having the movement received government encouragement and even support, but there has been in Bihar a degree of dependence upon official initiative, direction, and control that is without parallel. In fact it is not a spontaneous growth but a government policy.

After making a minute observation and critical analysis of the system of management of the Bihar State Cooperative Bank, the apex cooprative institution of the state, it is evident, that the State Government exercises adequate control over the administration and management of the bank. Out of the fifteen directors, three are civil servants, and two are government nominees. Thus one-third of the directors are government servants and government nominees. More important to note here is that, the Managing Director, the executive head of the bank, is also appointed by the government. In this way including the Managing Director, the State Government captures 40 per cent seats in the Board of Directors.

Most of the cooperators do not like the State Government to exercise so much control over the administration and management of the bank, because it is a violation of the principles of cooperation which recognize peoples' initiative in management. Under the present state of affairs, however, the State Government interference in the management seems to be justified on the ground that the State Government itself has been the largest contributor to share-capital of the bank. Now, in the interest of the state it is desirable that the government should have adequate control over the managerial affairs of the bank as the share in the management must also be in proportion to the share in capital. If its not so then government money may be misused. Thus it is justified that who pays the piper must have a right to the tune.

After making a comparative study of the systems of management of the Bihar State Cooperative Bank and the Central Cooperative Banks, it is

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evident that the management of the latter is more on democratic lines than that of the former. Out of the twelve members of the Board of Directors of a Central Cooperative Bank, nine are representatives of individual shareholders and member-primary societies. Thus under such a system of management, the interest of shareholders and primary societies is better safeguarded.

The management of primary cooperative credit society is based upon democratic principles. The primary societies are managed by the members themselves. Any external agency or the government may act only as a advisory agency. The General Committee is the supreme authority of management of primary credit society but it cannot violate the provisions laid down under the Cooperative Societies' Act, bye-laws, Registrar's Circulars and Principles of Cooperation in general. The Managing Commitee or the Panchayat, the elected body of the General Commitee carries out the principles and policies laid down by the General Committee. The Managing Commitee, however, is responsible for actual administration and management and to look into the day-to-day affairs of the society.

The General Committee elects a Managing Commitee or Panchayat which consists of seven to eleven members, including a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Joint-Secretary and a Treasurer. The election of the Panchayat is based upon democratic principles. Every member of the primary society as each member has got the right of only one vote. Thus there are hundred per cent democratic elements in the administration and management of primary cooperative credit societies in Bihar.

Thus it can be concluded that the official control of cooperatives is an extremely delicate task which should foster cooperative growth and extinguish itself in the shortest period. Every aid every act of approval, and every act of administration on the part of officials should be duly weighed to what extent it hinders or helps cooperative growth. All these should not deprive the society of the pabulum on which it has to grow and paralyze its limbs in the process, substituting official legs, hands, and eyes, for the co-operatives'. The way to solve this contradiction of the need for urgent service and the availabilty of only indifferent service through cooperatives is to restrict the cooperative organization just to those areas and people which can provide the minimum conditions for its working. The value of the cooperative system lies not merely in its own service but in its pace-setting value to the private agencies.

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Technique of Accounting— Present System and some Suggestions

Dr. Deo Muni Prasad
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya

Colleges and universities provide services without profit to the society and are one of the most prominent sub-groups among the non-profit-making institutions. Therefore, a little more attention should be paid to the technique of accounting for colleges and universities and for other non-profit-making institutions. Historical technique of income and expenditure accounts and receipts and payment accounts do not serve the purpose owing to the peculiar operational characteristics of colleges and universities. Therefore in this article an attempt has been made to find out a suitable technique of accounting for colleges and universities.

The primary purpose of accounting in colleges and universities is to report the fund position and the state of affairs of properties. In such reporting, some items of income are usually accrued but not incorporated and certain expenditures are not usually prorated, but received. The emphasis in this type of institution is on the determination of the sufficiency of resources to meet obligations. This accounting system does not make any distinction between capital and revenue expenditures, as it is based on the technique of accrual accounting. It would be better if the system of accrual accounting is combined with the technique of fund accounting. This suggestion is discussed here in detail.

Accounting for Receipts and Payments

Resource receipts for colleges and universities are of two categories. These are

1. Receipts available for operating purposes, and
2. Receipts for non-operating purposes.

Fee and other money received by a college or a university for operating purposes can be further subdivided into fund available for general use and fund available for current restricted general use.

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This classification will enable a person to know the availability of fund for restricted and unrestricted purposes. Payments to those who impart instruction and carry on administrative work, organize research projects, arrange for the purchase of books, equipments and other stores, are made out of the fund for general use. Money received from different heads of resources for operating purposes is transferred into this fund. A college or a university receives money from different heads such as endowment funds, land and building funds, etc. Income from these heads should be transferred to a fund by debiting the appropriate asset account and crediting the fund entity balance.

Fund Entity

Every financial transaction should be recorded in a fund account. Reporting of such transactions should be made from such an account. Therefore there will be a number of accounts under different heads,

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING.....

Particulars	*Current Funds*		
	General	*Restricted*	*Total*
Current Income			
Educational			
Student Fees	.....	.....	.....
Endowment	.....	.....	.....
Other Incomes	.....	.....	.....
Total Income	.....	.....	.....
Expenditure			
Educational	.....	.....	.....
Administrative	.....	.....	.....
Salary of teaching staff	.....	.....	.....
Books, equipment & stores	.....	.....	.....
Total Expenditure	.....	.....	.....
Excess of Income Over expenditnre	(+)	.....	.....

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current fund and a number of loan fund accounts, etc. Alternatively, this means maintenance of accounts under different heads instead of entering all transactions under one head. It may mean fragmentation of accounting records and creation of a fund entity. Such recording of transactions will help the authorities to know the fund position of any individual head at any time and will ensure the utilization of the fund for which it has been created. It will impose an automatic check on such authorities over any diversion. Thus, this system has an in-built corrective mechanism.

Accounting for Current Income and Expenditure

Colleges and universities prepare income and expenditure accounts but they do not make any difference between income and expenditure of a current nature and a restricted nature. Hence, it is difficult to ascertain their quantum separately through this account. It is desirable if they are routed through a Fund Account. In such accounts revenues should be shown by source and expenditure by functions performed. The pro forma of income and expenditure account under this technique of accounting may be as shown in the table.

There is much income accruing to an educational institution over a period of time which is not fully spent during that period. In the circumstances only that part of the income or receipt should be shown in the Income and Expenditure Account for a particular period which has been actually spent during that period. Scholarship is a brilliant illustration of this sort of receipt. All the money received under this head is not spent during that period of receipt. As such receipts do not become income until the terms of the grant have been met. The inflow of such resources should be incorporated in the restricted fund by debiting the appropriate asset account. The offseting credit should be made either directly to the current restricted fund balance account or to a revenue account which could be closed to the current restricted fund balance account.

Accounting for Auxiliary Receipts

Some educational institutions allot their land to cultivators and receive income in the form of rent. This is also an income of the institution but this is an income received from auxiliary activities. This cannot be treated like the income received through fees and grants. This is so because auxiliary activities of colleges and universities are not an integral part of the academic programme. It is desirable to incorporate

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such types of income under a separate fund for the purpose of showing the extent to which such activities are self-supporting. For this, the preparation of a separate income and expenditure account and a separate operating statement is desirable.

Accounting for Funds

We have discussed above, that colleges and universities should record their transactions in different funds. This can be achieved if there are a number of funds such as Current Funds—General and Restricted,—Loan funds, Endowment Funds, Plant Funds, etc.

Current Funds

Current Funds may be divided under two heads — Current General Funds and Current Restricted Funds. Current General Funds include those receipts of colleges and universities which are used at the discretion of management, whereas current restricted funds include those receipts which are to be utilized only under those heads to which they relate. The first entry for the receipts under the head, Current General Fund, will be as follows :

Cash a/c Dr.
    Current General Fund.

The second entry for the expenses met out of this fund will be as follows :

Current General Fund a/c Dr.
    Cash.

The above method of recording the transactions will be followed for the transactions to be entered into Current Restricted Funds.

Loan Fund

Colleges and universities also grant loans to their employees. A separate Loan Fund for the loans granted under this head should be created. An attempt should be made by the authorities to make this fund a self-sustained fund. The amount of interest received on it should be credited to this fund, not to the general fund as it is being done under the present system. A balance sheet together with a summary of the receipts received under this

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head should be presented at the end of the year. A specimen of the balance sheet of this fund is as follows :

BALANCE SHEET AT THE END OF THE YEAR ENDING...

LOAN FUNDS

Assets		*Liabilities and Fund Balance*	
Cash	.....	Loan Fund Balance	.....
Receivables	.....		
Total Loan Funds Assets	.....	Total Loan Funds	.....

Endowment Fund

Another fund which may be maintained by colleges and universities is the Endowment Fund. Under this fund, receipts from donations are recorded. Income in the form of interest is made and recorded in this fund. This fund may be classified as restricted and unrestricted funds. Receipts available in the restricted fund may be utilized within the limits of endowment agreement while the receipts available in the unrestricted fund may be utilized at the discretion of the management. The technique of recording the transactions of this fund will be as follows:

Cash a/c Dr. .....
  Endowment Fund Income .....

Likewise an entry for the distributions made out of this fund may be recorded in the following manner :

Fund Balance a/c Dr. .....
  Cash .....

A balance sheet showing the receipts received under this head of the fund may be presented. The pro forma of the balance sheet of this fund is also like the pro forma of the loan funds.

Plant Funds

The fund in which the fixed assets are recorded is known as the Plant Fund. This fund may be divided into a number of sub-plant funds, such as, plant fund for building, plant fund for land, etc. Regardless of the number of plant funds recorded in books and accounts of the colleges and universities, a consolidated balance sheet for all plant funds should be presented. While showing the position of the plant fund in the balance sheet a distinction can be made between used plant fund and unused plant fund. The pro forma of the balance sheet for used and unused plant funds is as follows:

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BALANCE SHEET AT THE END OF THE YEAR ENDING

PLANT FUNDS

Cash		*Unused Plant Fund*	
	.....	Unused Plant Fund Balance	.....
Investment	.....		
Other Income	....		
Other Fund		Total Unused Plant Fund	....
		Used Plant Funds	
Building	.....	Payables	.....
Land	.....	Fund Unilized	.....
Equipments	.....		
Total investment in plant	.....	Total investment in Plant	.....

The above technique of presenting the balance sheet for plant funds will enable the management and other people to know the position of used and unused plant funds easily. In this way an automatic control is imposed on the utilization of unused plant fund. If the quantum of receipts in the unused plant fund is poor, management will be forced to strengthen the position of this fund before utilizing it.

Conclusion

It appears from the above technique of accounting that the colleges and universities willing to adopt this, will have to maintain and report their transactions through different kinds of funds. They will report their income and expenditure through Current General Funds and Current Restricted Funds. There will be a new Income and Expenditure Account for auxiliary activities. Again there will be another statement for receipts and payments and this statement too will be presented through Current General Fund and Current Restricted Funds. The balance sheet will comprise the entire fund and will give the position of assets and liabilities of each fund.

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Dynamism of the Marxian Economy

Dr. Ghanshyam Narain Singh
Department of Economics, Magadh University

Karl Marx (1818-1883), the founding father of scientific socialism, was in fact much more than a mere economic thinker. He was as much a philosopher, historian, sociologist and revolutionist as a front-rank political economist. Though his economic as well as political ideas were far from being original yet in that sense originality is not the domain of anybody however great a thinker he may be. Whitehead is right, when he says, 'every great idea was originated by some one who was not the first to discover it.'[1]

Marx was fortunate to have a trusted and most remarkable friend in Engels, who together with him wrote not only the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 but much of his political and economic ideas were the product of the culmination of their intellectual friendship. It was, indeed, because of their friendship that the two of its three volumes of the much propagated *Das Kapital* — a gospel of the communist world — could see the light of day. The first volume of *Das Kapital* — the major work of Marx, containing all his doctrines — appeared in 1867. And its second (1885) and third (1894) volumes were edited by Engels on the basis of incomplete notes and manuscripts. The comparatively less known fourth volume of this epoch-making work edited by Karl Kautsky, after the death of Engels, is a scholarly history of the theories of Surplus Value.[2]

Paradoxes in the Life and Works

The life and work of Marx was full of eventful paradoxes. This champion of the destruction of the citadel of capitalism, spent his childhood and youth in the Rhineland, which was economically and politically the most developed part of Germany and which had greatly been influenced by the French bourgeois revolution of the late 18th century.[3] His life was the career of a dedicated fanatic. Marx as the son of a prosperous Rhineland jurist, led the life of the impoverished bourgeois. He was jewish by birth, a baptized Christian and attended German Universities —

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Bonn and Berlin. It is, indeed, an irony of fate that this great champion of classless society lived in exile in Paris and Brussels and ultimately in London — then a centre of the capitalist structure. His socialist ideas were formed in the celebrated British Museum — a living monument of British imperialism — where he spent the last thirty years of his life as a most celebrated and assiduous user of that great library. Not only this, his economic ideas for the destruction of capitalism were shaped by the inspiration of the great classicists like Adam Smith and Ricardo — to whom he made generous acknowledgement. The Marxian system of analysis is the logical outcome of their classical doctrine. It is again an irony of fate that non-chancist Marx has to succumb to the eventful chances in his life. Marx was born, the year after the publication of Ricardo's famous *Principles of Political Economy* like Newton was born the year Galileo died. And also Marx died, the year Keynes and Schumpeter were born. He was all through supported by the well-to-do bourgeois in formulating his revolutionary theory designed to everthrow the citadel of capitalism.

Philosophical Background

It is difficult, if not impossible, to have a glimpse of the economic ideas of Marx without discussing his dialectical materialism and also the materialistic conception of history. Marx studied Hegelian philosophy in his university career which aimed at a comprehensive and dynamic view of the society using the dialectical methods. Marx, temperamentally a revolutionist-cum-socialist, was chiefly interested in the principles that determine social change. He adopted his dialectical method by rejecting Hegel's idealism and combined it with materialism, which gave birth to his own peculiar philosophy called *dialectical materialism.* Marx, no doubt, accepted the basic ideas of the classical economist but reached the conclusions diametrically opposed to the Classicist. In reaching his conclusions, he was materially aided by the writings of Bray, Gray, Thompson, and Hedgskin, who have used the classical doctrine to point a revolutionary moral. These four English critics of Classicism were his real forerunners. Marx's materialistic conception of history is a by-product of his own philosophy of dialectical materialism.

Marxian 'economics has frequently been criticised as poor metaphysics and his theory of history, as poor economics.'[4] But Marx was neither an academician-philosopher nor an economist, rather he was a dynamic social scientist whose main concern was to offer an idea which could prove effective for social change, taking the best from all sciences, be it political economy or philosophy. Marxian scientific discoveries can best be explained in the words of V.I. Lenin, who says, 'Marx's

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philosopical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished, Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.'[5]

Marxian Economics

The economic ideas of Marx were in fact meant more to dig the grave of capitalism than to formulate any basic idea of the working of the economic laws. Ideologically as well as practically, Marx and Engels, put together were scholars, propagandists, journalists, refugees and also revolutionists. The study of economics was to supply them the raison d'etre for their revolutionary programmes and policies.

Capital which is still the axis around which the whole capitalist structure revolves, was viewed by Marx in a different context. He holds that labour is exploited by capital. He took the historical concept of capital into consideration. The modern history of capital begins from the sixteenth century, when world commerce arose and capital appeared in the form of money to exploit labour. Marxian economic ideas can better be explained on the basis of the following four theories of Marx:

(a) *The Labour Theory of Value* : Marx has, in fact, adopted Ricardian theory of labour value by rejecting its doubts, hesitations and modifications and he carried it to its logical conclusion. Marx holds that labour is not merely the measure and cause of value but it is also its substance. While accepting the utility as a necessary condition of value, he considered the case of value in use but distingnished it from exchange value. The quantity of labour required in the production of a thing is a common object in the determination of value. Thus in Marxian phraseology value is a mere congelation of homogeneous human labour.

(b) *The Theory of Surplus Value* : Marxian analysis of the labour theory of value finds its culmination in the theory of Surplus Value. It is probably this explanation which has helped Marx to think in terms of overthrowing the capitalist structure — which is normally based on the exploitation of the proletariat. Marx regarded labour power like anything else as 'the value of the means of substance necessary for the maintenance of labour.'

Though a labourer produces much more than the value he gets for his maintenance the surplus produce is taken away by the owner of the mean of production, i.e., the capitalist. Let Marx speak for himself about his Surplus Value: 'Now suppose that the average amount of the daily necessaries of a labouring man require six hours of average labour for their production. But our man is a wage labourer. He must, therefore, sell his labour

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power to a capitalist (who will) therefore make him work say, daily twelve hours...he will therefore, have to work six other hours, which I shall call hours of surplus labour, which surplus labour will realise itself in a surplus value.'[6]

This analysis is a grave indictment of capitalism which ultimately prepared the grave-yard for capitalism. Marx measured the degree of exploitation with reference to variable capital — his term for wages. The constant capital like machines and raw materials did not affect the measurement. The simple formula for the computation was S/V, where S was surplus value and V was variable capital. This can be translated as surplus labour time/necessary labour time. The necessary labour time is the period required to produce the workmen's means of subsistence and the surplus labour time is the extra portion of the day worked only for the benefit of the capitalists. These two labour times together constitute the working day. Marx observed that the capitalist advantage lies in keeping the proportion of variable capital to total capital as high as possible, for thereby the Surplus Value increases.[7]

(c) *The Economic Crisis* : The capitalist process of production leads to more and more concentration of wealth and power. Large scale production as well as mechanization may gradually eliminate the small-scale producers and thus a vast mass of people will naturally be employed by a handful of capitalists. This 'wheel-system' process will also increase a vast 'industrial reserve army' of unemployed — who have little or no purchasing power to purchase the industrially produced goods. The handful of capitalist will invest their ill-gotten gains for further production. Thus, a process of disequilibrium starts which leads to economic crisis.

(d) *The Collapse of Capitalism* : The last ladder of Marxian economic analysis is the collapse of the citadel of capitalism. As the gap between the haves and have-nots widens, the proletariat gradually find it difficult to bear the pains of misery because their masters live in increasing luxuries. The class-consciousness will gradually be achieved and it is here that the famous call of the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) finds its relevance. It says, 'Workers of the world unite! you have nothing to lose but your chains.' This brings a revolt in which the exploiters will be exploited. The socialist structure, that will emerge will be established by the proletariat and for the proletariat.

Marxian Dynamism

Marx was neither a prophet nor is Marxism a dogma, though Marxian ideas are still regarded as the best valued analysis of social change not only by the sizeable part of the globe having Communist rule but by

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philosophers at work in capitalist countries also. The Third World, which constitutes two-thirds of the world's population significantly follows the policy to achieve socialist aim without making a violent revolution.

The socio-economic complex of the globe has undergone a complete change in the last century and a quarter. The number of wage-workers and employees in the capitalist countries has gone to more than four million and of which the white-collar workers constitute about 25 per cent of the industrial labour force in the advanced capitalist countries.[8] There is an increasing tendency in both the capitalist and Third World countries to succumb to the demand of wage-workers and landless labourers. It is in this changed context that the Marxist should find Marxism in the spirit of Marx and not in his words. Even Marx himself said, 'permanent crises do not exist.'[9]

Though not acceptable to the large number of socio-economic Marxian thinkers, Marxian ideas are a global phenomenon if the word 'short period evolution' be synonymously used for the word 'revolution.' In fact, 'the task of Marxism is to give a true picture of social development, to comprehend the specific features of each new historical epoch and the meaning and significance of new phenomena, and on that basis to produce a scientific definition of ways for the revolutionary restructuring of the world.'[10]

The dynamism of Marxian economics lies in the fact that it stood fast the test of time and circumstances. It is a guide to action for all those who want to relieve the agonies of the poor. His ideas give a burning ray of hope to the proletariat and a stern warning to the bourgeois. That is why Marxism is as immortal as ever and his analysis seems to be nearer the truth and so inspiring.

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Muslim Sea Trade and the Rise of Islam in Indonesia

Dr. B. K. Singh
Department of Asian Studies, Magadh University

The Indonesian Archipelago which consists of hundreds of islands has always been connected closely with sea trade and cultural progress. From ancient times up to now she forms a chain linking the peoples of coastal areas of Asia, Australia, and the islands scattered in the Pacific ocean.

We cannot say precisely when and how the Indonesians got acquainted with the art of trading along sea routes. But several scholars hold that the ancestors of the Indonesians left their homelands in farther India at about 2000-1500 B.C. and probably established sea trade between the peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago and the islands of Madagascar, Formosa, the eastern islands, and New Zealand.

It is known that at the beginning of the Christian era many Indian traders visited Indonesia, so that intercourse between the two nations became clearer than before. The Dutch scholar, J.C. Van Leur, has stated that sea trade relations between both countries existed even before the emergence of the Chinese ports in South China. Archaelogical findings show that the Indian traders who came to Indonesia at the beginning of our era were from south-eastern India. They also introduced their culture to the Indonesians. Since then in Indonesia have existed Indonesian Hindu communities and kingdoms, whose culture bears elements of Indian culture. After this period shipping and trade relations as well as political and cultural contacts became stronger. These relations were maintained not only with the Indians but also with the Chinese as can be proved from the annals of the Chinese dynasties and the finds of their coins and pottery in Java and southern Sumatra.

Other peoples from Asia, like the Persians during the role of the Sasanide dynasty, are supposed to have undertaken sea voyages to the eastern countries, i.e., to places as distant as Canton. These were the farthest voyages ever made by he peoples of western Asia to the eastern countries, before the European seafarings in the 16th century.

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Since the seventh century, the sea trade between the eastern and western parts of Asia had flourished, mainly as a result of the rise of two powerful dynasties, the Ummayad Khilafat in the West (A.D. 660-749) and the Tang dynasty in the East (A.D. 618-907). According to Chinese annals, an Arab settlement was established in Canton about A.D. 618-26. We have clear evidence about the trade communication from the seventh century, derived from I-tsing's records. I-tsing embarked from Canton in the year 671 abroad the ship called *Po'sse*, and came into Bhoga (Palembang), the cradle of Buddism, en route India. He stayed in the capital of Srivijaya for six months to study Sanskrit grammar, and also visited Malaya for two months and then continued on his journey to India. I-tsing's records indicate that the capital of Srivijaya in the seventh century was a centre of trade, politics, and culture in the south-eastern part of Asia. One of the inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of Palembang, Merangin in Upper Djambi, and Kota Kapur in the Island of Bangka bears words denoting such occupations as those of *puhawan* (ship-captain) and *waniyaga* (merchant). The word *Po'sse* was used for the Persians, and hence shows that trade was carried on with Persia. We learn further that there were Indian merchants on board *Po'sse*, as a part of a convoy of 35 ships.

During the seventh century several embassies from Persia, India, Srivijaya, Ho-ling (Java), Kamboja and Campa are said to have visited the court of China. This is known from the Emperor's edict dated A.D. 695. If this report refers to the time when Arabia and Persia were conquered by the Muslims, it is not imposible that some sea traders or embassies who came to China were also Muslims. Therefore, we may say that the elements of Islamic culture had penetrated into the communities of the coastal areas in the eastern parts of Asia about the middle or the end of the seventh century. The Muslim merchants, like the Hindus, had by then settled down in the coastal areas, and married the natives, among whom they spread their culture and teaching.

Muhammad Hussain Nainar has advanced the theory that the process of the Islaminization of north Sumatra, and especially the north-eastern part bordering on the Strait of Malacca, had begun as early as the dawn of Islam or perhaps even during the Prophet's life in the way it had happened in southern India. His opinion is based on Arabic and Greek sources, which repeatedly described Ramni — the present Lamno situated about 60 miles from Kutaradja, the capital of Acheh — the first site known to the Muslim traders.

If *Po'sse* and *Ta-shih* described by the Chinese records really referred to the Muslim Arabs, it is possible that in A.D. 748 they had established a large settlement in the Island of Hainan. In the same period the Indian

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and the Malayan shipowners who were disembarking in the port of Canton visited that island too. The Muslims had become so strong a power that in A.D. 758 they were able to support the rebellion against the Chinese government is Kwangchow (Canton). They sailed off again after burning the port behind them. This terrible event was due to the weakness of the military forces in Canton more than half of which were sent out to the northern region to suppress the rebellion led by An-lu-shan who was of Turkish descent. As a result of the burning the port of Canton was closed for years to traders and foreign sea travellers; not until A.D. 792 was it reopened.

Muslim traders recorded some accounts of their overseas voyages between the Bay of Persia and China. Al Marwazi (1120) reported that about the year A.D. 749 some traders of the Shi'ah sect fled to China to avoid the armed attack of Banu Abbas on their native country. Abu Ubaidh, a writer of the Ibadiah sect, also noted that some of the followers of this sect visited China in the middle of the eighth century.

With the rise of the Abbasid Khilafat, when the capital was shifted from Damascus to Baghdad, the trade intercourse underwent a change. Al Yaqubi, author of the *Al Buldan*, also describes the busy trade in the ports bordering on the Tigris and the Euphrates. Al Mansurah was said to be a prosperous port visited by ships from the surrounding countries. The author of *Ajaib al Hind*, Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar, who was also a merchant, wrote according to the Chinese sources of Kiatan about the sea trade between Persia and China in the eighth century.

The other piece of information was given by a merchant, Khuradadhbih (A.D. 844-48), who was also interested in geography. He wrote about the kingdom of Zabag, under a Maharaja, from which camphor and other articles were exported. It was said that places such as Kilah, Salahit and Ramni were subordinate to Zabag. Zabag is thought to be Srivijaya, whose power extended to Kedah (Kilah) and the Strait of Malacca (Salahit).

This political expansion took place after the eighth century, as proved by the Liger inscription of A. D. 775. Though Ibn Khuradadhbih did not speak about the Muslim settlement in these sites, it was evident that in that time Srivijaya had already attracted the Muslim traders.

In the 10th century the Strait of Malacca was dominated by Srivijaya for it was often mentioned by Ibn al Fakih (902), Ibn Rosteh (903), Ibn Zayd, Ibn Sulaiman and Mas Udi (947), as an important trade route. Some of these Muslim merchants had probably gone to the northern coast of Java. This is proved by a gravestone found in Leran (Gersik) near Surabaja with the name of Fatimah binti Maimum bin Hibat Allah, who died in A. D. 1102, engraved in the Kufi script. This stone is supposed to be the

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oldest Islamic archaeological remnant found in Java. However, by itself it cannot prove the Islamization of Java.

In another country of south-eastern Asia, i.e., in Campa, we also find a gravestone belonging to the same century as that of Leran

We have mentioned above that the coming of Islam to northern Sumatra had begun since the seventh century. Nevertheless, more concrete evidence is offered by the grave found in the neighbourhood of Lhokseumawe. This mentions the names the names of Sultan al Kamil (died in A.D. 1211), Sultan Maulana Abdulrahman Tadju'l daulla Qutbu'l Ma'ali al 'ali (died in A.D. 1214) and Sultan Malik al Salih (died in A.D. 1297). It is interesting that the name of Sultan Malik al Salih was not only known from his gravestone but also from other records, i.e., the literatures, foreign accounts, etc. Sedjarah Malayu (A.D. 1612) and Hikayat Raja Pasei (A.D. 1820) describe Sultan Malik al Salih as the first Sultan of Samudra of the Samudra-Pasei kingdom. During his reign, Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, perhaps came to this kingdom too in A.D. 1292. He described the life and custom of the peoples inside and outside the capital of Samudra-Pasei. Although Sultan Malik Salih is described in literary sources as the first Sultan of Samudra-Pasei, in fact the gravestones of Sultan al Kamil and Abdulrahman are earlier than that of Malik al Salih. Therefore, it is clear that Malik al Salih was not the first Sultan of Samudra-Pasei. The first Islamic kingdom established in north Sumatra was earlier than the end of the 13th century, and later than the end of the 12th century.

As many of these gravestones are similar to those found in Cambay, i.e., the gravestone of Umar bin Ahmad al Kazaruni, some of the gravestones from Samudra-Pasei may been made in Cambay. We may, therefore, suppose that the process of Islamization in this country, where the kingdom of Samudra-Pasei was situated, was carried on by the Muslim traders coming from Gujarat (western India). Perhaps the other Muslim traders from Persia also made a contribution to the Islamization for on the gravestone is engraved the Persian *Ghazal of Tayyibat* of Sa'adi at the site of the Samudra-Pasei kingdom.

In the 13th to 15th centuries Cambay had great significance as a centre of trade along the sea routes between eastern and western Asia. It was certain that the Muslim merchants from Gujarat or Persia had established trade branches in the trading centres at North Sumatra and Malacca. Since the 15th century Malacca became an important port controlled by the Muslims, who expanded their commercial activities to the northern coasts of Java. The commodities were exchanged in the ports of Tuban, Sedaju, Gersik, Djepara. These ports were in fact subordinate to Majapahit, but still the Muslim traders were allowed to

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enter and even settle down in the capital of the kingdom, where they married the native women.

Gravestones unearthed in the surroundings of Trolojo and Trowulan and belonging to the 14th-17th centuries indicate collaboration between the kings of Majapahit and Moslem traders. According to tradition, even noblemen entertained Moslems in their family circles. Brawijaya, the last king of Majapahit, married Putri Tjempa (a princess from Campa). The son of the king of Blambangan married a Moslem maiden. Raden Aju Tedje, the daughter of Aria Dikara from Tuban, married Ngabdurahman, a Moslem of Arabian descent.

It is clear that in the beginning the Islamization of Java was carried on by Moslem traders coming from Gujarat, North Sumatra, and Malacca. The form of Malik Ibrahim's gravestone, dated A.D. 1418, found in Gresik, denotes resemblance with that found in Cambay or in Samudra-Pasei. In Malacca, according to the portuguese records, there were camps where the Javanese traders had stayed. The Chinese records of Ma-huan (A.D. 1416), the author of the *Jing-yei Seng-lan*, reported in his book that there were many Muslim traders in some places along the northern coast of East Java.

After the downfall of the Majapahit kingdom the northern coast of Java ceased to be the political centre of Hindu-Indonesian kingdom. Demak, on the northern coast of middle Java, was established as the Islamic centre. Its political power spread to the western and eastern areas of Java. From the beginning of the 16th century, Banten and Tjirebon in west Java became Islamic kingdoms. Nevertheless, the process of Islamization (we mean the religion) matured only slowly and peacefully.

This way was used especially by the Nine Saints (=wali Sanga), who played a great part in converting Java to Islam. Tradition informs us that Sunan Kalidjaga one of the Nine Saints, had used the shadow play (*wajang*) for introducing Islam. The heroes known in Hindu-Javanese literature were replaced by those known from the Islamic world. The mosques erected in Indonesia by the Nine Saints, (for example the mosque in Demak and the other old mosques), expressed Hindu-Indonesian elements. The base of the old mosques was regarded as the survival of the base of Hindu-Indonesian temples (*Chandi*). The roofs of mosques, which consisted of two, three or five terraces, expressed the idea of the Hindu-Indonesian Meru. The split-gates (*Chandi bentar*) were erected by the Muslims, although these types were already in use by Hindu-Indonesian architects since Majapahit, or perhaps even earlier.

The contents of the literary texts of the transitional period still refer to the Hindu-Javanese elements. Perhaps this was done to attract the peo-

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ple, who still professed Hinduism, Buddhism or other religious beliefs.

Islam was spread to the islands of eastern Indonesia such as to Hitu by the Muslim traders from Malacca and Java. Here an Islamic kingdom was established in the 16th century. To Kalimantan and Sulawesi Islam was also brought by the Muslim traders from Java, Malacca and other areas whose peoples had already embraced Islam. The process of Islamization in these areas continued at the same time as in Java or later.

The survey presented above would show that in the beginning the Islamization of Indonesia was not achieved by force but in a wise and peaceful way, and it was the work of the Muslim traders and saints.

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CONTRIBUTORS

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Part I L.N. Mishra—The Man

1. Dr. Upendra Thakur, Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
2. Dr. Yugal Kishore Mishra, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
3. Dr. Jagannath Mishra, Ex-Chief Minister, Bihar (youngest brother of Late L.N. Mishra).
4. Sri Dharm Chand Jain, M.P. (Rajya Sabha), Chaibasa, Bihar
5. Dr. Madaneshwar Mishra, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Mithila University, Darbhanga.
6. Sri Jata Shankar Das, Director, Small Scale Industries Corporation Ltd. Patna.
7. Sri Ramakant Jha, Principal, Jayanagar College, Madhubani, North Bihar.
8. Dr. B.K. Jha, Reader, Department of Political Science, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.

Part II Geography

1. Dr. G.D. Singhal, Lecturer, Department of Geography, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
2. Miss Aparna Bhattacharjee, Senior Research Fellow, Department of History, Patna University, Patna.
3. Dr. Enayat Ahmad, Professor and Head, Department of Geography, Ranchi University, Ranchi.
4. (a) Sri R. Upadhyay, Department of Geography, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
   (b) Sri J.N, Pandey, Research Scholar, Department of Geography, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
5. Dr. Manager Prasad, Lecturer, Department of Geography, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.

Part III History and Archaeology

1. Dr. B.P. Sinha, Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.
2. Dr. D.P. Agrawal. and Dr. R.K. Pant, c/o Physical Research Laboratory Ahmedabad, Gujrat.
3. Dr. K.T.M. Hegde, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M.S. University, Baroda, Gujarat.
4. Dr. R.C. Prasad Singh, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
5. Dr. B.N. Puri, Ex-Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

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6. Dr. V.C. Pandey, Head Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Punjab University Chandigarh.
7. Dr. Mahesh Kumar Sharan, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Gaya College, Gaya.
8. Dr. Chitta Ranjan Prasad, Patna Museum, Patna.
9. Dr. Vijaykant Mishra, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India.
10. Dr. Sita Ram Roy, Director, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Bihar, Patna.
11. Dr. B.S. Verma, Superintending Archaeologist, Vikramsila Project, Bhagalpur, Archaeological Survey of India.
12. Dr. R.C. Sharma, Director, Government Museum, Mathura U.P..
13. Dr. B.N. Sharma, Keeper, National Museum, Janpath, New Delhi.
14. Dr. S.K. Maity, Reader, Department of History, Jadavpur University Jadavpur, Calcutta.
15. Dr. V.P. Dwivedi, Deputy Keeper, National Museum, Janpath, New Delhi.
16. Dr. R. Das Gupta, Reader, Department of History of Art, B.H.U., Varanasi U.P.
17. Dr. Bhagwant Sahai, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.
18. Sri K.N. Dikshit, Superintending Archaeologist, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of India.
19. Dr. P.C. Roy, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
20. Dr. Md. Aquique, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
21. Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Nagpur University, Nagpur.
22. Miss Sukla Das, Formerly Senior Research Fellow, Department of History, Jadavpur University, Jadavpur, Calcutta.
23. Dr. R. Isri, Biharsarif District, Nalanda.
History and Archaeology, Sagar University, Sagar (M.P.)
24. Smt. Indu Mati Pathak, Patna Museum, Patna, Bihar.
25. Dr. R.K. Dikshit, Ex-Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
26. Sri Ram Bhushan Singh, Lecturer, Department of History, Patna University, Patna.
27. Dr. R.K. Chaudhary, Reader, Department of History, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur Bihar.
28. Dr. Rajiva Nain Prasad, Reader, Department of History, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
29. Sri Vijay Kumar Thakur, Lecturer, Department of History, Patna University, Patna.
30. Dr. B.D. Sharma, Head, Post-Graduate Department of History, Dunger College, Bikaner Rajasthan.
31. Mrs Nondita Bhargava, Department of History, Government College, Ajmer, Rajasthan
32. Smt. Arti Guha, Maulana Azad College, Calcutta, West Bengal.
33. Dr. K.D. Bajpai, Tagore Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian

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34. Sri Nisar Ahmad, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, B.H.U., Varanasi.

Part IV Literature, Religion and Philosophy

1. Dr. S.K. Prasad, Professor and Head, Department of English, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
2. Sri G.K. Sharoti.
3. Dr. Shrikrishan Mishra, Department of English, Mithila University, Darbhanga.
4. Dr. Nagendra, Professor of Hindi, University of Delhi, Delhi.
5. Professor Harihar Jha, Department of English, C.M. College, Darbhanga, (North Bihar).
6. Dr. S.P. Singh, Reader, Department of Philosophy, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
7. Dr. Shiv Narain Joshi, Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, Dunger College, Bikaner, Rajathan.
8. Dr. Bhupendra Nath, Reader, Department of Philosophy, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
9. Dr. U.N. Jha, Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
10. Dr. Haripada Chakraborti, Retired Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan (West Bengal).
11. Dr. B.B. Lal, Ex-Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, Janpath, New Delhi.At Present : Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla (H.P.).
12. Dr. S.K. Verma, Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, Magadh University, Bodh, Gaya.

Part V Politics and International Relations

1. Dr. Som Nath Roy, Lecturer, Department of History, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
2. Dr. N.M.P. Srivastava, Journalist, *The Searchlight* (The Bihar Journals Ltd), Buddha Marg, Patna
3. Dr. Dayadhar Jha, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Gaya College, Gaya, Bihar.
4. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, Ex-Professor and Head, Department of History, Allahabad University, Allahabad (U.P.).
5. Dr. Bidya Nand, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
6. Dr. Birendra Prasad, Lecturer in History, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.

Part VI Economics, Trade and Commerce

1. Dr. Brajdeo Prasad Roy, Lecture, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.
2. Dr. Upendra Thakur, Professor and Head, Department of Aneient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
3. Dr. Madan Mohan Singh, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.

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4. Dr. Kunwar Deo Prasad, Lecturer, Department of Economics, J.J. College, Gaya
5. Dr. (Miss) Puspa Niyogi, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
6. Dr. C.D. Singh, Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
7. Dr. Satya Prakash Sinha, Labour Welfare Officer, Ryam, Darbhanga.
8. Dr. Nawal Kishore Singh, Reader, Department of Economics, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
9. Dr. Deo Muni Prasad, Lecturer, Department of Commerce, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.
10. Dr. Ghanshyam Narain Singh, Lecturer, Department of Economics, Gaya College, Gaya.
11. Dr. Birendra Kumar Singh, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.

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